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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EUROPE

VOLUME I

The Background of our Present Civilization

BY

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

AND

CHARLES A. BEARD

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PREFACE

The two volumes of this history are based upon our *Development of Modern Europe*, originally published in 1907 and 1908. Not only has the work been thoroughly revised and the story brought down to date, but much additional matter has been added relating to the history of modern thought; for the vast revolution in man's views of himself and the universe since the seventeenth century is, to say the least, one of the most astonishing events of modern times. Chapters have been added on the beginning of this revolution and on the development of democratic government in England during the period of the Stuarts. Volume I serves as an introduction to a study of our own century. It narrates the chief events before the close of the nineteenth century. Volume II is devoted almost entirely to the twentieth century. The momentous occurrences of the past thirty years in government, science, invention, literature, and philosophy serve amply to justify this way of apportioning the material. The object of the work remains the same as was announced in the original edition—namely, to enable the reader to make intelligent connection with current history as gathered from newspapers and magazines. The first chapter explains the attitude of the writers toward history and their own particular task.

C. A. B.
J. H. R.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EUROPE

THE BACKGROUND OF OUR PRESENT CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I

PLAN AND AIMS OF THIS HISTORY

How History promotes Understanding

History used to be defined as a record of past events. The authors of these volumes regard it differently—as an effort to find out how human habits, beliefs, and institutions have come about, in order to understand them better. Past events as such are not necessarily worth recalling. Many of them seem to have no significance for us. On the other hand, it is one of the most important of modern discoveries that the history of a thing in which we are interested serves to give us a clearer idea of it than we could possibly gain by merely observing it. One understands a mountain far better by reconstructing its history and noting all sorts of features that only its past can explain. The human heart and brain are now studied in the light of the hearts and brains of our fellow beings in the animal world, who represent earlier stages in development. The organs of embryos are now examined and the changes traced which finally produce the full-fledged creature. The geologist adds greatly to his insight by tracing the history of the earth, and the anatomist by tracing the history of men's bodies; and so the student of our civilization can attain a far deeper understanding of his theme by seeing how our customs and ideas have developed than by merely studying them as they now are. This is the excuse History has to urge in justifying its right to be taken seriously.

While many of the things we think and do are similar to those that our ancestors thought and did, there has been a startling change in beliefs and habits, especially during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The recent alterations in human conduct have been so great and are of such immediate importance to us that the authors decided to devote full half of their work to them. The first volume reaches back over three centuries and is essential to explain the perendurance of the old and the contrasts offered by the new. Of course, there are no sharp breaks in the history of mankind if all human habits and institutions are considered. There can be sudden changes only in some particular phases of life, such as the introduction of gasoline as an agent for propelling machinery, or the substitution of electric light for gas. For, in spite of these innovations, we retain our old Constitution, uphold ancient religions, read old books, and admire old pictures.

Macaulay, in speaking of the eternal flow of human affairs which we call history, compares it to the incoming tide. "Each successive wave rushes forward, breaks, and rolls back; but the great flood is steadily coming in. A person who looked on the waters only for a moment might fancy that they were retiring. A person who looked on them for only five minutes might fancy that they were rushing capriciously to and fro. But when he keeps his eye on them for a quarter of an hour and sees one sea-mark disappear after another, it is impossible for him to doubt the general direction in which the ocean has moved." So in history, when we sweep the mind's eye over a range of centuries, we cannot fail to note certain changes and contrasts which distinguish our age from previous epochs. We cannot name the year or decade or generation in which the Middle Ages merged into modern times. Yet if we compare the Europe of Bismarck, Gladstone, Lloyd George, Hindenburg, and Foch with the Europe of William the Conqueror, Frederick Barbarossa, Saint Louis, and Boniface VIII, we cannot doubt that a great gulf separates them. Or, to speak concretely, we cannot fail to see that vast changes have come about in the way the peoples of Europe live, work, think, and are governed. By taking note of these changes and tracing them backward in time,—if not to their origins, at least to their appearance as striking characteristics,—we find how the modern world came to be what it is. No date, however, can be fixed as the opening of our epoch, because some modern institutions have their roots deeper in the past than others. In searching for the beginnings of parliamentary goverment, for example, we are carried back into the thirteenth century, if not beyond; whereas in tracing the beginnings of the machine industry of our time we need hardly go farther back than the days of James Watt, in the late eighteenth century.

In order to carry out their purpose the authors have adopted the plan of assigning to each chapter the development of some particular phase of the many human interests and preoccupations. Each chapter is divided, in turn, into sections devoted to subdivisions of the main topic. There is little advantage in a mere chronological presentation of all the various happenings in all the fields of human endeavor. We can better think first of this realm and then of that. Accordingly each chapter in this volume will be found to concern itself with one of the series of very marked changes which have made our world today so different from what it was three hundred years ago. The following chapter takes up the revolution of men's opinions about the world in which they live and its governance,—a change which clearly began in England in the seventeenth century. This order is adopted with a view to weakening the old notion that History should devote itself chiefly to politics and the acts of kings and the campaigns of armies. While these are of importance, they are, after all, minor preoccupations of the great mass of mankind. Most of us, most of the time, are occupied with other matters, particularly with the winning of our daily bread.

Salient Traits of Modern History

The charming French writer Anatole France once asked, "What is History?" He then answers his own question by saying: "It is the written picture of past events. But what is an event? Is it just any fact whatsoever? By no means. It is a noteworthy fact. Now, how does the historian decide whether a fact is noteworthy or no? He decides according to his whims, his theories,—as an artist, in short,—because facts do not of their own nature divide themselves into events historic and nonhistoric." Accordingly the writers of these volumes had to take upon themselves the responsibility of making a choice of those tendencies of mankind which seemed best worth describing. They had to classify the events in terms of what appeared to them the essential differences which set off our age from previous ones. They can only hope that they have established some coherence in the tangled web of human struggle and aspiration.

For reasons just mentioned the next chapter has to do with the momentous change of attitude toward the older views of the supernatural—the providence of God and the operations of the devil, the beginnings of modern scientific investigation of the world in which we live, and the growing freedom of those who came to differ from their fellows to express their opinions without being killed or imprisoned. In no realm are the contrasts more striking between the Middle Ages and our own times than in respect to the liberty to accept any religion one will without any control on the part of the government. In the Middle Ages all citizens in western Europe were members of the same Church Universal. It had a single head, the Pope at Rome. The clergy controlled the schools and universities, since they alone were able to read and write. Almost all subjects of study were approached from a religious point of view. The decrees of the Church were enforced by the governments, and those whom the clergy denounced as heretics were punished. The Church collected taxes and maintained its own prisons for religious culprits. Now all this is changed. The State and Church have been separated, and the former no longer enforces the decrees of the latter. Instead of one church, there are many churches and denominations. No one is compelled any longer to attend any church or to give money to support it. Indeed, the modern citizen may refuse to affiliate with any church and may deny the authority of them all without incurring any penalty under the law. The monopoly of the clergy has been broken, and learning has passed largely into the hands of secular persons—teachers, professors, and editors, who are not clergymen.

When the supremacy of the Church was broken and business became the chief concern of large classes, the attention of the world was directed more and more to secular, or worldly, affairs. Religious writings and religious inquiries continued to be important, but an ever-increasing proportion of mankind's intellectual interest went to science, invention, exploration, and research. In the Middle Ages theology was the main interest of the educated classes. In the modern age business and science, in all its branches, occupy the center of the stage. This statement can be tested in many practical ways. Take the subjects taught in any modern college or school and see how many of them have to do with questions of theology. Take any great encyclopedia and measure the space given to theological and religious questions, on the one hand, and to historical, economic, and scientific questions, on the other.

A second unmistakable revolution has been the disappearance of kings and the prevailing of government in the name of the people—Democracy, in short. It was the monarchs who had welded the feudal principalities of the Middle Ages into larger states. But the king who pulled the robber barons down from their crags and fused their great estates into a common national domain had not advanced far in the process before his right to rule as he pleased was challenged by important classes of his subjects. At first the king's powers were slightly limited by pledges wrung from him,—such promises as are written in *Magna Carta*. Shortly afterward parliaments were called into being, at first to aid the king in collecting taxes. In the course of time they laid heavier and heavier restraints upon the power of the crown to make laws and lay taxes. Then, in the seventeenth century, there was inaugurated in England the earliest of a long series of revolutions by which kings were first made subordinate to parliaments and finally, in most states, utterly cast out and supplanted by republics. Meanwhile, the right to vote was extended until in our time, in most of the great states of the world, all citizens—men and women alike—are admitted to the suffrage and share in the power of the state. First there were limited constitutional monarchies with only the propertied classes sharing in the government; then republics and universal democracies. This is another startling feature of the modern age—one which sets it off sharply from the age of Edward I and Dante. How this process was begun and carried to its present state is one of the most interesting stories of all history. In Chapter III it is shown how England was a republic, for a short time, almost a century and a half before the first French republic was proclaimed.

The reconstruction of the map of Europe during the past three centuries affords a key to many problems that arose after the World War and are by no means securely settled yet. Two long chapters review the wars of the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century. It will be found that nationalism, so familiar to us, had no part in the distributions and redistributions of territory. The wishes and character of the peoples involved were not taken into consideration, as they would have to be now. A later chapter (XIII) takes up the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century, and the addition to the map of two anciently disrupted but finally consolidated nations, Germany and Italy.

After sketching the military history and its outcome during the decades preceding the French Revolution, we turn to another of the distinguishing features of today—the Europeanizing of the world, and the spread of Western commerce and manufacturing and other forms of civilization all over the globe. European civilization in the Middle Ages was confined to a small and fairly homogeneous region. The seal of Rome and Greece was set heavily upon it, though no doubt much had been borrowed from Egypt, Palestine, and Babylon. Of India and China, Europe knew little; of the Western Hemisphere beyond the setting sun it knew nothing.

Today European civilization has become world-wide. Whole continents have been discovered and peopled mainly by Europeans. Millions of square miles inhabited by other races have been conquered and annexed by European powers. Other nations that have escaped the sword—Japan, for example—have been transformed under European influences. The feverish desire for new markets and new domains seized all the countries of Europe. All of them sought to become "empires" and extend their commerce and their dominion throughout the earth. Thus the world was filled with business activity and stirred by increasing rivalry among the Europeans. Great cities flourished in England, France, and Germany as a result of markets opened up in Canada, South America, Siam, and Darkest Africa. Many a war was waged in this contest for regions far removed from Europe.

Closely associated with the expansion of Europe has been a vital change in the economic life of the people. In the Middle Ages the masses were engaged in agriculture, aided by the wooden plow, the flail, the sickle, and a few other crude tools. They lived in little villages in the open country. They were nearly all—men, women, and children alike—serfs on great estates owned by feudal lords. They not only tilled the soil; they were bound to it. There were, of course, a few relatively important commercial centers and quite a number of merchants and artisans; but agriculture overshadowed commerce in the proportion of people engaged in it and the capital invested in it.

How different the modern age! In the leading nations of the earth agriculture no longer employs the great majority of the people. Millions are engaged in manufacturing, mining, and transportation, in trade and in commerce with distant portions of the earth. In the numbers employed and the wealth invested in them commerce and industry outrival agriculture. Four fifths of the people of England are city dwellers; in Germany more than one half. The masses are no longer serfs bound to the soil. Some are free farmers; others live in cities and work in shops and factories. They may come and go almost at will, and even migrate to foreign countries if they choose. The position of women has been changed even more profoundly than that of men. Whereas they were once subjected to their fathers or husbands, they now enjoy a practical equality with men in most of the European countries.

Chapters VII–IX describe the medieval survivals in Europe; how these were denounced by various French thinkers, following the example set earlier in England; how some of the rulers of the time became reformers; and how, owing to peculiar circumstances, the French wrote out in 1789 a new and fuller program of reform than had ever before been composed by a governmental body. This became the basis for most of the liberal aspirations of the nineteenth century. After narrating the effects of the unexpected intrusion of Napoleon, and the futile attempt at the Congress of Vienna to hold back the great movements we have been recalling, we describe the progress of democratic institutions in the nineteenth century and the growth of national sentiment. This first volume closes with the drawing together of eastern and western Europe which was to furnish materials for the great conflagration that began in 1914 and for grave apprehensions after it had burned itself out.

CHAPTER II

NEW IDEAS OF GOD'S WORKS AND MEN'S

Settled Beliefs versus Inquiry

Mankind has always had leaders,—individuals of exceptional imagination, ambition, boldness, energy, and persistence. Some of these chieftains have organized armies, led them to victory, built up dominions, issued decrees, and devised means of raising revenue to meet the cost of their expensive enterprises. If they are strikingly successful in their ventures, their names are handed down as popular heroes, and their deeds find their way into the history books. Thus if one is asked to mention the great men of the past, he is apt to think of Alexander the Great, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Cromwell, Napoleon, and other conspicuous military leaders and statesmen.

There has always been, however, another class of chieftains who proved themselves able sooner or later to collect their obedient host of followers. They did not resort to arms, they killed no one, and they extorted no taxes from their subjects. They wore no coronets, and held their courts in market place, classroom, or tavern. They were poor and commonly despised in their own day by all except their few friends and admirers, who usually only half understood them. But they had their own rewards; they patiently pursued new ideas and confronted them with knightly valor, however strange and disconcerting these ideas might be. They were, in the world of thought, as bold as any general or explorer. After vanquishing their own minds they might seek to conquer those of their fellow men. This is well expressed in a Buddhist manual referring to the fearful truth of the impermanence of all things:

> It remains a fact and the fixed and necessary constitution of being, that all its constituents are transitory. This fact a Buddha [that is, one supremely enlightened] discovers and masters; and when he has discovered and mastered it, he announces, teaches, publishes, proclaims, discloses, minutely explains, and makes it clear, that all the constituents of being are transitory.

Socrates urged us to know ourselves; Jesus, to love our neighbor as ourselves. These are all hard sayings, but all of them have been handed down through the ages as commands to the prophets' followers.

Who would venture to maintain that our life to-day—our daily conduct and hopes and fears, our ideals and aspirations, and our knowledge of ourselves and our world—has not been created and fashioned by the humble religious seers, the poets, and the laborious men of science rather than by the military chieftains and statesmen? If we are wise we shall reckon with the armed conquerors and the unarmed! Both have had their part in making humanity what it is. Out of the infinite turmoil of aggression and destruction, peace and order have sometimes emerged; and even in the very midst of insistent wars a Euripides or a Montaigne has gone on with his thinking and writing.

Man shares the earth with hundreds of thousands of different kinds of creatures, all of which are fitted to live for a time and perpetuate their species, often almost unchanged, for thousands or millions of years. All animals can learn something during their lifetime, but not much and only incidentally. With man it is clear that what is discovered in one generation will be fairly sure to have a deep effect on its descendants. Man alone can seek to find out about himself and his world. His early discoveries were probably as accidental and incidental as those of his fellow animals. For a very long time he did not *seek* knowledge, but just happened on it in the struggles of life or as a result of curiosity and fumbling.

When exceptional men first consciously and with forethought *sought* for new information, we do not know. There are some indications that the search for truth began long before the days of the Greeks; but it is clear that about twenty-five hundred years ago Thales, Pythagoras, Xenophanes, and others in the Greek colonies became aware that a great deal might be discovered by careful thought and observation. Many thinkers arose among the Greeks,—so many and so ingenious that when Aristotle came to sum up what had been found out, including much that he himself had added, it formed an imposing and convincing body of information. When the Arabs and medieval Christians later took to study, they agreed that Aristotle had *settled* a wide range of all-important matters. Averroës, a professor in the Mohammedan university at Cordova, claimed that Aristotle had been "appointed by Providence to know everything that was to be known."

The professors in the medieval universities based their teachings on "The Philosopher," as they called Aristotle, supplemented by the works of the Church Fathers. To these professors it seemed that many fundamental questions had been answered once for all by the great authorities of the past, and that little remained except to interpret, expand, and reconcile the various statements of truth handed down to them. In short, their range of doubt and skepticism was limited both by their reverence for Aristotle and by their confident belief that God, through his prophets and the decisions of his Church and its divinely appointed head, the Pope, had established truths about man's nature, history, duty, and fate which it was blasphemous to question.

In the fifteenth century, and even earlier, Aristotle began to lose his hold here and there, and there was a tendency to prefer Plato's teaching to his. But the belief in the "truths of revealed religion" was far deeper and more persistent, and continues to be accepted by the great body of Christians down to the present day. God's word, as interpreted by the clergy, is to them final, and all suggestions of scientists and philosophers which seem to be opposed to it are for them not only untrue but wicked. The Greek thinkers were not much hampered by religious authority; they had no Bible, in our sense of the term, and there was no formulated opposition to "free thinking." So long as they avoided the anger of the mob, they could question the gods or anything else they chose. The early Christian emperors, however, stood by the "orthodox" in helping to seek out and punish those who dared to harbor divergent views of things heavenly; and in the thirteenth century the Holy Inquisition, backed by the rulers of the time, devised an elaborate organization for dealing with heretics.

Nevertheless the questioning of old ideas and the discovery of new ones can be traced during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. With the sixteenth came the Protestant secession, with much discussion of the bitterest kind. A great part of this concerned religious matters, and the aim was not to add any new truth but to settle which of the various conflicting older beliefs should prevail. Was the Pope the head of the Church as Peter's successor? Did transubstantiation take place with the celebration of the Eucharist? What was the nature of penance? Were sinners justified by faith or by works, or by both? Did the clergy receive "indelible characters" at ordination? These and like problems agitated both Roman Catholics and Protestants. A great part of the older dogmas remained unscathed. All believed in the Bible, the Garden of Eden, and the Tower of Babel, in sin and salvation, heaven and hell, and man's natural depravity due to Adam's fall. Many more fundamental beliefs were left untouched than were called in question. This basic agreement between Roman Catholics and all kinds of Protestants is obscured by the violence of their dissensions.

It is necessary to recall these outstanding facts in the history of European thought in order to appreciate the extraordinary expansion of *questioning* in the seventeenth century. This began with doubts about the old ideas of nature, and later extended to the traditional conceptions of supernatural beings.

Moreover, the agitations of the Stuart period, and the brief existence of a republic in England, opened the way for a lively discussion of government, its nature, origin, and best form (see Chapter III). So it came about that during the seventeenth century English scientists, philosophers, religious critics, and political writers began to overhaul a wide range of long-accepted beliefs about both heavenly and earthly powers. They opened the era of scientific investigation and rapidly increasing knowledge in which we live. They often wrote with great vigor, usually deserting Latin and relying upon their own virile native tongue, as the ancient Greeks had done.

FRANCIS BACON (1561–1626)

The great herald who sounded the reveille was Francis Bacon, who summoned men to awake from the lethargy of dogma and start a new day. He was not a scientist in the ordinary sense of the term, as were, for instance, his contemporaries and fellow countrymen William Gilbert and William Harvey, but he was marvelously fitted to extol, promote, and defend scientific research. His resources of style enabled him to put his single plea for truth-seeking into a multitude of ever-varying and effective forms. He preached science as an Augustine or St. Bernard preached religion. It was to him man's hope of salvation. In 1605 he published his *Advancement of Learning*, in which he told his story. In his later works, especially his famous *Novum Organum*, he elaborates, rearranges, and restates his arguments; but anyone who will read the *Advancement of Learning*, a most astonishing work, will have the key to the seventeenth-century awakening. And now let Bacon himself speak:

> Antiquity deserveth that reverence that men should make a stand thereupon and discover what is the best way; but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression. And to speak truly, *Antiquitas saeculi juventus mundi* [to wit, former days belong to the

World's youth]. These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient, and not those we account ancient, *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backward from ourselves.

Another error . . . is the conceit that of former opinions after variety and examination the best hath still [that is, always] prevailed and suppressed the rest . . . as if the multitude, or the wisest for the multitude's sake, were not ready to give passage rather to that which is popular and superficial, than to that which is substantial and profound; for the truth is that time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or stream which carrieth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is weighty and solid.

Another error hath proceeded from too great a reverence and a kind of adoration of the mind and understanding of man; by means whereof men have withdrawn themselves too much from the contemplation of nature and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reason and conceits. . . . For they disdain to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volume of God's works.

Another error is an impatience of doubt and haste to assertion without due and mature suspension of judgement. . . . If a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to begin with doubts, he shall end in certainties.

Surely, like as many substances in nature which are solid do putrify and corrupt into worms; so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrify and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen [that is, the medieval professors]; who having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books.

For the wit of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures [that is, creations] of God, worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit. . . .

It may be thought a strange and harsh thing that we should at once and with one blow set aside all sciences and all authors; and that too without calling in any of the ancients to our aid and support, but relying on our own strength. . . . But for my part, relying on the evidence and truth of things, I reject all forms of fiction and imposture; nor do I think it matters any more to the business at hand, whether the discoveries that shall now be made were long ago known to the ancients. . . . For new discoveries must be sought in the light of nature, not fetched back out of the darkness of antiquity.

In the *Novum Organum* Bacon picturesquely describes four kinds of idols before which men were wont blindly to bow: the idols of the *tribe*, of the *cave*, of the *market place*, and of the *theater*. When one once gets acquainted with this classification, he is often reminded of it as he listens to the loose, dogmatic talk of mankind. The idols of the tribe are the inherent weaknesses of human reasoning, "for what a man had rather were true he more readily believes. Therefore he rejects difficult things from impatience of research; sober things, because they narrow hope; the deeper things of nature from superstition; . . . things not commonly believed out of deference to the opinions of the vulgar." The idols of the cave (referring to the famous allegory in Plato's *Republic*) are the peculiarities of each individual. "For every one has a cave of his own which refracts and discolors the light of nature; owing either to his own peculiar and proper nature, or to his education and conversation with others; or to the reading of books, and the authority of those whom he esteems and admires." The idols of the market place are formed by our intercourse with others through language. Words have to be used according to the apprehension of the run of people we meet; and "the ill and unfit choice of words wonderfully obstructs the understanding." The idols of the theater are various philosophical systems to which people pledge themselves. These seem to Bacon like stage plays, highly artificial and seeking dramatic completeness. "Nor," he says, "is it only of the systems now in vogue, or only of the ancient sects and philosophies that I speak; for many plays of the same kind may yet be composed."

The earnest seeker for truth must be humble, not "magisterial and peremptory." Moreover, he must not neglect things which in the eyes of the scholar and the world seem "mean and filthy," "for the sun enters the sewer no less than the palace, yet takes no pollution. . . . From mean and sordid instances there sometimes emanate excellent light and information." Fastidiousness in prescribing the range of research is "childish and effeminate." "For whatever deserves to exist deserves also to be known, for knowledge is the image of existence; and things mean and splendid exist alike."

Bacon foresaw the so-called conflict between science and religion, which was to endure down to our own day. He says:

> Neither is it to be forgotten that in every age Natural Philosophy [as natural science was long called] has had a troublesome adversary and hard to deal with, namely superstition and the blind and immoderate zeal of religion. . . . You will find that by the simpleness of certain divines access to any philosophy, however pure, is well-nigh closed. Some are weakly afraid lest a deeper search into nature should transgress the permitted limits of sober-mindedness; wrongfully wresting and transferring what is said in Holy Writ against those who pry into sacred mysteries, to the hidden things of nature. Others, with more subtlety, surmise and reflect that if second causes [that is, immediate causes] are unknown, everything can more readily be referred to the divine hand and rod; a point in which they think religion greatly concerned; which is in fact nothing else but to seek to gratify God with a lie. . . . And others again appear appre-

> hensive that in the investigation of nature something may be found to subvert, or at least shake, the authority of religion, especially with the unlearned. . . . But if the matter be truly considered, natural philosophy is, after the Word of God, at once the surest medicine against superstition and the most approved nourishment for faith, and therefore she is rightly given to religion as her most faithful handmaid, since the one displays the will of God, the other his power.

Late in life Bacon began his *New Atlantis*, which he left "unperfected." It is an account of an imaginary island state discovered in mid ocean by European mariners. There they found that the public funds were devoted not to war but to the pursuit of knowledge. The chief government institution was "The House of Solomon," containing a great variety of laboratories and all kinds of apparatus for scientific experiment. There was a museum with models of "all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions"; there were statues erected in honor of the great inventors and discoverers. This little book of Bacon's seems to have had a great deal of influence upon those who founded the Royal Society, a generation after his death. It is a forecast of the great institutions for scientific research which exist today.

It seemed to Francis Bacon that the discoveries which had hitherto been made were as nothing compared with those that would be made if men would but study and experiment with things themselves. They should abandon their confidence in vague words, like "moist" and "dry," "matter" and "form," and repudiate altogether "the thorny philosophy" of Aristotle revered in the universities. He declares:

> No one has yet been found so firm of mind and purpose as resolutely to compel himself to sweep away all theories and common notions, and apply the understanding, thus made fair and even, to a fresh examination of details. Thus it comes about that human knowledge is as yet a mere medley and ill-digested mass, made up of much credulity and much accident, and also of childish notions which we early have imbibed.

How Alchemy and Astrology grew into Chemistry and Astronomy

Bacon was not the first to have these ideas. He certainly underrated the achievements of earlier centuries (especially those of the Greeks), but it is true that in the Middle Ages the scholars and learned men had been but little interested in the world about them. They devoted far more attention to metaphysics and dogmatic theology than to what we should call the natural sciences. They were satisfied in the main to get their knowledge of nature from reading the works of the ancients, —above all, those of Aristotle. Nevertheless, as early as the thirteenth century a very extraordinary Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon, showed his insight by protesting against the exaggerated veneration for books. He foresaw that a careful examination of the things about us, such as water, air, light, animals, and plants, would lead to important and useful discoveries which would greatly benefit mankind.[1]

Like Lord Bacon three centuries later, Friar Bacon advocated three methods of reaching truth which are now followed by all scientific men. In the first place, he proposed that natural objects and changes should be examined with great care, in order that the observer might determine exactly what happened in any given case. This has led in modern times to incredibly refined measurement and analysis. For example, the chemist can now determine the exact nature and amount of every substance in a cup of impure well water which may appear perfectly limpid to the casual observer. Then, second, Roger Bacon advocated experimentation. He was not content with mere observation of what actually happened, but tried new and artificial combinations and processes. Nowadays experimentation is, of course, constantly used by scientific investigators, and by means of it they ascertain many things which the most careful observation would never reveal. Third, in order to carry on investigation and make careful experiments, he suspected that apparatus designed for this special purpose would be found necessary. As early as the thirteenth century it was discovered, for example, that a convex crystal or bit of glass would magnify objects, although several centuries elapsed before the microscope and the telescope were devised.

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[1] He believed that huge vessels could be made to move at great speed without rowers, "that carriages can be constructed to move without animals to draw them, and with incredible velocity," that flying machines could be devised and suspension bridges built.

The progress of scientific discovery was hastened, strangely enough, by two grave misapprehensions: the belief in alchemy and the confidence in astrology, both of which had been handed down from the Greeks and Romans to the scholars and investigators of the Middle Ages. Modern chemistry developed from alchemy, and modern astronomy from astrology.

The alchemist carried on his experiments with the hope of finding a so-called "elixir," or "philosopher's stone," which if added to baser metals, like lead, mercury, or even silver, would transmute them into gold. It was also believed that the same marvelous elixir would, if taken in small quantities, restore youth to the aged and prolong life indefinitely. Mysterious directions were passed on from the Greeks and Arabs which roused hope in western Europe that some of the strange substances produced in retort, crucible, and mortar would at last prove to be the potent and long-sought combination. Though no one discovered the philosopher's stone, the patient search for it brought to light curious and useful compounds which could be used in medicine and in the industries. To these were given picturesque names, such as spirits of wine and of hartshorn, cream of tartar, oil of vitriol.

The progress of chemistry was much impeded by the respect for the old idea, which even Aristotle had maintained, that there were four "elements,"—earth, air, fire, and water,—and that heat and cold, dryness and dampness, were the fundamental qualities of matter. Even in the eighteenth century the arguments of a German chemist to prove that flame was an element, which was latent in bodies until they were subjected to heat, were accepted by the greatest minds of the time. The old hopes of finding the philosopher's stone had, however, been dissipated, chiefly by the English chemist Boyle (1627–1691).[1] New substances were discovered, and the various gases—or "airs," as they were first called—were isolated: first, "inflammable air," or hydrogen, by Boyle; later, carbonic acid gas, or "fixed air," and "nitrous air," or nitrogen.

Modern chemistry was not, however, really established until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the celebrated French chemist Lavoisier (born in 1743 and beheaded by the guillotine in 1794), during some fifteen years of experimentation, succeeded in decomposing air and in showing that combustion was really the violent combination of the oxygen in the air with any material capable of rapid oxidization. By careful weighing he showed that the products of combustion were always exactly equal to the burned substance plus the oxygen used up in the burning. It was he also who first decomposed water into oxygen and hydrogen and then recombined these gases into water.

Lavoisier coöperated in drawing up a new system for renaming chemical substances, which was presented to the French Academy of Sciences in 1787. The names adopted—"sulphates," "nitrates," "oxides," etc.—are still employed in our chemistry texts. Lavoisier's use of the balance, his successful analyses and recombinations, his correct conception of combustion and of the more important gases, enabled the chemists rapidly to multiply their discoveries and apply their knowledge to all manner of practical processes which have given us such diverse and important results as photography, new and powerful explosives, aniline dyes, celluloid, and anæsthetics and many other potent drugs.

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[1] The impossibility of transmuting other metals into gold was supposed to be scientifically proved when it was discovered that gold was an *element*, or simple substance, which therefore could not be formed by any combination of other elements. However, the strange action of radium and similar substances has shown that even the elements may decompose and transform themselves.

Just as the false hopes of alchemy promoted the development of chemistry, so the vain hopes of forecasting the future from the stars forwarded astronomy. Until recent times even the most intelligent persons have believed that the heavenly bodies influenced the fate of mankind; consequently, that a careful observation of the position of the planets at the time of a child's conception and birth would make it possible to forecast his life. In the same way important enterprises were to be undertaken only when the influence of the stars was auspicious. Physicians believed that the efficacy of their medicines depended upon the position of the planets. This whole subject of the influence of the stars upon human affairs was called *astrology* and was, in some cases, taught in the medieval universities. While those who studied the heavens gradually came to the conclusion that the movements of the planets had no effect upon humanity, yet the facts which the astrologers had discovered became the basis of modern astronomy.

All through the Middle Ages, even in the darkest period, learned men had known that the earth was a globe, and had not greatly underrated its size. They knew also that the planets and stars were very large and millions of miles away from the earth. But they nevertheless had a very inadequate notion of the tremendous extent of the universe. They mistakenly believed that the earth was its *stationary* center, and that the sun and all the heavenly host circled about it every day.

Some of the Greek thinkers had suspected that this was not true; but a Polish astronomer, Kopernick (commonly known by his Latinized name of Copernicus), was the first modern writer to maintain boldly that the earth and the other planets revolved about the sun. His great work, *Upon the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies*, was published in 1543, just after his death. But he was unable to prove his theory, which was declared to be foolish and wicked by Catholics and Protestants alike, since it appeared to contradict the teachings of the Bible. Nevertheless Copernicus opened the way for an entirely new conception of the heavenly bodies and their motions, which continued to be studied with the help of new mathematical knowledge.

The truths which had been only suspected by earlier astronomers were demonstrated to the eye by Galileo (1564–1642). By means of a little telescope, which was not as powerful as the best modern field glasses, he discovered in 1610 the spots on the sun. The movement of these made it plain that the sun was turning on its axis in the same way that astronomers had begun to suspect that the earth turned. Galileo's little telescope showed, too, that the moons of Jupiter were revolving about their planet in the same way that the planets revolve about the sun.

The year that Galileo died the famous English mathematician Isaac Newton was born (1642–1727). Newton carried on the work of earlier astronomers by the application of mathematics, and proved that the force of attraction which we call gravitation was a universal one, and that the sun, the moon, the earth, and all the heavenly bodies are attracted to one another inversely as the square of the distance.

While the telescope aided the astronomer, the microscope contributed far more to the extension of practical knowledge. Rude and simple microscopes were used with advantage as early as the seventeenth century. Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), a Dutch linen merchant, so far improved his lenses that he discovered (1668) the blood corpuscles and the "animalculæ," or minute organisms of various kinds found in pond water and elsewhere. The microscope has been rapidly perfected since the introduction of better kinds of lenses early in the nineteenth century, so that it is now easily possibly to magnify minute objects to two or three thousand times their diameters. We shall return to this matter later.

New Discoveries arouse Opposition

Not many years after Lord Bacon's death the government in England and France began to take an interest in promoting general scientific progress. The Royal Society was incorporated in London in 1662 under the king's patronage and soon began to issue its *Proceedings*, which still appear regularly. Four years later Colbert definitely organized the French Academy of Sciences. These academies, together with that founded by the Prussian king in 1700 in Berlin, by their discussions, by the publication of their proceedings, and by their encouragement and support of special investigations have served greatly to hasten scientific progress. Colbert established the famous observatory of Paris in 1667; a few years later (1676) the still more famous observatory at Greenwich, near London, was completed. Periodicals devoted to scientific matters began to appear. One of the very earliest and most important was the *Journal des Savants*, encouraged by Colbert, which, except for a few years during the French Revolution, has been issued regularly for two centuries and a half.

Scientific expeditions to distant parts of the earth were also subsidized by the European governments, especially by France, to determine by simultaneous observations at widely distant points the exact size and shape of the globe and the distance of the moon from the earth. In 1769, when Venus crossed the face of the sun,—an event that would not occur again for over a hundred years,—astronomers were eager to avail themselves of this unusual opportunity to calculate more exactly than ever before the distance of the sun from the earth. Accordingly various governments arranged to dispatch observers to suitable places: the English to Hudson Bay, Tahiti, and Madras; the French to California and India; the Danes to the North Cape; the Russians to Siberia. This was an early instance of what has now become an established practice in the case of any unusual astronomical event.

The observation and experimentation of which we have been speaking deeply influenced men's conceptions of the earth and of the universe at large. Of the many new scientific ideas by far the most influential was the conviction that all things about us seem to follow certain natural and immutable rules; and it is the determination of these "laws" and the seeking out of their applications to which the modern scientific investigator devotes his efforts, whether he be calculating the distance of a nebula or noting the effect of light on the actions of an amœba.[1] He has given up all hope of reading man's fate in the stars or of producing any results by magical processes. He is convinced that the natural laws have been found to work regularly in every instance where they have been carefully observed. Unlike the medieval scholars, therefore, he hesitates to accept as true the reports which reach him of miracles; that is, of alleged exceptions to the general laws in which he has come to have such confidence. Moreover, his study of the regular processes of nature has enabled him, as Roger Bacon foresaw, to work wonders far more marvelous than any attributed to the medieval magician.

The path of the scientific investigator has not always been without its thorns. Mankind has changed its notions with reluctance. The churchmen and the professors in the universities were wedded to the conceptions of the world which the medieval theologians and philosophers had worked out, mainly from the Bible and Aristotle. They clung to the old books that they and their predecessors had long used in teaching. They had no desire to begin a long and painful examination of the innumerable substances and organisms from a study of which the newer scientists were gathering information that refuted the venerated theories of the past.

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[1] It is important to note that until recently men of science tended to think of natural "laws" as the decrees of God or Nature, somewhat analogous to the acts of a king or council in regulating the conduct of those subject to their orders. This old conception is giving way to another, where chance, exceptions, and the new element of "emergence" are assigned important rôles in the coming about of all things. This very interesting advance in thought will be discussed in Volume II.

Theologians were especially prone to denounce scientific discoveries on the ground that they did not harmonize with the teachings of the Bible as commonly accepted. This Lord Bacon had foreseen. It was naturally a great shock to them, and also to the public at large, to have it suggested that man's dwelling-place, instead of being God's greatest work, to which he had subordinated everything and around which the whole starry firmament revolved, was, after all, but a tiny speck in comparison with the whole universe, and its sun but one of an innumerable host of similar glowing bodies of stupendous size, any one of which might have its particular family of planets revolving about it.

The bolder thinkers were consequently sometimes made to suffer for their ideas, and their books were prohibited or burned. Galileo was forced to say that he did not really believe that the earth revolved about the sun; and he was kept in partial confinement for a time and ordered to recite certain psalms every day for three years for having ventured to question the received views in a book which he wrote in Italian, instead of Latin, so that the public at large might read it.[1]

QUESTIONING THE SUPERNATURAL; THE DEISTS

Those who questioned the older ideas of the world and its workings, and sought by experiment to reach new truths in regard to the laws of nature, commonly let religion alone.

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[1] But even the scientists themselves did not always readily accept new discoveries. Francis Bacon, who lived some seventy years after Copernicus, still clung to the old idea of the revolution of the sun about the earth and still believed in many quite preposterous illusions; as, for example, that "it hath been observed by the ancients that where a rainbow seemeth to hang over or to touch, there breatheth forth a sweet smell," and that "since the ape is a merry and a bold beast, its heart worn near the heart of a man comforteth the heart and increaseth audacity." Later Lavoisier was burned in effigy in Berlin because his discovery of oxygen threatened the accepted explanation of combustion.

Bacon, for example, makes it quite plain that the truths of revealed religion were to him on another basis than the conjectures of Aristotle in regard to chemical and physical phenomena. Theology and natural science were, he believed, to be kept apart, as each had its prescribed sphere. In general, scientific men were so absorbed in their particular work that they continued to accept the current teachings in regard to the supernatural powers and man's duty to God. They feared and resented the imputation that they were in any way undermining the foundations of the particular form of Christianity with which they were familiar. Nevertheless others began to call in question some of the fundamental conceptions which both Catholics and Protestants had continued to agree upon in spite of the break-up of the medieval Church. Those who gave up Christianity were called *deists* by their enemies, and sometimes by themselves. Often they were accused—most unfairly —of "atheism." Their accepted name indicates that they believed stoutly in God, only differing in certain respects from the orthodox Christian ideas of the ruler of the universe.

Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648), is usually ranked as the founder or forerunner of deism. He was a soldier, and seems from his autobiography to have led a gay life; but he was greatly interested in defending a broader conception of religion than that of his day. He wrote a little treatise called *De Veritate* (1624) concerning religious truth, and, later, *The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles*. He could not bring himself to agree that the deity had indiscriminately condemned the heathen. Yet he had been reared in the belief that

> After the Fall of Adam, all mankind was formed and produced out of a degenerate mass; some of them (out of the mere good pleasure of God and the intervention of the death of Christ) were elected to eternal glory; but the far greater part, nay even those that never heard of the name of Christ, were reprobated and determined to eternal perdition; and that the most innocent and commendable lives the heathens could lead would avail them nothing; for their

> works were merely moral and upon that account altogether insignificant. Now when I perceived that they [that is, the divines] resolved the causes of eternal salvation or damnation only into the good pleasure of God and the death of Christ, I found that their opinion was grounded not on reason; . . . and I could not think that they were so privy to the secret counsels of God as to be able to establish anything for certain. Wherefore I left them as entertaining mean, base and unworthy thoughts of the Most Good and Great God and of mankind in general. How could I believe that a just God could take pleasure in the eternal reprobation of those to whom he never afforded any means of salvation, yet endued with souls made after his own image; and whom he foresaw must be damned of absolute necessity without the least hopes or possibility of escaping it? I could not understand how they could call that God Most Good and Great, who created men only to damn them without their knowledge and against their will.[1]

There were, he believed, certain great truths underlying all pagan religions, however much they might be obscured by priestly misrepresentations. These were common to all faiths:

> Five undeniable propositions presently occurred to me which not only we but all mankind in general must needs acknowledge: I, That there is one supreme God; II, That he ought to be worshipped; III, That virtue and piety are the chief parts of divine worship; IV, That we ought to be sorry for our sins and repent of them; V, That Divine Goodness doth dispense rewards and punishments both in this life and after it.

These truths he believed to be revealed to all God's children; those who gave heed to them would be saved whether they had or had not heard of the Bible or of redemption through Christ.

Lord Herbert's five points were not forgotten. It was, however, several decades after his death, in 1648, before deism became a live issue in England. An Anglican clergyman, Thomas Burnet (1635–1715), published in 1692 a book maintaining that the account in Genesis of the fall of man was an allegory. He tells over the story of Adam and Eve in a somewhat facetious manner and declares that only the force of custom and preconceived opinion make it possible to take it literally. Were it a Greek or a Mohammedan account, no Christian, he urges, would accept it without asking where God got thread and a needle to make skin coats for the sinful pair; who skinned the animals; and whether or not, since there was but a pair of each species in the beginning, one kind of creature was not extinguished in thus founding the "tailor's trade." Burnet was not a deist, but his sarcastic review of sacred history was eagerly seized upon by those who were giving up their belief in the Bible. They argued that it was absurd to assume that God had selected the Jews as his chosen people, and accordingly the ancient Hebrew account of the beginnings of things came to be a favorite playground for their sarcasms. In making sport of the Biblical narratives, Voltaire, Thomas Paine, and Robert Ingersoll could not go farther than Charles Blount (1654–1693) and the famous Lord Bolingbroke, Pope's friend.

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[1] *The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles*, chap. i.

The deists are generally assumed to have been scurrilous in their attacks on Christianity, but they were no more violent and unjust than many of the defenders of the older faith. Bishop Berkeley, in his *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher* (1733), assumes that no one can be a deist without being a scoundrel, and he indulges in the most bitter recriminations.

On the other hand, Joseph Butler sought to refute the deistic arguments in a very sober and logical fashion in his long-famous *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (1736). This was used until recently in American colleges to prove the truths of revealed religion and at the same time to test the wits of seniors. As a matter of fact, the book was not exactly a defense of Christianity. The deists contended that the workings of nature proved the existence of a wise and benevolent creator who was to be worshiped and obeyed. They thought the Bible unnecessary, and rejected its accounts of miracles as unworthy of the Deity, who did not, they asserted, violate his own laws. Now all that Butler attempted to do was to prove that there were just as many and just as serious difficulties in this assumption as in the acceptance of the Bible. He quotes Origen, an early Church Father, to the effect that "He who believes the Scripture to have proceeded from him who is the author of Nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the constitution of Nature." "In like way," Butler adds, "he who denies the Scripture to be of God upon account of these difficulties may for the very same reason deny the world to have been formed by him." In short, the Bible and the course of nature offer a close "analogy," and it is a logical presumption "that they both have the same Author and Cause." That it is quite as easy and quite as hard to find a revelation of God and his attributes in the Bible as in nature is all Butler tried to prove. Some writers have felt that instead of making the Bible seem at least as firm a basis of religious truth as a study of nature, the *Analogy* really serves to make natural religion as dubious as the deists thought revealed religion to be.

Among the deistic writers the most charming and the longest popular was Lord Shaftesbury (1671–1713), a pupil of John Locke. In his delightful *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times*, as his collected works are called, he urges the rights of wit and humor in dealing with serious matters. He describes God as having the attributes which we find feebly reflected in an earthly gentleman. Should a gentleman discover someone on his vast estates who happened to know little about him or his character, or was mistaken about his lord's doings, this would not "kindle his horrible vengeance," to use Calvin's words, but would be accepted with tolerant kindness. Shaftesbury was a gentle soul, and argued that men were not actuated primarily by fear and jealousy, as Thomas Hobbes held, but by a deep anxiety to stand well with their fellows; that this longing for approbation was the chief cause of virtue; and that virtue was moderation, tolerance, consideration, and good taste. Being a charming gentleman himself, he suspected that others, even the Deity, possessed the kind of virtue he most highly esteemed.

We may say that all the deists, whatever their particular temperament, concurred in rejecting the teaching of the theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, that through Adam's fall mankind was rendered utterly vile and incapable (except through God's special grace) of good thoughts or deeds. They maintained, on the contrary, that man was by nature good; that should he freely use his own God-given reason, he was capable of becoming increasingly wise by a study of nature's laws; and that he could indefinitely better his own condition and that of his fellows if he would but free himself from the shackles of error and superstition. Those who had broadened their views of mankind and of the universe refused longer to believe that God had revealed himself only to the Jewish people, but maintained that he must be equally solicitous for all his creatures, in all ages and in all parts of a boundless universe where everything was controlled by his immutable laws. This tendency to "enlarge God" is illustrated in the famous "Universal Prayer" of Alexander Pope, written about 1737:

Father of all! in ev'ry age,
In ev'ry clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

. . . .

Yet not to earth's contracted span
Thy goodness let me bound,
Or think Thee Lord alone of man,
When thousand worlds are round:

. . . .

Although the deists were misunderstood and harshly condemned by Christian believers, and Pope was suspected of "infidelity," this "Universal Prayer" can be sung in Christian churches today, and his long poem called *An Essay on Man* which expresses throughout deistic doctrines, can be read without offense by the most devout modern Christian. The deists maintained that their conception of God was far worthier than that of their contemporaries, and they certainly exercised no inconsiderable influence upon the gradually changing views of the Deity.

Witchcraft and its Decline

While the deists were striving to revise the traditional ideas of God and his government of the world, others were attacking the ancient beliefs about Satan and his agents. It is hard for us nowadays to realize how essential, vivid, and ever-present a part of Christian doctrine *demonology* continued to be down to the opening of the eighteenth century and later. The existence of evil spirits was distinctly recognized in both the Old and New Testaments, and all Christian authorities taught that demons were ever active in bringing disaster to mankind and dragging souls down to hell. It was quite as urgent a duty of the true Christian to fear the devil as to trust in God. Had not Satan tempted Christ himself and promised him all the kingdoms of the earth if he would worship him? And had not Jesus cast out many demons who had entered into unfortunate human beings? In the book of Revelation it is foretold that Satan will be imprisoned for a thousand years, and after being loosed for a season he shall be cast into a lake of fire and brimstone.

The devils not only seduced men from their duty and faith, afflicted them with disease, overwhelmed them with storms, but they even made compacts with individuals to act as their agents. These agents were the sorcerers and witches who enjoyed the delegated powers of evil to plague their fellow men and sometimes to forecast the future. The only aspect of Christian demonology which will be spoken of here is the belief in witchcraft and the treatment of those accused of it.

The various kinds of devilish arts are described in the Bible. In Deuteronomy (chap. xviii) the Children of Israel are warned that when they come into the Promised Land they must not learn to do after the abominations of the nations they will find there. "There shall not be found with thee any one . . . that useth divination, one that practiseth augury, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with a familiar spirit, or a wizard, or a necromancer." In Exodus (chap. xii) there is the terrible command "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," which has been cited to justify the torture and death of tens of thousands of poor old women. In the New Testament, Paul mentions witchcraft among the various sins of the flesh. Strangely enough, though witchcraft was not uncommon in the later Middle Ages, it was not until about the time of Luther's birth that it became prominent in western Europe. Its most hideous and wholesale manifestations coincide with the Protestant revolt, alike in Catholic and Protestant countries.

In 1484 the Pope, Innocent VIII, received news of the devil's activities in Germany, and in a famous bull he describes officially the kinds of things which witches were supposed to do:

> It has recently come to our ears that many persons of both sexes . . . give themselves over to devils, male and female, and by their incantations, charms, and conjurings, and by other abominable superstitions, sortileges, offenses, crimes and misdeeds, ruin and cause to perish the offspring of women, the foals of animals, the products of the earth, the grapes on the vine, and the fruits of trees, as well as men and women, cattle and flocks, and herds, and animals of every kind . . . that they afflict and torture with dire pains and anguish, both internal and external, these men and women, cattle, flocks, herds, and animals; and hinder men from begetting and women from conceiving, and prevent all consummation of marriage. That, moreover, they deny with sacrilegious lips the faith they received in holy baptism; and that, at the instigation of the enemy of man-

> kind, they do not fear to commit and perpetrate many other abominable offenses and crimes, at the risk of their own souls, to the insult of the Divine Majesty and the pernicious example and scandal of multitudes.[1]

These were the evil deeds unanimously ascribed to witches, not only by the Pope and all his supporters but by Lutherans, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and other Protestants as well.

In addition to the plagues that the witches were supposed to bring upon innocent people and animals, they were accused of attending Witches' Sabbath. Flying away on a broomstick or a three-legged stool, they held meetings with their evil companions, over which the devil himself presided, sometimes in the form of a goat. Many nasty details occur in the records respecting the license encouraged by Satan and the forms of worship he demanded.

As one reads the squalid, obscene, and heartless witch literature he is filled with astonishment that such a really great thinker as the Catholic writer Jean Bodin (1530–1596) and the alert New Englander Cotton Mather, a Boston divine living a century later, should eagerly receive and defend all the rumors that reached them of the devil's doings. But one should recollect that they felt compelled to believe the Bible, which says that the wicked queen Jezebel's witchcrafts were many. They knew too that Greek and Roman writers recorded the deeds of witches. The unhappy Medea resorted to sorcery, and Apuleius tells of Thessalian witches. There was no reason to think that the devil was any less active than of yore. Luther had personal experiences with him. Cotton Mather says, in his "Enchantments Encountered":

> The New Englanders are a people of God settled in those which were once the Devil's territories. And it may easily be supposed

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[1] As translated by Professor George L. Burr, our most kindly and scholarly witchmonger today.

> that the Devil was exceedingly disturbed when he perceived such a people here accomplishing the promise of old made unto our blessed Jesus, that he should have the uttermost parts of the earth for his possessions. . . . The Devil thus irritated immediately tried all sorts of methods to overturn this poor plantation. . . . I believe that never were more satanical devices used for unsettling any people under the sun than what have been employed for the extirpation of the vine which God had planted here.

This means that the devil was precisely as real to all believers as God himself. As we shall see, to question the existence of witches was to question the devil's reality,—a form of doubt which was generally thought to be nothing less than "atheism."

Then there were the confessions of the witches themselves. They freely admitted that they had spoiled the crops, afflicted their neighbors' animals, scourged with infertility their neighbors' wives, caused grievous pains in their children, and that with the devil's aid they had flown up the chimney, joined Anne and Jane and many strangers in a remote field, and danced around the hellish goat and obeyed his unclean behests. The fact that these confessions had been extorted in an agony of anxiety and torture did not weigh with the believers in witchcraft, since the evidence was just what they looked for. The miserable suspects knew what they were expected to say, and preferred the prospect of being burned, strangled, or hanged to further torture. And so it came about that judges, physicians, philosophers, eminent divines, as well as the uninstructed multitude, accepted witchcraft as an indispensable element in their religious convictions.

It required either a very bold or a very simple person to raise any queries in regard to the validity of these well-substantiated convictions about witches. As early as 1563 a certain Dr. Weier, a German, raised a mild protest, but this was more than counteracted when the great Bodin took up his pen (1581) and heaped insult on all those who questioned the soundness of the witch theory. Montaigne had his doubts, which he expressed with his customary prudence.[1] The first ruthless attack came from an Englishman, primarily interested in successful hop-growing in Kent. Reginald Scott spoke his mind in his book published in 1584. The title page is very long:

> *The Discovery of Witchcraft:* proving the common opinion of witches' contracting with devils, spirits, or familiars; and their power to kill, torment, and consume the bodies of men, women and children or other creatures by diseases or otherwise; their flying in the air etc.; to be but imaginary and erroneous conceptions and novelties; wherein also the lewd, unchristian practices of witchmongers upon aged, melancholy, ignorant, superstitious people in extorting confessions by inhumane terrors and tortures is notably detected. . . . With many other things opened that have long lain hidden, though very necessary to be known for the undeceiving of judges, justices, and juries, and for the preservation of poor, aged, deformed people, frequently taken, arraigned, condemned and executed for witches, when according to right understanding and a good conscience, physic, food, and necessaries should be administrated.

Nothing remained to be said when Scott had finished,[2] but no one can say how influential this sturdy indictment proved.

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[1] How much more natural and likely do I find it that two men should lie, than that one man in twelve hours' time should fly with the wind from east to west? How much more natural that our understanding should be carried from its place by the wanderings of our disordered minds, than that one of us should be carried by a strange spirit upon a broomstick, flesh and bones as we are, up the flue of a chimney. Let us not seek illusions from without and unknown, we who are perpetually agitated with illusions private and our own. . . . After all, 'tis setting a man's conjectures at a very high price, upon that excuse to cause a man to be roasted alive.—*Essays*, Book III, xi (written before 1588)

[2] One paragraph from Reginald Scott's work will give some idea of his method of approach: "The common people have been so assotted and bewitched with whatever poets have feigned of witchcraft, either in earnest, in jest, or else in derision; and with whatsoever lowd liers and couseners for their pleasures heerein have invented, and with whatsoever tales they have heard from old doting women, or from their mothers maids . . .; and finalie with whatsoever they have swollowed up through tract of time, or through their owne timerous nature in ignorant conceipt of hagges and witches; as they have so settled their opinion and credit thereupon that they think it heresy to doubt anie part of the matter, speciallie bicause they find this word witchcraft expressed in the scriptures."

For a century and more after his time both learned and ignorant in England clung to and defended their notions of the devil and his human victims.

Queen Elizabeth had been warned by one of her clergy, John Jewel, that witches had "marvellously increased within her realms," and a statute had been passed in 1563 prescribing the death of a felon for anyone implicated in witchcrafts or sorceries "whereby any person shall happen to be killed." James VI of Scotland, who was to succeed Elizabeth as James I of England, was impressed with the fearful abounding of witches in Scotland, and in 1597 published his *Dæmonologie.* He had no patience with Scott or any doubter. He gives all the old arguments and explains that it is easy to see why twenty women are given to witchcraft to one man, "for the sex is frailer than man is, so it is easier to be entrapped in those gross snares of the devil." "Two good helps may be used for their trial, the one is the finding of their mark and the trying the insensibleness thereof." This test was based on the idea that the devil produced an insensitive spot on a witch's body, which could be located by sticking pins into her. The other test advocated by His Majesty was "swimming" the witch. If when thrown into the water those accused of witchcraft floated, it was a sign appointed of God that the water refused "to receive those in her bosom that have shaken off them the sacred water of baptism." With James's accession to the English throne a new law against witches was passed by Parliament in 1603.

The discussion continued for a century or more. The literature in favor of belief in witchcraft was more weighty than that opposed. Those who dared reject the evidence were declared to be atheists or "Sadducees,"[1] who denied the existence of spirits. And the argument of a Cambridge philosopher, Henry More (1614–1687), ran as follows:

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[1] For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit. —Acts xxiii, 8

> Those who sing the drunken catch, "Hey, ho, the devil is dead," are a sort of people very horribly afraid there should be any spirit, lest there should be a devil and an account after this life. And therefore they are impatient of anything that implies it, that they may with a more full swing and with all security from an after-reckoning, indulge their own lusts and humors in this.

The most impressive of the later defenses of witchcraft was that of an English clergyman, Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680), who was enthusiastic in regard to the scientific advance of his time and fairly skeptical in many ways. In his *Sadducismus Triumphatus, or Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions* (English translation from the Latin, 1681), he declares that the rejection of witchcraft is but a cloak for the denial of the spiritual world and all moral responsibility. "Those that dare not bluntly say 'there is no God' content themselves to deny there are spirits or witches." Reginald Scott's arguments he dismisses with utter contempt.

In 1692 Satan held his last great carnival in the little New England town of Salem, and this led Cotton Mather to write very fully of *The Wonders of the Invisible World.* This is the most easily obtained of all the many collections of witch tales and discussions of devils, and will afford the reader abundant material for meditation upon certain unhappy tendencies of mankind.

Whether the attacks on the doctrine of witches had much effect upon public opinion cannot be determined. They seem to have been for the most part a symptom rather than a cause. The older beliefs gradually ceased to appeal to writers and to the public. Ten years before Cotton Mather died (in 1728), an Anglican clergyman, Francis Hutchinson, published *An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, dedicated to the Lord Chief Justice. This reviews the chief trials for witchcraft in England and shows the unsatisfactory character of the evidence.

> In other cases when wicked or mistaken people charge us with crimes of which we are not guilty, we clear ourselves by showing that at that time we were at home, or in some other place, about our honest business. But in prosecutions for witchcraft that most natural and just defence is a mere jest; for if any wicked person affirms, or any cracked brain girl imagines, or any lying spirit makes her believe, that she sees any old woman, or other person pursuing her in her visions, the defenders of vulgar witchcraft tack an imaginary, unproved compact [with the devil] to the deposition and hang the accused parties for things that were doing when they were perhaps asleep upon their beds or saying their prayers.

While Hutchinson feared some possible revival of the old delusions, he seems to assume that no thoughtful or educated person longer took any stock in them.

No one can tell how many suffered in Christian countries as witches, for there are no full records.[1] Executions were so common in Germany and Spain as to attract only local attention. Hutchinson thinks that only about one hundred and forty were executed in England after the Reformation. Only a few suffered in France in Louis XIV's time. The last conviction in England was in 1712, and the old witch laws were repealed in 1736.

Holland, an Asylum for Thinkers

The little country of Holland, after it had freed itself from Spanish rule, became a conspicuous place of refuge for thinkers of various nationalities, who, owing to the dislike aroused by their views, found themselves uncomfortable and nervous at home. The earliest and most famous of these intellectual refugees was Descartes, a Frenchman, who after some experience of a soldier's life at the opening of the Thirty Years' War, and some travels in foreign parts, settled there in 1628. He had an extraordinary confidence in reason and in the preliminary to its exercise, doubt. He wrote a celebrated little book called a *Discourse upon the Method of Rightly Conducting the Reason and Seeking Truth in the Sciences* (Leyden, 1637). This opens as follows:

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[1] The total number of victims of the witch persecutions is variously estimated at from one hundred thousand to several millions. See article "Witchcraft" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

> Good sense is, of all things among men, the most equally distributed; for everyone thinks himself so abundantly provided with it that even those who are the most difficult to satisfy in everything else do not usually desire a larger measure of this quality than they already possess. And in this it is not likely that all are mistaken: the conviction is rather to be held as testifying that the power of judging aright and of distinguishing truth from error, which is properly called good sense or reason, is by nature equal in all men; and that the diversity of our opinions, consequently, does not arise from some being endowed with a larger share of reason than others, but solely from this, that we conduct our thoughts along different ways and do not fix our attention on the same objects.

Reason is, in short, the trait that distinguishes men from the brutes, and Descartes was disposed to believe that "it is to be found complete in each individual." While few today would agree that reason, like the heart or the liver, is tolerably uniform in all healthy human beings, this doctrine of Descartes helps to account for the conception of reason—now pretty generally discarded—in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

But Descartes was much impressed with the fact that, as children, we get so many false impressions before we enjoy "the entire use of reason" that it is essential in later life to doubt everything and to make a fresh start. When he tried this experiment himself, he found that he could not doubt that he was *thinking* and, consequently, *existing*. This conclusion—*Cogito, ergo sum*—he took as a starting point. Then he found in his mind, he professed, the undoubtable idea of a "being, omniscient, all-powerful, and absolutely perfect," which could not result from any experience he had had of the evil and imperfect things of life. Therefore, he argued, we had imprinted upon our minds the image of God, in which intuitive reason forced us to believe, as we are forced to believe mathematical propositions. And, moreover, since a good God would not mislead us if we took pains to doubt all uncertain things and cling to the clear ideas, these must necessarily be true. Accordingly Descartes could neglect past knowledge even more ruthlessly than Bacon and rely upon the findings of a well-conducted reason.

Descartes's democratic conception of reason led him to write his *Discourse* in his mother tongue.

> If I write in French, which is the language of my country, in preference to Latin, which is that of my preceptors [namely, the Jesuits, under whom he studied as a boy], it is because I expect that those who make use of their unprejudiced natural reason will be better judges of my opinions than those who give heed to the writings of the ancients only.

Descartes's scientific investigations, especially his work in mathematics, brought him much fame. He was greatly affected by Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood—to him a typical instance of scientific reasoning which suggested certain embryological studies on his part. He devised, also, the use of coördinates for plotting curves, which one meets in analytical geometry.

For a century Descartes had many followers—the Cartesian school (from "Cartesius," his Latinized name). Of these the most important was Spinoza (1632–1677), a Portuguese Jew, who had been brought to Holland as a boy. Spinoza ground lenses for a living, and meditated on deep matters as he smoked his pipe in the evening. In his memorable treatise on *Ethics* (completed in 1665) he shows the influence of Descartes, in giving his discussion of God and of man's duty the form of a treatise on geometry, *Ethica Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata*. All is set forth in rigid axioms, propositions, proofs, and corollaries. In spite of its arid form this book contains many wise reflections and still appeals to mystical souls.

In his *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* (1670) Spinoza urges that freedom of thought is essential in all free commonwealths. He studied the Old Testament, and opened the era of the critical study of ancient Jewish literature. Matthew Arnold, in his efforts to encourage a critical conception of the Bible in the latter part of the nineteenth century, finds himself going back to Spinoza, who, for instance, rejected the belief that Moses wrote the books attributed to him.

A Protestant from Geneva, Jean Le Clerc, was also reconsidering the Bible and pointed out many important things previously neglected. Le Clerc saw clearly that the various parts of the Bible took on a new aspect when viewed historically and from the standpoint of the time and place in which they were written. He brought the current discoveries and speculations of the thinkers together in a sort of serial publication such as we should call a "review," which was carried on for many years (from 1686 to 1726), in several series. John Locke, a friend of Le Clerc, contributed to it.

Further contributions to the free criticism of the past were made by Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), a Protestant who, when Louis XIV was getting ready to revoke the Edict of Nantes, found it more comfortable in Holland. His discussion of toleration took the form of a treatise on the following words in the Gospel according to Luke: "And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."

Bayle's chief work was an encyclopedia in several massive volumes, *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1695–1697), in which he claimed the right to tell freely the good things which heretics had done and to recall, without any excuse or apologies, the evil and scandalous actions of the Christian heroes, whether related of Old Testament characters or of the Church Fathers. He maintained, also, that as a historian he had a right to discuss sympathetically the views of pagans and heretics. His remarks on "the good morals of some persons who had no religion cannot," he says, "in any way prejudice the true Christian faith." Bayle also, like Le Clerc, published a periodical, *News from the Republic of Letters*, a newly conceived "commonwealth" to which all willing to exercise their minds might belong. Bayle, like his contemporary Shaftesbury, tended to disassociate conduct from religion and to show that the acceptance of Christian beliefs or their rejection had no necessary effect on righteousness, since other than religious ideas often determine human actions.

Ancients and Moderns

In the year 1687 Charles Perrault read a poem, "The Century of Louis the Great," before the French Academy. Perrault claimed that the age of Louis XIV was quite as remarkable as that of Pericles or Augustus,—in some respects much more enlightened. Ancient times, he concluded, justified our respect; but however great were the men of old, we need not worship them nor bend our knee at the mention of their names. They were, after all is said, men like ourselves.[1] Perrault's verses raised a storm of protest on the part of those who admired the classic form adopted by the great French writers of the time. The dispute spread to England and explains the only contribution to the controversy which may be said still to survive; namely, Swift's *Battle of the Books*, published in 1697.

Were the works of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Demosthenes, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, really so unapproachable in excellence that no modern writer could hope to equal or excel them? Were the languages of the

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[1] La belle antiquité fut toujours vénérable.
Mais je ne crus jamais qu'elle fût adorable.
Je vois les anciens sans plier genoux;
Ils sont grands, il est vrai, mais hommes comme nous.

Greeks and Romans superior in dignity and charm to any modern language? Were the scientific discoveries and the moral and political speculations of the Greeks and Romans more profound than any contributed by later writers? These were the issues, and the answers given varied with the tastes and the prejudices of the disputants. The general question could hardly arise so long as the old books were actually and obviously more numerous and better written than any modern ones. With the exception of, let us say, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Rabelais, the most enthusiastic defender of things modern could hardly urge that much had been produced in the modern tongues up to the latter part of the sixteenth century which would be relished by generations to come as would the "classics." But with the appearance of Montaigne, Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Racine, Molière, and some others, it began to look as if modern classics could be produced, and as if writers of genius might utilize the modern languages to equal or transcend the best in the older literatures.

Montaigne's *Essays* (1580–1588) exhibit a skeptical attitude toward the ancients as well as in regard to everything else.[1] He admits that Cicero bores him terribly. As for the divine Plato, Montaigne excuses his "sacrilegious boldness" in finding the *Dialogues* often dull and heavy. Aristotle, "the god of scholastic theology," may be as false as another. Seneca labors too hard, and Plutarch is sometimes absurd. "Mere authority has power to work only upon common understandings, and it is of more weight in a foreign tongue." Although Montaigne had been taught Latin before French, and stuffs his essays with Latin quotations, he felt that, while Greek and Latin are great ornaments, "we buy them too dear." "I would first understand my own language and that of my neighbors, with whom most of my business and conversation lies." He heartily approved translations.

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[1] Montaigne's *Essays* were done into English by Florio and were published in 1601. They had an influence on Shakespeare.

We have seen that Bacon and Descartes both threw off their respect for ancient science. Bacon recalls that even Plato reports the verdict of an Egyptian priest who remarked that the Greeks were "always boys, without antiquity of knowledge or knowledge of antiquity." Descartes concluded in later life "that it is no longer the duty of an ordinary, well-disposed man to learn Greek and Latin any more than it is to know the languages of Switzerland and Brittany." As for Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), he was very contemptuous of all older speculations in regard to government. He saw little use in the dead languages. It was once essential to know them, he thought, in order to expose the Roman Catholic Church; but since the Bible is in English, he says: "I can see no great need of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. I should think myself better qualified by understanding well the languages of our neighbors, French, Dutch, Italian." Of course the defenders of the ancient tongues might urge that all these writers had been reared on the classics. This did not hold, however, of the mightiest of all, Shakespeare, who apparently knew very little Latin.

One of the books which attracted Swift's darts of sarcasm was William Wotton's (1666–1726) *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694). The writer was a great linguist and well equipped by knowledge and temperament to deal fairly with the question raised by Perrault in France. He points out the superiority of modern achievement, with the possible exception of sculpture, and adds shrewdly that "if some of the most excellent of modern pieces should be preserved fifteen hundred or two thousand years, or tinged with some chemical water that could in a short time make them appear antique," they might be regarded with the same admiration as the old statues.

Richard Bentley (1662–1742) is generally regarded as the most conspicuous among the founders of modern classical scholarship. His most noted piece of criticism was his elaborate proof that the edifying letters long attributed to a Sicilian despot, Phalaris (who lived in the time of the prophet Jeremiah), were only an awkward forgery concocted centuries after the tyrant's death, and full of stupid anachronisms. The classical scholars of his day resented the necessity of revising their notion of Phalaris. Bentley was disliked not simply on account of his criticism but also for his bad manners. Swift holds him up to ridicule along with Wotton, in his *Battle of the Books*. To read this book in view of what has been here recalled is the easiest way to get into the fight between ancients and moderns.

The very long-lived and witty Fontenelle (1657–1757) devoted no inconsiderable part of his century on earth to proclaiming the superiority of the moderns over the ancients. His *New Dialogues of the Dead* (1683) might make even the most touchy classicist smile. He introduces both ancient and modern interlocutors. Socrates inquires of Montaigne, "What! have not men by this time shaken off the follies of Antiquity?"; Cortes reproaches Montezuma for believing the Spaniards to be gods; Montezuma replies that this mistake was no more foolish than the superstitions of the Athenians, and the story of the holy chickens at Rome, whose appetite determined the policy of the Republic. A few years later Fontenelle summarized and put in order his arguments in a *Digression on the Ancients and Moderns*.[1]

Today the former battle of the books has become the "classical" question in our schools and colleges. Is the study of Latin and Greek essential to the best education? Are the works of the Greeks and the Romans the best preparation for life, or, on the other hand, should modern science, modern languages, and modern literature be given the preference? Many defenders of the classics admit that students rarely master either of the dead languages sufficiently to read with much pleasure or profit the works of Greeks or Romans, but contend that the effort to learn provides a discipline, or training, superior to all others. This contention is a modern invention which played no part in the discussion as long as Latin and Greek were so successfully taught that they enabled students to read books in these languages and even to speak and to write them. One who is still in doubt in regard to the classical question will find it profitable to turn back to the struggle between the ancients and moderns in the days of Swift and Fontenelle.[1]

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[1] The whole story here reviewed, along with an account of Fontenelle's contributions, is to be found arranged with skill and learning in *The Battle of the Books in its Historical Setting* (1920), by Professor Anne Elizabeth Burlingame.

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[1] The claim that a study of ancient grammar, mathematics, logic, or any other subject will train the mind *in general* is regarded as baseless by many modern psychologists and educationists.

CHAPTER III

THE LENGTHY CASE OF THE PEOPLE VERSUS THE KING OPENS IN ENGLAND

THE DIVINE CLAIMS OF KINGSHIP

Heavenly rule is scarcely more mysterious than earthly sovereignty as formerly conceived. They have been intimately associated in the past. Kings have often been deemed gods; they have played the part of priests; they were hedged about with sacred majesty as representatives of the Almighty. They have claimed the right to regulate the religious beliefs of their subjects as well as to appropriate their labor and possessions to maintain themselves and their courtiers in luxury and to carry on their contests with other representatives of God. Government has been encompassed with superstitions, by which is meant assumptions that will not bear careful inspection. It has paraded in ermine robes and dwelt in magnificence; yet kings themselves have often been commonplace men leading lives of indulgence utterly at variance with the standards of their subjects. They have been surrounded by flatterers and have had commonly to rely upon a few able ministers to secure any success for their reigns.

In the following pages we shall see quite enough of the deeds for which princes have become famous. Of the scandals and corruption of their courts little will be said, though we have abundant and authentic evidence on these matters. It would not be decent to set forth the private lives of Henry VIII, Francis I, Henry IV, Charles II, or Louis XIV, not to speak of Louis XV. The authorities would exclude from the mails any volume which did so.

When Thomas Hobbes came to write his great work on government in the time of Cromwell, some imp whispered to him that he should call it *The Leviathan*, after that terrible monster described in the book of Job.

> Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook? . . . Will he make many supplications unto thee? will he speak soft words unto thee? . . . Wilt thou take him for a servant for ever? . . . His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal. . . . His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth. . . . His heart is as firm as a stone; yea, as hard as a piece of the nether millstone. When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid.

Since the times of Plato and Aristotle many a heavy book has been written on government, its origin, its various forms, its legitimate sources, and its just powers and limitations. Practically none of these describe the way in which governments have actually been run, but rather the ideals according to which they should be conducted. In all governmental policy there have been overwhelming elements of personal favoritism and private gain, which were not suitable for publication. This is owing to the fact that all governments are managed by human beings, who remain human beings even if they are called kings, diplomats, ministers, secretaries, or judges, or hold seats in august legislative bodies. No process has yet been discovered by which promotion to a position of public responsibility will do away with a man's interest in his own welfare, his partialities, loves, and hates, his ambition and dread of defeat, his ignorance and prejudices. Yet most books on government neglect these considerations; hence their unreality and futility. All these statements are historical facts of the utmost importance.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, between the death of Elizabeth, in 1603, and the founding of the first French republic, in 1793, the theories of earthly rule underwent great changes which lie back of the prevailing ideas of our own time. The Constitution of the United States, which slightly antedates the French Revolution, is still accepted, with some slight modifications, as embodying the correct form and principles of government for over a hundred millions of people. It is the product of the late eighteenth century. The prevailing conditions, and their reflection in theories which brought about the Federal Constitution and the first French republic, have gone on operating and developing down to the present.

They have produced certain important results: (1) The decline and ultimate disappearance from Europe of the theory of the divine right of kings, and the overturning of almost all European thrones, including those of the Tsar and the Sultan. (2) The replacement of the old belief in divinely appointed or hereditary kings by the sovereignty of the people and by methods whereby all adult citizens, both men and women, may vote for their chief state officials. (3) The supremacy of the civil government over religious bodies, or a sharp separation of Church and State, with a growing indifference upon the part of governments as to what religious views their citizens hold. (4) The great weakening or disappearance of the two classes which formerly largely influenced public affairs,—the clergy and the nobility,—and the tendency of powerful business interests to take their place. (5) The growth of *nationalism*, a belief that the State is not merely the territories which a dynasty managed to bring under its scepter, but the fundamental unity of a people in sentiment, language, and racial traits. (6) Lastly, the question has inevitably arisen how the newly conceived nations are to make terms with one another and come to live in peace in spite of all the terrible warlike traditions set by the older governments. We shall confine ourselves in this chapter to a short account of the first weakening of kingly power, in which enterprise the English took the lead.

No one previously or in later times could outrun the enthusiasm of Queen Elizabeth's clergy in setting forth and defending the doctrine of the divine right of princes. The Anglican Church had been created by the English monarchs (acting through Parliament, which they controlled), and its existence depended upon a recognition of their right to throw off the papal supremacy. The public must be convinced that their ruler enjoyed the God-given powers formerly attributed to the Pope. A series of sermons to be preached to the people, *The Homilies*, were prepared by Protestant ministers during the reign of Edward VI and in the early years of Elizabeth. That "Concerning Good Order and Obedience to Rulers and Magistrates" was written as early as 1547, and that "Against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion" was added in 1569.

The people were told that were it not for their ruler they would be in constant fear and wretchedness; no man would be safe on the highway or sleep unmolested in his bed. Should a wicked prince command what was contrary to God's law, he should never be actively disobeyed; for "rebellion is no medicine for small lacks in a prince," since a rebel is worse than the most evil sovereign. And should a ruler prove to be evil-minded, this is but a just punishment for the sins of his people. In the Bible had not God himself said, "Through me kings do reign, through me counsellors make just laws; through me do princes bear rule"?

> Here let us mark well and remember that the high authority of kings, with their makings of laws, judgments and officers, are the ordinances, not of man, but of God. . . . It is an intolerable ignorance, madness and wickedness for subjects to make any murmuring, rebellion, resistance, commotion, or insurrection against their dear and most dread sovereign lord and king, ordained and appointed of God's goodness for their commodity, peace and quietness. . . . Let us fear the terrible punishment of Almighty God against traitors or rebellious persons by the example of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, which repugned and grudged against God's magistrates and officers, and therefore the earth opened and swallowed them alive.[1] Others for their wicked murmuring and rebellion were by a sudden fire sent

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[1] A reference to Numbers xvi.

> of God utterly consumed. Others, for their froward behavior to their rulers and governors, God's ministers, were suddenly stricken with foul leprosy. Others were stinged to death with wonderful strange fiery serpents. . . .
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> The first author of rebellion was Lucifer, first God's most excellent creature and most bounden subject; who, by rebelling against the Majesty of God, of the brightest and most glorious angel is become the blackest and most foul fiend and devil, and from the height of heaven is fallen into the pit and bottom of hell. . . . It cometh, therefore, neither of chance and fortune, nor of the ambition of men and women climbing up of their own accord to dominion, that there be kings, queens, princes, and other governors over men, being their subjects, but all kings, queens, and other governors are especially appointed by the ordinance of God.

In the early days of Louis XIV the doctrine of monarchy by the grace of God found an eloquent exponent in Bishop Bossuet (1627–1704), who prepared for the heir to the French throne his treatise on *Politics based on the Holy Scriptures*. It is evident, he says, from the descriptions of kings in the Old Testament, that

> The person of the king is sacred, and to attack him in any way is a sacrilege. . . . Kings should be guarded as holy things, and whosoever neglects to protect them is worthy of death. . . . Where the word of the king is, there is power; and who may say to him, What doest thou? . . . Without this absolute authority the king could neither do good nor repress evil. The prince, as prince, is not regarded as a private person; he is a public personage; all the State is in him; the will of all the people is included in his. As all perfection is united in God, so all the powers of individuals are united in the person of the prince.
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> [The king] is the image of God, who, seated on his high throne in the heavens, makes all nature move. . . . Behold the secret cause which governs the whole body of the State, contained in a single head; you see the image of God in the king, and you have the idea of royal majesty. . . . Oh kings, exercise your power boldly, for it is divine and salutary for human kind; but exercise it with hu-

mility. You are endowed with it from without. Know that it leaves you feeble, it leaves you mortal, it leaves you sinners, and charges you before God with a very heavy account.

In the passages just quoted we have what we may call an official statement of the doctrine of the divine right of kings as it was preached by Elizabeth's Protestant clergymen and by a distinguished Roman Catholic prelate in France a century later. By the end of the seventeenth century, events rather than arguments had reduced this conception of kingship to insignificance in England; and a hundred years after, events rather than arguments destroyed for a time the Bourbon monarchy in France.

Elizabeth had had to guard herself against the attacks of the Roman Catholics, especially as represented by the adherents of Mary Queen of Scots and Philip II of Spain. She insisted that it was a part of loyalty to her and her government for her subjects to accept the rule of the bishops she appointed, to attend church regularly, to follow the service as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and for government officials to pledge themselves to the Thirty-nine Articles. She and her advisers deemed it a *political* rather than a *religious* duty for all her loving subjects to be "knit together in one perfect unity of doctrine, and to be conjoined in one uniformity of rites and manners in the ministration of God's holy word."

Elizabeth herself, it should be remembered, was no fanatic; nor was the sensible Richard Hooker (*c.* 1553–1600), who wrote his celebrated *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* to establish the reasonableness of order and uniformity in the matter of public worship. Later Archbishop Laud (1573–1645), in the days of Charles I, strove to enforce *outward* conformity. But all these leaders were quite willing that people should interpret the Bible or the Church Fathers according to their own tastes so long as they showed respect for the forms and general beliefs established by law.

Powers of an Absolute Ruler

When the first rumblings of revolution were heard in England, nothing seemed more securely established than the English monarchy. Under Queen Elizabeth the authority of the crown was so great that even a French Bourbon might have been satisfied with its extent. On more than one occasion the queen had exhibited her prerogatives in spite of parliamentary elections and political debates. She made laws by royal proclamations and laid taxes without the consent of Lords or Commons. When she deigned to summon her legislature, she spoke to it, if it pleased her, "in language as haughty and imperious as that which the Grand Turk would use to his divan." If members of either House unburdened their minds too freely on public questions, they were likely to be locked up as felons. She imprisoned her subjects at will and often without semblance of legal trial. Two of her high courts, the Star Chamber and the Ecclesiastical Commission, composed of her pliant servants, quickly silenced writers and speakers who ventured to doubt the correctness and finality of the existing order.

In military affairs the authority of the crown was even more extended. The sovereign commanded the navy and could order it about on the high seas at will. The crown alone could make war and peace. It held as a matter of right all lands discovered beyond the oceans and could grant them away in lots large or small to persons and companies. The crown alone could create corporations and issue charters to companies formed for trade, industry, or colonization. Every new dominion and every new market enhanced the prestige and enlarged the revenues of the sovereign.

The authority of the crown was supreme in matters of religion. When Henry VIII threw off his allegiance to the Pope, he declared himself (1534) head of the Church in his realm. Under his daughter, Queen Elizabeth, Parliament established a national religious system, the Church of England. By a new

Act of Supremacy (1559) all authority over spiritual matters was vested in the crown, and all officers, civil and ecclesiastical, were compelled to take an oath acknowledging the supremacy of the monarch. The creed of the Church, embodied in the Thirty-nine Articles, was imposed on all subjects by act of Parliament. The Act of Uniformity (1559) made the Book of Common Prayer the official liturgy of the kingdom and forbade parsons, vicars, and ministers to suggest any other doctrines in their religious services.

To complete the supremacy of the State, all bishops and archbishops and other high dignitaries were appointed by the crown. The king summoned, prorogued, and dissolved the convocations of the clergy and enjoyed the veto power over measures which they passed. Appeals from decisions of the Church courts in matters of faith and opinion lay with the king in council. As the theory was expounded by a celebrated archbishop, "the king was the spiritual as well as the temporal chief of the nation. . . . As he appointed civil officers to keep his seal, to collect his revenues, and dispense justice in his name, so he appointed divines of various ranks to preach the gospel and to administer the sacraments." Over the lower ranks of the clergy the dominion of the bishops and archbishops under the crown was absolute. Thus was constructed a complete official hierarchy, extending from the monarch to the humblest official of the Church.

Government control over religious life included the universities, where the clergy were trained, and every school throughout the realm. No one could teach in a university or receive a degree without first taking an oath to uphold the order established in Church and State. No schoolmaster, public or private, could follow his profession without a license from the clerical authorities.

For the purpose of enforcing obedience a system of espionage and press censorship was set up. The officers of the crown, both lay and clerical, were instructed to be on the alert to detect and prosecute anyone guilty of teaching or preaching "errors, heresies, schisms, enormities and contempts" as proscribed by the authorities. In short, the Church was established by law; religious faith was defined by law; errors and heresies were punished by Church and State.

According to law every person was a member of the Church of England and obliged to attend its services. Anyone who dissented from the Church as established by law, whether Catholic or Protestant, was under the ban. It was a crime to celebrate or hear Mass. To call the king a heretic or to convert anybody to the Catholic faith was treason. Those who attended any church, religious meeting, or "conventicle" not under Anglican auspices were liable to imprisonment until they were ready to conform.

No book, pamphlet, or other paper could be published until "seen, perused, and allowed" by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London. Printers and publishers were all licensed under royal authority and were liable to mutilation or death for printing anything "seditious or slanderous of the government in Church and State." Agents of the government were empowered to "break open doors and locks by day or night" in their efforts to discover unlicensed printers. It was the work of these minions of the law that called forth Milton's noble protest, the *Areopagitica*, in which he proclaimed that "truth needs no stratagems, no licensings to make her victorious" (see pages 77 ff.). The Stuart monarchs, as we shall see, followed the examples of their Tudor predecessors and labored with might and main to extirpate, root and branch, all opinions not pleasing to the monarch and clergy.

The authority and dignity of the crown were supported, likewise, by the nobility, the peers of the realm. A few of them belonged to old families that traced their titles back to the Norman Conquest and boasted of remote days when their ancestors, secure in great castles, had defied kings; but most of them were of later creation. The power to lift a commoner into the ranks of the nobility was a royal privilege. The king, on his own motion, could create a lord by letters patent and confer upon him any title that seemed fitting. A successful merchant or a country gentleman, by ingratiating himself into royal favor, might at any time be elevated to the peerage. James I openly sold titles to the rich at fixed sums. In 1597 there were fifty-six temporal peers in the House of Lords; in 1661 there were one hundred and forty-two. By a liberal use of this prerogative the king could always count upon the cordial friendship of a large group of rich and titled persons. He conferred upon them the high offices, civil and military, and relied upon them for counsel, protection, and assistance. If some of the older families maintained an attitude of proud reserve, the newer ones more than made up for it by their zealous loyalty to the king.

Parties in the Struggle over Divine Right

The question arises, Why was England the first among the great European nations to subject the king to parliamentary control, destroy the monopoly of the Church, establish religious toleration, and grant to the individual a large range of civil liberty? This has long been a subject for interesting speculation. Fifty years ago it was the fashion to say that the difference between England and France in this respect was due to the fact that the English people, as a branch of the Teutonic race, possessed a peculiar genius for civil liberty and self-government. This theory was learnedly expounded by writers like Stubbs, Green, and Freeman. It exerted a powerful influence on historical research in England and America, and enjoyed a vogue which was as astounding as it was gratifying to the English-speaking peoples. The chief difficulty with the theory lay in the fact that the Germans, also Teutons of the purest brand, until the débâcle of 1918, betrayed no such passion for constitutional government, civil liberty, and political democracy. Another difficulty was the supineness with which the English people had long submitted to Norman, Plantagenet, and Tudor despotism—a despotism that compared in its thoroughgoing qualities with the supreme achievements of Louis XIV. Moreover, some scholars raised grave doubts as to whether the English were not so mixed with Celtic and French stocks as to lose their pristine purity altogether.

At all events, modern historians, English as well as foreign, have discarded the Teutonic theory of English liberty. They note that all modern nationalities are compounds of many racial stocks, and that most of them have passed through substantially the same stages of development, at one time or another in their evolution having cherished practically identical ideas in matters of government. They are inclined to ascribe the priority of the English revolution to two principal factors. The first is the English Channel, which, by separating England from the continent of Europe, made it unnecessary for the English king to maintain a large standing army to defend his country against invasion. The absence of constant apprehension on the frontiers made the people less dependent upon the king for security and protection. Thus the king had no large military force to use against the encroachments on his powers by his own subjects. The second factor, also due in part to England's fortunate position in the seas, was the remarkable extension of English trade and exploration in the reign of Elizabeth and James I. Under this stimulus towns grew in population, and the mercantile classes increased in wealth and numbers. The spirit of commerce, being the spirit of risk and adventure, naturally challenged the old order, dominated by king, lords, and clergy and built upon unchanging agriculture. If this explanation is not exhaustive, it at least throws light upon the subject of England's leadership in constitutional development.

There is a striking unanimity among the historians of all schools as to the way in which the people of England grouped themselves either for or against the crown and Church when civil war came. According to the Catholic scholar Lingard, "three fourths of the nobility and superior gentry, led by feelings of honor and gratitude or by attachment to the Church or by a well-grounded suspicion of the leading patriots, ranged themselves under the royal banner. . . . While the higher classes repaired with their dependents to the support of the king, the call of the Parliament was cheerfully obeyed by the yeomanry in the country and by the merchants and tradesmen in the towns." This is also exactly the conclusion reached by Hallam, a painstaking and judicious Protestant historian: "The yeomanry and the trading classes of the towns were generally hostile to the king's side even in those counties which were in his military occupation. . . . On the other hand the gentry were, in a great majority, attached to his cause, even in the parts of England which lay subject to Parliament."

The very names of the parties to the contest betrayed social distinctions. The members of the people's party, being farmers and merchants, could not conveniently wear wigs and long ringlets; so they cut their hair short and were dubbed Roundheads. Buckle, the historian, proud of the democratic origins of modern England, gives a long list of tailors, brewers, grocers, mercers, weavers, shoemakers, and haberdashers who rose to positions of influence in the ranks of the opposition to the king in the days of the revolutionary struggle. The members of the king's party, on the other hand, being knights on horseback, were called Cavaliers.

With the growth of commerce the number of merchants increased. Their wealth and enterprise gave them a place of power in the affairs of England. For their success they looked not to royal favor but to their own initiative. Their symbols of rank were not titles and castles but strong boxes, warehouses, docks, and stores in the cities. It required no royal favor to lift a humble artisan or peasant into the mercantile class. No legal barriers closed a business career to talent. Whoever could master the art of buying and selling could command his place among the merchants of England. Whereas the lords were numbered by the scores, rich merchants were numbered by the thousands.

Moreover, the landed estates of the peers were limited in acres, whereas the capital which the merchant could amass had no limit. Being engaged in the regular transaction of business, the merchants could not endure arbitrary taxes and customs duties imposed by the crown. Dwelling closely together in the towns and traveling to and fro in all parts of the realm, they could readily act in concert and form combinations to resist royal exactions. "The spirit of commerce," wrote an old pamphleteer, "is the spirit of liberty."

No less independent in spirit than the merchants were the "sturdy yeomen" of England. They were the free and proud owners of small estates and farms. They were not men of title, but many of them could trace their lineage back to the Norman Conquest, and some of them could look with ill-concealed contempt upon the upstart nobleman who had recently bought a title from King James I for £10,000. Possessed of considerable property, experienced in farming, and energetic in their sphere, the yeomen were among the first to resent the extravagant claims and the arbitrary conduct of the Stuarts.

It often happened that the yeomen and the merchants found leaders among the more prosperous landed gentry,—men of large estates, enjoying the title of "Sir" without higher honors. The country gentlemen dwelt in comfortable manor houses amid their broad acres, served as justices of the peace, and often sat in the House of Commons for their county or a neighboring town or borough. A great many of them took the king's side in the quarrels that filled the seventeenth century; but, on the other hand, some of the most spirited, like Pym, Hampden, and Cromwell, became the leaders of the people's party, first in challenging the conduct of the king, and finally in temporarily abolishing the monarchy.

In the thirteenth century the kings of England, in dire straits for money, had from time to time summoned lords of the realm and representatives of the counties and towns to a parliament to grant funds for the royal treasury. In the course of time this national organ grew into a tax-granting and lawmaking body, and with the passing years it often showed its boldness by asserting its powers in matters of government. In France and other European countries similar representative bodies sprang up during the Middle Ages, but most of them disappeared. In 1614, when the English revolution was germinating, the Estates General of France had their last session previous to 1789; the French crown was strong enough to dispense with the representative body entirely for one hundred and seventy-five years.

In addition to their Parliament, with its laws and customs, the English had also their *Magna Carta*. It too was a limitation on royal prerogative. It had been forced on King John in 1215; it had been renewed from time to time, and had been the subject of much learned comment by lawyers and judges. Now, that historic document contained many general clauses about the rights of subjects, about taxes, liberties, and privileges of freemen. These clauses, besides being written in Latin, were broad, vague, and obscure. With a little ingenuity the lawyers of the Stuart period, if so disposed, could find in the language of the Charter some justification for resisting the pretensions of the crown. As McKechnie, the modern commentator on the Charter, says of the celebrated jurist Coke, "In the skillful hands of Sir Edward, the Great Charter is made to attack the abuses of James or Charles rather than those of John or Henry, which its framers had in view." Englishmen, in overturning crown and Church, did not have to create any new theories of government or resort to the theory of natural rights, "written as with a sunbeam in the heart of man," as did the French revolutionists. They could revive and appeal to the ancient customs of Parliament and the broad prohibitions of *Magna Carta*.

In still another respect the English revolution differed from its French successor beginning in 1789. Both of them, it is true, involved an attack upon an established church; but there the analogy disappears. French writers, such as Voltaire, assailed the Catholic Church in the name of free thought, whereas the English critics of the established faith assailed it in the name of Christianity. In fact, the Church of England had scarcely been organized before clergymen within its fold, and humble folk without, began to propose changes in the liturgy and faith. Their proposals, ranging from minor matters to fundamental religious ideas, did not at first, however, embrace designs on the Church itself. It was to be "purified," and the advocates of reform were nicknamed Puritans. They thought that the Church was not religious enough, and they denounced games and pastimes, especially on Sundays, and advocated an austere life for all the people.

The Puritan agitation soon widened, and several sects or parties with widely differing views sprang up. There was a "Low Church" party ready to support the Established Church if all "superstitious usages" which recalled the Catholic Church were abolished. Then there were the Presbyterians, followers of John Calvin, who held that the Church should rightly be governed by ministers and elders instead of by bishops. Lastly there were the Independents, or Separatists. These rejected the Anglican and Presbyterian ideas of Church government and declared that each religious community should govern itself. To this view the Baptists and the Friends also inclined. Indeed the idea of self-government for each religious sect spread far and wide in England and Scotland as the spirit of religious dissent took hold of the masses.

From the point of view of the English crown and State Church this idea was nothing short of revolutionary. If there were to be no bishops and archbishops appointed by higher authorities to rule over the churches, if men were to claim the right to elect their own church officials, why should they not with equal reason claim the right to choose their own civil governors? In fact, this is exactly what happened. In the idea of *religious self-government* a discerning writer, Borgeaud, has found the germs of modern *political democracy*; and it must be remembered that this view could be cited, by the "Dissenters," from the New Testament, where anyone could read of the brethren of the first church at Jerusalem, who were drawn together in a common society after the death of Jesus. James I was not wholly without justification when he exclaimed bitterly, "A Scottish presbytery agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the Devil." The Bible had been translated into English, under the auspices of James himself, and spread broadcast by the printing-press. It was, indeed, the one book read by the masses, and in it they could find seemingly divine encouragement to resist the king and Church of England. "Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered! Like as the mist vanisheth, so shalt thou drive them away," exclaimed Oliver Cromwell as his "sober Christians" broke the king's best troops on the field of battle and with the sword subverted the old order in England.

How the English Executed their King

The first two Stuart kings, faced by changing economic conditions as commerce arose and flourished and by religious ferment on every hand, would have had troublous times even if they had been moderate, tolerant, and circumspect. But it happened that they did not have these qualities. They were, on the contrary, willful, opinionated, and singularly obtuse. The combined reigns of James I and Charles I, lasting from 1603 to 1649, in spite of occasional compliance with popular demands, were marked by increasing arbitrariness in conduct. Both of them taught and practiced the doctrine of divine right. They levied taxes without the consent of Parliament; they wrung "benevolences" and loans from their subjects; they collected "ship money," not only from the seaports, according to old rights, but also from the inland towns. They imprisoned men like John Hampden, who refused to pay taxes unauthorized by Parliament, and members of the House of Commons, like Pym and Eliot, who dared to protest openly against the conduct of the king and his ministers.

If Parliament was too insistent upon its rights, the king would refuse to summon it. James I once did without Parliament for six years, and Charles I for eleven years. When the Commons protested against royal measures, James I sent for their journals and with his own hands tore the resolutions of protest out of the record. Both James and Charles selected and favored bishops and archbishops who supported their extreme claims and taught the unquestioning obedience of subjects. Both of them dismissed judges who rendered decisions contrary to their pleasure, and employed a horde of zealous officials to arrest and imprison those who printed or circulated "seditious, schismatical, or other scandalous books."

To political difficulties were added religious controversies, which grew more and more bitter as sects multiplied in number. James I encountered the new doctrines of religious reformers in the second year of his reign, when several hundred clergymen petitioned for more freedom on some points of doctrine and service. After listening for a few moments with evident restraint, James burst out angrily: "No bishop, no king. . . . If this be all your party hath to say I will make them conform themselves or else harry them out of the land." By this sharp speech, says the historian Gardiner, "he sealed his own fate and that of England forever." Still James had not acted hastily. He was an eager student of affairs—"the most learned fool in Europe," as a French minister called him. He simply took the ground that one change might lead to another, until his whole system was undermined. He thought it safest and best, therefore, to make no concession at all and to stand firmly by things as he found them.

In dealing with those who refused to conform to the very letter of the law, the Stuarts declined to make any fine distinctions between moderate Puritans, who proposed slight innovations; Presbyterians, with their rival State Church; and Separatists, with their leveling doctrines. James and Charles lumped all Dissenters together as makers of trouble and dealt with them accordingly.

The Court of the Star Chamber, composed of royal judges, proved to be the pliant tool for "extirpating abominable opinions." Men of high and low rank fell under its displeasure. Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine who attacked the episcopacy in a savage manner, was fined £10,000, degraded, whipped publicly at Westminster, and set in the pillory. Not satisfied with this, the Court ordered that he should have one ear cut off, one side of his nose slit, one cheek branded with the letters "S. S." (sower of sedition), and that the whole cruel process should be repeated in another part of town the next week. Then, as if this were not enough, the victim was sentenced to prison for life. There were scores of cases almost as terrible as this, and hundreds of others revolting enough, if less horrible in details.

Persecution aroused thousands of people who had hitherto taken little interest in theological controversies. Moreover, it fused into one party of passionate hatred all opponents of monarchy by divine right. Men who were thrown into prison for refusing to pay taxes not authorized by Parliament found as companions in misery men whose offense had been writing books or pamphlets against the Established Church. Slowly Puritans, Independents, and Presbyterians were driven by oppression into a compact mass. Divided on everything else, all parties were united in opposition to the common enemy: the absolute monarch and the Established Church.

There was, in short, a conflict between the idea of royal supremacy and religious liberty that could not be settled. The only solution was the triumph of the one or the other, although for nearly forty years an attempt was made to solve the problem by the peaceful methods of negotiation. Had the king been willing slowly to surrender his prerogatives, he might have avoided a revolution; but neither James I nor Charles I was in any mood to surrender anything. When they yielded, they yielded to necessity, with bad grace, and only to break their pledges. They looked upon all criticism as seditious and all critics as fomenters of disorder.

James I took this position from the beginning of his reign. During the sessions of his first Parliament, the House of Commons laid a statement of its rights before him in the form of a moderate petition. The remonstrants were careful to aver that they came in the spirit of peace, with no thought of working the subversion of the "state ecclesiastical as it now stands," but they were explicit as to their rights: "Our privileges and our liberties are of right and due inheritance no less than our lands and goods. . . . The voice of the people in things of their knowledge is said to be as the voice of God." And they concluded by saying, "Our care is and must be to confirm the love and tie the hearts of your subjects, the Commons, most firmly to your Majesty." But even such language of respect and moderation excited the anger of the king and opened the way for endless bickerings and disputes.

After twenty years of conflict with James I, the House of Commons was stiffened in its determination to assert its claims; and early in the reign of his son, Charles I, it wrung from the crown the approval of a solemn declaration of privileges embodied in the Petition of Right. This document, approved in 1628, set forth three distinct propositions: imprisonment without lawful trial is illegal; martial law and orders instituting courts-martial are illegal; and taxes, loans, gifts, and benevolences without the consent of Parliament are unlawful. Though Charles I signed these articles, he had mental reservations at the time and immediately resorted to measures of illegal taxation. Finding Parliament insistent in the matter of its rights, he exclaimed that unless the members would do their duty he would be compelled to use those other means which God had put into his hand. With an angry gesture he dissolved the two Houses, and for eleven years governed personally without calling another session of Parliament. During this period he fined and imprisoned popular leaders, levied ship money, collected taxes, and issued decrees, declaring that he "hated the very name of Parliaments."

When, in 1640, Charles, heavily in debt and at the end of his resources, was again forced to call Parliament, he found no such moderate men as those he had faced eleven years before. Within a few months Parliament tried, condemned to death, and executed his favorite minister and adviser, the Earl of Strafford; abolished his two great agencies for oppressing his subjects, namely, the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission; drew up a program of reform in State and Church; and demanded the right to appoint and dismiss the royal ministers. The climax came when the House of Commons proposed that the command of the militia should pass from the king to its appointees. "If I granted your demands," retorted Charles, "I should be no more than the mere phantom of a king." That was true, and Charles would rather fight than to surrender prerogatives which he regarded as his right. So he raised the standard of war and summoned all faithful subjects to his side. That was on August 22, 1642. For six years, Cavaliers and Roundheads tried out their great issue on the field of battle.

At length, under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, the parliamentary army, composed largely of God-fearing and zealous men, triumphed everywhere, and the king was a prisoner in the hands of his angry subjects. Members of the House of Commons who now turned to measures of moderation and compromise were rudely expelled by soldiers, and the remnant —the "Rump"— created a high court for the trial of the sovereign. The result was foregone. Charles was condemned to death, and on January 30, 1649, he was executed at Whitehall. "The news of the king's death," says Green, "was received throughout Europe with a thrill of horror. The Tsar of Russia chased the English envoy from his court. The ambassador of France was withdrawn on the proclamation of the republic. . . . Holland took the lead in acts of open hostility."

England a Republic

Shortly after the execution of Charles, the "purged" House of Commons proclaimed the people of England "a Commonwealth and Free State," to be governed henceforward by "the representatives of the people in Parliament and such as they shall appoint and constitute officers and ministers for the good of the people and without any king or House of Lords." England was a republic. Its fate was in the hands of a few army officers and members of the House of Commons.

Now the real troubles of the revolutionists began. They were divided among themselves in the hour of triumph. A conservative wing proposed to limit the right of suffrage to property owners worth £200 or more; a radical faction would be satisfied with nothing short of manhood suffrage. "I would fain know," exclaimed one of their leaders, "what the soldier hath fought for all this while? He hath fought to enslave himself, to give power to men of riches, to men of estate, and to make himself a perpetual slave." Other radicals, not even content with political reforms, proposed to break up the estates of the great landlords and to give land to the peasants. "No man," wrote Winstanley, an ardent reformer of this school, "shall have any more land than he can labor himself. . . . If the rich still hold fast to this propriety of *Mine* and *Thine*, let them labor their own lands with their own hands; and let the common people that say the earth is *ours*, not *mine*, let them labor together and eat bread together upon the commons, mountains, and hills." After the execution of the king some of the radicals began to plow and dig the common lands of the villages, and others petitioned Cromwell and the army for land reforms. Extremists in religious matters and sects of various views attacked the Church and proposed a hundred schemes for reordering religious affairs. To complete the scene, disputes arose between the "Rump" Parliament and the army.

At the end of four years of wrangling, Cromwell ordered soldiers to clear the hall in which Parliament sat, shouting to the frightened members, "I will put an end to your prating." The Commonwealth had become a dictatorship, and Cromwell was the dictator. He was now given the title of Lord Protector, and for five years he ruled England with an iron hand. He collected taxes, appointed officers, imprisoned and exiled objectors, and waged war on land and sea against the Dutch, Irish, and Spanish. It is true that he made experiments in attempting to restore some kind of parliamentary government, but through them all he remained master of the situation.

The great hopes that had been raised in the day of revolution were not realized. The time was to come when the people of England were to govern through representatives and ministers of their own choosing, but it had not come in Cromwell's day. Worn out by labors and disease, he died in the early autumn of 1658, leaving his heritage of power to an amiable but weak and unworthy son. By this time a deep reaction toward the old monarchy had set in. A son of "the martyred king," who had been crowned as Charles II by a few faithful followers at Scone, in 1651, was called to the throne.

Restoration and Expulsion of the Stuarts

The return of Charles "from his travels" was the signal for severe measures against the surviving leaders of the revolution. Many men who had taken part in the execution of Charles I were cruelly done to death. Cromwell's bones were dug up and hung in chains. Law after law was passed restoring the Church of England to its old position and making even more stringent the penalties laid upon critics and Dissenters. The very name "Puritan" became an object of execration. But the changes wrought during twenty years of revolution could not be undone. Even if he had been so inclined, Charles II could not have restored all the autocratic practices of his father. Fortunately for him, perhaps, he had no such desire. He cared far more for pretty women, and for eating and drinking, than he did for the business of State. Having lived through troublous times, he was convinced that the world was a mad place and that one had better make oneself as comfortable as might be. A gentle but confirmed cynic, he was not going to risk his crown in any dangerous adventures. So he lived out his reign of twenty-five years and died, in 1685, a natural death, apologizing wittily at the very end for being so long in his taking-off.

His brother and successor, James II, was quite a different sort of person. He was a zealous Catholic; and though he promised at his accession to "preserve the Government both in Church and State as now established," he lost no opportunity to advance the interest of his faith. The law provided that only members of the English Church were eligible for public offices; but he appointed Catholics in spite of the law and obtained from a high court a decision in favor of the practice. He forbade the clergy to preach against his own religion and created anew the old Court of High Commission, to punish all critics.

To cap the climax, James II issued a general Declaration of Indulgence, which, in effect, swept away all the penal laws directed against Catholics and Dissenters alike. Thus, at one blow, he alienated the Church of England, which had been such a tower of strength to his father. At the same time, the Dissenters, glad to have freedom themselves, looked with dismay upon the emancipation of the Catholics and feared a return to papal supremacy even more than they feared the monopoly of the Anglican establishment. England was Protestant, and the spirit of Cromwell was not dead.

James learned this to his cost. Before the third year of his reign had expired, a group of influential lords sent a formal letter to William, Prince of Orange, who had married James's daughter, Mary, asking the Prince to come into England with an army and "restore English liberties." The invitation was answered promptly; at the head of a powerful army, William landed in England on November 5, 1688. James, alarmed at the course of events, sought to save his throne by making all kinds of promises and undoing his illegal measures, but it was too late. Deserted by his friends and his children, he fled to France, where he found refuge and comfort at the court of Louis XIV. Such was the "Glorious Revolution of 1688."

Emergence of Parliamentary Government

Before William and Mary were crowned, Parliament drew up an elaborate Declaration of Rights condemning the evil practices of James and asserting "the ancient liberties of English subjects." This document was solemnly read to William and Mary, and on this basis they were proffered the crown. They accepted the conditions (February, 1689), and thus the English monarchy was made to rest upon a definite agreement, or contract, with Parliament.

The principles of the Declaration were enacted into law, and the famous instrument became known as the Bill of Rights. According to its terms the royal suspension of laws, the creation of a Court of High Commission, and the maintenance of a standing army and the levying of taxes without the consent of Parliament are illegal; subjects have the right to petition the king; the election of members of Parliament must be free; freedom of speech in Parliament cannot be questioned outside of Parliament; excessive bail must not be required nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; and for the redress of grievances sessions of Parliament shall be held frequently.

Thus, after nearly a century of conflict, civil war, revolution, and reaction, a few simple principles, for which moderate members of the House of Commons had stood in the beginning, were formally and firmly established: no taxes could be laid or law passed or armed forces maintained without consent of Parliament; no subject could be unlawfully imprisoned by arbitrary act of the king; no laws could be set aside by mere royal decree; and there was to be no interference with freedom of debate in Parliament.

The period of English revolution also witnessed the rise of that extraordinary phenomenon of modern democracy, the political party. Before that time there had been in England and on the Continent many groups and factions in parliaments and outside them. They often engaged in bitter quarrels and frequently settled their disputes by fighting. Each of them, in the hour of triumph, often celebrated victory by putting the leaders of the opposition to death, as the Puritans had sent Charles I and his chief advisers to the scaffold. In taking this step the victorious faction resorted to the forms of law,—impeachment, with its solemn trial or a bill of attainder. It was in the closing years of the seventeenth century that these terrible methods were laid aside and the defeated leaders of the opposition were allowed to retire from the scene with their heads on their shoulders.

Indeed, at that time the two great English factions, Whigs and Tories, became so powerful that a general proscription of the fallen foemen was out of the question. The Whigs were the champions of a limited monarchy and of the rights of Parliament; the Tories were the champions of divine right and the unquestioning obedience of the subject. Such were the broad theories which the Whigs and Tories professed; but the roots of their differences lay deep in the social and economic life of the nation. "The loyal adherents of Charles I," says the historian May, "were drawn from the territorial nobles, the country gentlemen, the higher yeomanry, the Church, and the universities; the Parliament was mainly supported by the smaller freeholders, the inhabitants of the towns, and the Protestant Nonconformists. Seventy years afterwards, on the accession of George I, the classes were distinguished by similar principles."

Political parties, like the press, made for the development of public opinion. Party leaders, seeking votes at elections, attacked the government and the measures of their opponents, argued all manner of public questions, and encouraged the habit of debate and discussion. Arbitrary actions on the part of the government were sure to find frank critics in the party out of power. Those in charge of the government therefore had to be circumspect lest they should awaken an opposition that would turn them out of office. Slowly, but inevitably, power slipped from the hands of the king and a few ministers and the members of the House of Commons into the hands of the voters; that subtle force known as public opinion became the basis of political sovereignty. As a wag once remarked, in this way factions that had once broken heads in their efforts to obtain and hold office now resorted to the practice of counting heads and accepting the verdict of the count. Before many generations passed, as we shall see (pp. 250–251), the party became supreme, and the king was compelled to choose all his ministers from the group that had a majority in the House of Commons. Thus the party system helped to complete the popular control over government which only the boldest thinkers had dreamed of in the days of Charles I. At the same time it transferred to the forum of public opinion the discussion of measures and policies and prepared the way for modern democracy.

As the Whigs, chiefly the spokesmen for the business interests, increased in power and as the colonial and commercial expansion of England went on apace, it was inevitable that the government should have to deal more and more with large economic questions. In the course of time a school of writers appeared who dealt with every phase of economics: trade, shipping, colonies, currency, rent, taxation, tariffs, ship subsidies, bounties, and similar matters. Some of them attempted complete treatises and thus must be reckoned as the forerunners of Adam Smith and the modern school of economists.

Widely as the seventeenth-century economists differed on many matters, there was a general agreement on the proposition that the government should aid, protect, and support commerce and colonization. This theory of government was termed *mercantilism.*

Accordingly in the year 1651, while Cromwell was in power, a series of navigation acts and similar measures began to be passed, designed to protect English manufacturers and shippers against foreign competition and to make the English colonies tributaries to the prosperity of the business men of the mother country.[1] Long before the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 this policy had borne fruit in scores of statutes, and long afterward it continued to control the statesmen who dealt with colonial and commercial questions. There was hardly anything from cod and whale blubber to woolen cloth and cutlery that was not regulated by an act of Parliament. No one could buy or sell, manufacture or ship, save under the eagle eyes of the officers of the law.

Though it is the fashion of modern writers to criticize this policy, it is well to remember two things. The first is that under it England grew into the supreme commercial and colonial power of the world. The second is that all modern governments, including that of England, are following a similar policy today. The English Revolution of 1688 marked the triumph of mercantilism; and even if it was later rejected for a time, the end of this philosophy is not yet in sight.

Although the century of civil conflict in England inaugurated the system of mercantile measures that were destined to bring on the American Revolution, it was nevertheless favorable in many ways to colonial freedom. Engrossed in their domestic struggles, the kings of England had little time for interfering with American affairs. What they might have done if their hands had been free is illustrated by the measures of the ill-starred James II. Determined to make his subjects across the seas as well as at home feel the weight of his authority, he appointed a man after his own heart, Sir Edmund Andros, governor of all New England, New York, and New Jersey. Andros proceeded to collect all the old dues for which he could find color of title; he abrogated claims to lands when he thought them unlawful; he forced the Episcopal service upon the Old South Church in Boston; he denied the writ of habeas corpus to a minister who denounced taxation without representation.

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[1] See pages 173–174.

But such attempts were few and unsuccessful. In the main, the colonies enjoyed an extraordinary freedom from arbitrary interference on the part of the crown throughout the entire seventeenth century, the crucial days of American beginnings. In those early years the Americans acquired rights, established customs, and developed the machinery of self-government which later made independence possible. Moreover, the doctrines enunciated by the English revolutionists—doctrines of popular rights—afforded a whole armory of arguments when the Americans, in 1765, set out upon the course that led to their revolution.

Radical as the demands of the Cromwellian party seemed to Charles I, they were mild as compared with the measures which the French Revolution evoked more than a century later. In the course of the long upheaval in England there triumphed no such extreme doctrines of democracy as those which convulsed France when the storm broke there. As Macaulay says of the English revolution, "The laws had undergone little alteration. . . . The tenures of the soil were still to be learned from Littleton and Coke. The Great Charter was mentioned with as much reverence in the parliaments of the Commonwealth as in those of any earlier or any later age. . . . The bulk of the ecclesiastical property still remained. The colleges still held their estates. The parson still received his tithes. The Lords had, at a crisis of great excitement, been excluded by military violence; but they retained their titles and an ample share of public veneration." At the great settlement of 1689 all the old institutions were kept in form, if changed somewhat in spirit. The prerogatives of the king were curtailed and defined, but the crown remained an object of reverence. The constitution of the House of Lords and the House of Commons was absolutely unchanged. More merchants and country gentlemen had been elevated to the peerage, but the peers had lost none of their ancient rights in law-making. The same classes of people voted in 1689 as in 1603. The suffrage had not been extended, and the new towns that had sprung up had not been given representatives in the Commons.

The mass of the people—namely, the tillers of the soil—had taken little or no part in the revolutions, and their position had not been improved in any respect. Serfdom had disappeared in England before the conflict began, and the serfs had become tenants and agricultural laborers. Unlike the French peasants a hundred years later, they did not participate in uprisings against the king. It is true that a few spokesmen for the tenants and agricultural laborers, such as Winstanley, had begged that the land be taken from the great lords and given to the people, but they begged in vain. They petitioned that the common lands belonging to the villages, at least, should be put at the disposal of the man with a hoe; but their petitions were not granted. In fact, the English tillers of the soil sank lower and lower during the revolution and the years that followed it. Since the landed gentry were powerful in Parliament, they passed act after act inclosing the common lands attached to the villages, thus depriving the peasants of their rights to use such lands and enriching the already prosperous landlords. Down through the eighteenth century this process continued until the body of freeholders who owned and tilled their tiny farms almost disappeared. England became the paradise of the great landlord. So it happened that the serfs of England, instead of becoming small landowners, like their brethren across the Channel, sank into half-starved wage-earners. England, instead of developing into a country of farms tilled by men who owned and loved the soil, became a country of vast estates owned by lords, and tilled by day laborers less secure in their livelihood than their servile ancestors and in many respects worse off.

It was the pathetic state of the peasantry that long afterward called forth the lament of Goldsmith in *The Deserted Village*. It is true that he probably had in mind his native Irish village when he wrote, but his lines were equally applicable to the decaying peasantry of England:

> Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay:
> Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made:
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed, can never be supplied.

Censorship and Toleration

All the discussions about heavenly and earthly authority, of which we have been speaking in this and the previous chapter, inevitably raised the interesting question of how far the government was justified in punishing those who "murmured." Was it the duty of government officials to destroy or prevent the publication of books which they deemed treasonable, seditious, heretical, blasphemous, or indecent? Were they to arrest or silence those who criticized the monarch and his ministers or expressed doubts in regard to the accepted ideas of God and the Bible and the powers of the Church? It was unanimously agreed that it was the business of rulers and magistrates to punish those who disturbed peace and order. Did this prerogative extend to such talking and writing as seemed to the authorities to threaten the tranquillity or welfare of the realm? A speech, a book, or a pamphlet might easily have more far-reaching and disturbing effects on public opinion than any overt act. It might seem more deliberately criminal and inexcusable than some hasty deed of violence, of which the State would take immediate notice.

On the other hand, those who think that they have new and better ideas and plans than the prevailing ones naturally demand the right to be heard. They urge that if government officials are permitted to suppress or punish novel suggestions and free criticism, old mistakes and abuses can never be overcome nor new truth disseminated. The problem of "freedom of speech" was raised in the United States by the World War, and it is important to note the eloquent arguments of those former advocates of liberty who helped lay the foundations for such freedom of discussion as exists today.

During the Middle Ages the State supported the Church in punishing all who dared dissent from the official religious doctrines, and sometimes the universities established penalties for those who expressed disagreement with Aristotle. When printing was invented, measures were taken by the Church authorities to have manuscripts approved by a bishop or a board of censors before they could be legally printed. The Council of Trent established in 1563 a cumulative *Index of Prohibited Books*, including those that must be expurgated before being admitted to circulation. The first celebrated work to review all those precautions of the past and plead eloquently for the entire abolition of government censorship was the *Areopagitica*, by the poet John Milton.

Milton was a bold thinker and ardent reformer,—one who would be called a "radical" by most people today. He made an uncongenial marriage in 1643, when he was thirty-five, with a girl of seventeen. She speedily left him; and he published forthwith his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, in which he declared that the most substantial and holy justification of divorce was *incompatibility*. He rejected the doctrine that matrimony had a permanent sacramental sanction, and claimed that his contentions were based upon a proper interpretation of the Bible as well as upon the most profound dictates of reason, common sense, simple decency, and humanity. Domestic bondage was worse than any public tyranny; "for he in vain makes a vaunt of liberty in the senate or in the forum who languishes under the vilest servitude to an inferior at home."

In addressing his book on divorce to the Long Parliament, he says:

> If it were seriously asked who of all teachers and masters that ever have taught have drawn the most disciples after him, both in religion and manners, it might not untruly be answered, Custom. . . . Error supports Custom, Custom countenances Error. And these two would persecute and chase away all truth and solid wisdom out of human life. [These,] with the numerous and vulgar train of their followers, make it their chief design to envy and cry down the industry of free reasoning, under the terms "humor" and "innovation"; as if the womb of teeming Truth were to be closed up if she presumes to try to bring forth aught that sorts not with their unchewed notions and suppositions. . . . [Truth] never comes into the world but like a bastard, to the ignominy of him that brought her forth. . . . When points of difficulty are to be discussed appertaining to the removal of unreasonable wrong and burden from the perplexed life of our brother, it is incredible how cold, how dull and far from all fellow-feeling we are, without the spur of self-discernment.

Milton's recommendations in regard to easy divorce have now been accepted in many countries, but they aroused only scandal in England in the seventeenth century. Bishop Hall denounced his book as a licentious pamphlet; James Howell —whose letters are not wholly forgotten—called the poet "a poor, shallow-brained puppy." He was branded as the founder of a new sect of "divorcers." With his convictions in regard to the discovery of new Truth, the firm alliance of Custom and Error, together with "the spur of self-discernment" which had come to him through his ill-sorted marriage and the execrations heaped upon him and his book, it is not strange that Milton's proud spirit produced the *Areopagitica*.

Its object, he says, was to make plain "that the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and what to be suppressed, might no longer be intrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals, who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar superstition."

An attempt to describe the *Areopagitica* briefly is embarrassing; it flames beyond any feeble, second-hand report. Fortunately it has lived, and all can get and read it for themselves. It is not easy to find any stronger indictments against the habit, which was revived by the Long Parliament, of requiring the inspection and approval by government censors before a book could be legally issued. Truth was a temple still in the building; its foundations were scarcely laid. Each thinker worked on but a single stone, which might some day go into the final structure. Only a little had so far been discovered of all that still lay unknown to man. Nothing should hamper the progress of thought,—least of all, the foolish verdicts of official censors; for no man of parts would ever accept such a disreputable position. The censors never succeeded in guarding or purifying morals. Men could learn only from experience, not by having their beliefs guarded. And here Milton bursts out with the celebrated utterance

> I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out to see her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where the immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue, therefore, which

> is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness. . . . Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely and with less danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity than by reading all manner of tractates and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read.

Next to the *Areopagitica* John Locke's first letter on *Toleration*, published anonymously in 1689, is the most outstanding argument against governmental attempts to interfere with freedom of religious belief. It is neither so eloquent nor so broad in its scope as Milton's work, but it contains many weighty objections to persecution. Locke had become so unpopular with the government of Charles II that he went to Holland in 1683. There he made the acquaintance of some of the distinguished men who had sought safety in that tolerant land. Of these men something has already been said (see pages 38 ff.). After the accession of a Dutchman, William of Orange, to the English throne, Locke returned, and began at the age of fifty-six to publish the various works which were to give him a European reputation. He was a person of balanced good sense who abhorred all forms of religious fanaticism ("enthusiasm," as it was then called), and who wrote for the general reader with no academic affectations of learning.

To him religion was essentially righteous conduct fortified by a simple and sincere acceptance of the Gospel. He writes:

> I appeal to the conscience of those that persecute, torment, destroy and kill other men on pretense of religion, whether they do it out of friendship and kindness toward them, or no. And I shall then indeed, and not till then, believe they do so [in kindness] when I shall see these fiery zealots correcting in the same manner their

> friends and familiar acquaintances for the manifest sins they commit against the precepts of the gospel; when I shall see them prosecute with fire and sword the members of their own communion that are tainted with enormous vices and, without amendment, are in danger of eternal perdition.

The care of men's souls does not, he claims, belong in any way to the duties of government. Outward force will not purify belief. "Light can in no manner proceed from corporal sufferings or any other outward penalty." If it be urged that the orthodox church has a right to suppress the erroneous and heretical, this is just using "great and specious words to say nothing at all. For every church is orthodox to itself—to others, erroneous and heretical. Whatever any church believes, it believes to be true, and the contrary thereto it pronounces to be error. . . . The decision of that question belongs only to the Supreme Judge of all men, to whom alone belongs the punishment of the erroneous." Locke concludes:

> The sum of all we strive at is that every man may enjoy the same rights that are granted to others. Is it permitted to worship God in the Roman manner? Let it be permitted to do it in the Geneva form also. Is it permitted to speak Latin in the market place? Let those that have a mind to it be permitted to use it also in church. Is it lawful for any man in his own house to kneel, stand, sit or use any other posture; and to clothe himself in white or black, in short or long garments? Let it not be made unlawful to eat bread, drink wine or wash with water in the church. In a word, whatsoever things are left free by law in the common occasions of life, let them remain free unto every church in divine worship. . . . If solemn assemblies, observations of festivals, public worship be permitted to any sort of [religious] professors, all these things ought to be permitted to the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Quakers, and others with the same liberty. Nay, if we may openly speak the truth, and as becomes one man to another, neither pagan, nor Mahometan, nor Jew ought to be excluded from the civil rights of the commonwealth because of his religion.

Thus government was becoming disentangled from religion. The doctrine that the State was a result of man's fall, or a divine institution to be regulated and justified by citing passages from the Bible, gave way before the conviction that it was a practical human device which had nothing to do with things divine. The best-known exponent of this view was Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679). He wrote his *Leviathan* (first published in 1651) to prove that man's fears, mutual jealousies, and hates were so fundamental that only an absolute monarchy could possibly bring peace and order. This kind of absolutism was not founded upon God's beneficent care for man but upon man's fears and inveterate tendency to quarrel. Only an absolute monarch could control these.

Other writers, however, began to show a tendency to suggest as the rightful and ultimate source of government the people or their representatives rather than a king. This was Locke's point of view. His arguments were, like those of Hobbes, founded on man's nature and needs, not on God's will. After the Revolution of 1688 the English government's claims to power were based upon the laws of the realm, old and new, and not on the Bible or on any theological theory of the divine right of kings.

As a part of the settlement of 1689, a measure was enacted which was known as the Toleration Act, although it by no means granted religious freedom as understood today and did not sweep away the pains and penalties laid upon those who criticized or rejected the doctrines of the Church of England. It merely permitted certain Protestant denominations, such as Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians, to hold religious services and worship God according to their conscience. They were all required, however, to make certain declarations or to take certain oaths, and none of the privileges granted to Dissenters were extended to Catholics. Quite the contrary. The Toleration Act expressly excluded Catholics from the benefit of the law. It shut out Unitarians also, by withholding indulgence to those who denied the doctrine of the three members of the Trinity as set forth in English ecclesiastical law.

Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the toleration did not extend beyond freedom of religious worship. Dissenters and Catholics alike were still subject to many disabilities, such as exclusion from Parliament and public offices. They were also compelled to pay tithes to the support of a Church whose doctrines they rejected. Nevertheless, in an age when intolerance was the rule, and freedom the exception, the Toleration Act represented a remarkable advance. It was far ahead of anything which members of the House of Commons contemplated when they began their fateful struggle with James I in 1603.

In keeping with the spirit of a wider toleration, but not born of that spirit, was the abolition of the censorship of the press in 1695. Milton's plea had fallen on deaf ears. The Puritans, his own party, had been as savage in the prosecution of those who wrote in favor of the crown and Church as the government had been of those who had opposed them in the days of Elizabeth and James I. The restoration of Charles II, in turn, was the signal for the prosecution of the Puritans. By act of Parliament, printing was confined to four cities; the publication of books, papers, and pamphlets, even harmless news letters, was subject to official censorship. None could be issued without license and approval. Heavy penalties were imposed upon those who violated the law. Unfortunate printers were hanged, quartered, mutilated, pilloried, fined, or imprisoned, according to the temper of the judges that tried them. Still, the government could not prevent the surreptitious publication of books and pamphlets, the growth of religious dissent, or the development of political liberty. The Revolution of 1688 came in spite of James II's strict censorship of opinion.

Seven years later the Licensing Act, which instituted government control of printing, expired, and a committee of the House of Commons, headed by a stanch friend of liberty, made a report against renewing the law. The report was ingenious. It discussed, not the merits of liberty, but the exactions, inconveniences, and interference with business which the enforcement of the Licensing Act involved. Without realizing, it seems, the significance of its step, Parliament simply refused to renew the Licensing Act, and official censorship automatically fell to the ground. Printers were still liable for publishing indecent or libelous statements, but, subject to the law, they were free to print what they pleased.

The effect of the step was immediate. Until that time there had been many periodicals in England, but no newspaper except the *London Gazette*, which was published by the government. Within a few days after the fall of the censorship the newspaper *Intelligence Domestic and Foreign* appeared, and before many weeks had elapsed other journals of the same type were being hawked in the streets of London. The era of the modern newspaper, with its domestic and foreign news, its editorials, and its special articles, opened. The number of presses quickly multiplied. Each sect and party eagerly seized the opportunity to print books and pamphlets designed to edify its adherents and secure new recruits. A great army of writers on political and religious themes began to congregate in the capital. Though they were careful to speak respectfully of the king, they did not shrink from attacking his ministers and discussing his measures.

In a short time men of the highest intellectual caliber employed their talents in writing for daily and weekly journals—men like Swift, Steele, Addison, and Bolingbroke, whose prose has seldom been equaled in any age. Some timid spirits, alarmed at the partisan rancor and personal abuse that crept into the newspapers, longed to restore the censorship again; but the genie had been let out of the bottle, and there was no way of getting the mysterious thing back again. Save in times of crises the heavy hand of the government was restrained, and freedom of opinion made steady headway.

The difficult problem of free speech and publication has by no means been settled, and keeps presenting itself in our own country. Constitutions practically always proclaim freedom of speech and of the press and complete religious toleration, but with reservations in regard to the abuse of this liberty. These give abundant excuse in periods of excitement, especially in war time, for special laws and police interference in the alleged interests of good order. The ideas of Milton and Locke are at least legally sanctioned by all modern constitutions. But mankind is naturally too intolerant to obey its own laws when passions are aroused.

CHAPTER IV

KINGLY FIGHTS OVER LANDS AND PEOPLES

Background of our Modern States

Almost everyone believes unquestioningly that governments are essential to mankind, and it is assumed that without them there would be only terror and depredation. The fundamental business of government is, then, to maintain order within and protect its people against attacks from without. Governments, however, have by no means confined themselves to minding their own business. Ambitious rulers have from time immemorial engaged in conflicts with other governments on one pretext or another, and the habit seems inveterate.

Political history has to do with governments and states—with their organization, their laws, their increase or diminution of territory, and, above all, with the wars in which they engaged to win more land or protect what they already had. With these wars historians have been accustomed to deal with particular ardor, since they are the most spectacular of the activities of governments. And yet the story of military enterprises is a dreary one. The excuses for fighting usually seem to a distant onlooker to have been trifling or downright wicked. When accounts of wars are reduced to a few paragraphs they have a dull sameness. They lose all vividness and, differing only in the names of the states involved and of the battle grounds, are easily forgotten.

Nevertheless it is certain that modern European states have spent a great part of their energy and resources fighting one another. Wars have been deemed not only unavoidable but glorious enterprises, when successful. Two very excellent reasons can be given for reviewing military and even diplomatic history, in spite of the fact that the record of these "enterprises in mutual damage and discomfort" may make little appeal to the reader—or to the writers, for that matter. First, the story reveals the predatory habits of governments; what the police might call their criminal record; their scheming and dishonesty and reckless sacrifice of lives in the interest of some family squabble. There is at present an unprecedented effort to abolish war, and its ghastly history may help to change men's minds. In the second place, it has been mainly through force, directly or indirectly, that the boundaries of the existing states of the world have been established. Nations, it is true, are not wholly the result of the perennial war game; but the stakes, the winnings and losings of royal and political gamesters of yore, explain much that otherwise could not be at all understood.

It will be observed that family relations—marriages, the birth and death of princes—have played a great part in political history down to our own day, though ever lessening in importance. Kingship was considered a sort of private possession of a family, to be handed down to the direct heir or nearest relative by birth, subject to many interferences and disappointments. Sovereignty was a kind of property, like a plot of land or a silver cup, and could be transmitted from generation to generation in the same way. There was the heir "apparent," who would lawfully succeed to the throne if he did not die before his ancestor who was then ruling; the heir "presumptive," who would be ruler if the king had no more children. One could lay claim to a kingdom through his mother or wife as he might to a house or cow. Uncles might well relish the news of the premature demise of a dear nephew. Even an unborn babe could be a king by right. So it comes about that histories are often supplied with elaborate genealogical tables exhibiting the excuses for innumerable invasions undertaken in order to seize a new crown which had belonged to some, often very distant, relative. The particular details in any particular case are unimportant, but many instances of this proprietary conception of the state will appear as we proceed.

REALMS OF THE QUARRELSOME EUROPEAN RULERS

In studying the emergence of the present European governments we can make a start with the map as it was when a prime disturber of the peace, Louis XIV, took the French rule in hand (1661), shortly after Charles II had regained the English throne. The western part of Europe appears much as it still does. There are Great Britain and Ireland (under a single ruler), Spain and Portugal, France, the United Netherlands (Holland), Denmark and Sweden, all looking very familiar. But if we look farther east there have evidently been many changes. Most of the area now occupied by the German republic, the pre-war Austrian realms, and, on the west, what is now Belgium constituted the Holy Roman Empire. What the Turkish invasions had left of Hungary formed a narrow strip under the Austrian Hapsburgs, just east of the Empire.

There was no kingdom of Italy but a group of principalities, republics (Venice and Genoa), the papal possessions (States of the Church), and the possessions of Spain (Naples, Sicily, Milan, and Sardinia) which had been acquired when the vast realms of Charles V had, a century earlier, been apportioned between the Austrian and the Spanish Hapsburgs. Spain ruled, also, over what is now Belgium (the Spanish Netherlands)—although this was a part of the Holy Roman Empire—and Franche-Comté. For this particular piece of territory Louis XIV lusted, as he considered it by nature a part of France. The Swiss cantons nestled in their valleys amid their majestic mountains as they do today.

The momentous name "Prussia" was confined to a bit of land on the eastern Baltic, surrounded by the republic of Poland. It was, however, under the rule of the House of Hohenzollern, which had its headquarters in Berlin, in the duchy of Brandenburg, with some holdings near or on the Rhine.

What has gone to make up the Balkan States of today was under the rule of the Turkish Sultan, with his capital at Constantinople. To the northeast lay the vast territories of the Tsar of Russia, who had as yet not been received into the contentious family of nations. The reader is advised to pause here and study the map; it will save him a great deal of trouble if he has in mind the distribution of European territory from Dublin to Constantinople when Louis XIV and his generals began to harass their neighbors with a view to extending French control.[1]

Of the English experiments in government, and the outcome, something has been said in the preceding chapter. So we may turn to France and its ruler, who kept the eyes of other European potentates riveted upon him for over half a century.

THE FRENCH MONARCHY

It was in the year 987 that Hugh Capet was crowned king of France and began the long struggle against feudal lords which ended in the unity of France and the supremacy of the crown. From about the year 1100 the French kings began to get the better of their vassals, and they succeeded, with some setbacks, in holding the many provinces of France firmly in their grip. In the age of the Protesant Revolt it looked as if the warring religious factions—Catholics and Huguenots—might break the kingdom to bits again, but after many decades of religious conflict and general disorders unity was restored once more.

After the close of the wars of religion Henry of Navarre (1589–1610), Louis XIV's grandfather, reformed and strengthened the royal power. He had himself been a Protestant in his earlier days and consequently treated the Huguenots with consideration; he assigned them fortified cities of refuge and granted them certain privileges in order to protect them from attacks by their Catholic enemies. Though Henry was assassinated in 1610, and his great work was left half done, he has always remained a heroic and popular figure.

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[1] The chief struggles which reduced western Europe to its status in the seventeenth century and left Germany and Italy in a state of feudal dissolution are sketched in Robinson's *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, Vol. I, a proper prelude to this volume.

Henry's son, Louis XIII, had little capacity, and he prudently delegated the direction of the government to Cardinal Richelieu, probably the greatest minister that France has ever had. Richelieu found that the Huguenots, owing to the exceptional position in which Henry had placed them, were "sharing the monarchy with the king," as he expressed it. He accordingly reduced them to the position of ordinary subjects by depriving them, after a struggle, of the cities of refuge granted them by Henry IV.

The strength of the disorderly tendencies of the nobility had much increased during the turmoil of the prolonged wars of religion. Richelieu accordingly ordered the destruction of all the unnecessary castles and fortresses within the realm, on the ground that they served as so many temptations to resist the king's officers. These officers themselves, who too often acted as if they were absolute rulers in their districts, were strictly watched and corrected by the minister. This policy was continued by Richelieu's successor, Cardinal Mazarin.

When Mazarin died, in 1661, he left to the young monarch a kingdom such as no previous French king had ever enjoyed. The nobles were no longer feudal lords but only courtiers. The Huguenots, whose claim to occupy a place in the state beside the Catholics had led to the terrible civil wars of the sixteenth century, were reduced in numbers and no longer held their fortified towns. Richelieu and Mazarin had successfully taken a hand in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), and France had come out of it with enlarged territory and increased importance in European affairs.

Louis XIV (1643–1715) carried the work of these great ministers still further. He gave that despotic form to the monarchy which it retained until the French Revolution. He made himself the very mirror of kingship. His brilliant court at Versailles became the model and the despair of other, less opulent and powerful princes, who accepted his theory of the absolute authority of kings and would gladly have imitated his luxury. By his incessant wars of aggression he kept Europe in turmoil for over half a century. The distinguished generals—Turenne, Condé, and Vauban—who led his newly organized troops, and the unscrupulous diplomats who arranged his alliances and negotiated his treaties, made France feared and respected by even the most formidable of the other powers.

Louis had the same idea of kingship which the first Stuart king of England, James I, had fifty years earlier tried in vain to induce the English people to accept. God had given kings to men, and it was God's will that monarchs should be regarded as his lieutenants and that all those subject to them should obey them absolutely, without asking any questions or making any criticisms; for in yielding to their princes they were really yielding to God himself. The Bible was used (as was pointed out in the previous chapter) to prove that the person of the king was sacred and that to attack in any way the anointed of the Lord was sacrilege. If the king were good and wise, his subjects should thank the Lord; if he proved foolish, cruel, or perverse, they must accept their evil ruler as a punishment which God had inflicted upon them for their sins. But in no case might they limit his power or rise against him.

Louis had one distinct advantage over the Stuart kings. The English had generally shown themselves more reluctant than the French to place absolute power in the hands of their rulers. By her Parliament, her courts, and her various declarations of the nation's rights, England, as we have seen, had built up traditions which made it impossible for the Stuarts to establish their claim to be absolute rulers.

In France, on the other hand, there was no Great Charter or Petition of Right; nor had a representative body like the English Parliament developed which could restrain the king and his officers by refusing to grant them money. The French kings, it is true, had, from about the year 1300, been accustomed to call together from time to time representatives of the three estates of the realm, namely, the nobility, the clergy, and the so-called "third estate," or townspeople. But the Estates General, as this body was called, assembled only at rare intervals; and while they often protested against heavy taxes and bad government, they did not hold the purse strings. The French king was consequently permitted to raise money without asking the permission of the Estates or previously redressing the grievances which they chose to point out. The king could therefore cheerfully dispense with these assemblies, especially as he did not relish their criticisms and demands for reform. When Louis XIV came to the throne, twenty-nine years had passed without a meeting of the Estates General, and a century and a quarter was still to elapse before they were again summoned, in 1789.

The French people placed far more reliance upon a powerful king than the English, because France was not protected by the sea from its neighbors, as was England. On three sides France had enemies ready to take advantage of any weakness or hesitation which might arise from dissension between a parliament and the king; so the French had become accustomed to leave matters of government to the monarch's judgment, even if they suffered at times from his tyranny.

The powers which the French king exercised were more extensive than those which English sovereigns enjoyed, even in the Tudor age. He was permitted to take as much of his people's money as he could get, and to do with it what he would, since he could both impose new and increase old taxes. No distinction was made between his private funds and the state treasury, from which he could help himself freely, spending what his subjects could ill afford to give him in presents to courtiers, reckless extravagance, or needless wars. What was worse, he could, by simply signing an order, imprison anyone he wished, for any length of time, without any legal proceedings. He could call before him any case which was being tried in the courts and decide it as he pleased. More will be said of the powers of the French kings when we come to see how they lost them in the great Revolution of 1789.

Louis XIV was personally well adapted to assume the rôle of God's representative on earth. He was handsome, of elegant and courtly mien and the most exquisite perfection of manner; even when playing billiards he retained an air of world mastery. The first of the Stuarts, on the contrary, had been a very awkward man, whose slouching gait, intolerable manners, and pedantic conversation were utterly at variance with his lofty pretensions. Louis added to his noble appearance a sound judgment and quick apprehension. He said neither too much nor too little. He was, for a king, a hard worker, spending several hours a day attending to the business of government.

It requires, in fact, a great deal of energy and application to be a real despot. In order to understand and to solve the problems which constantly face the ruler of a great state, a monarch must, like Frederick the Great or Napoleon, rise early and toil late. Louis was greatly aided by the able ministers who sat in his council, but he always retained for himself the place of first minister. He would never have consented to be dominated by an adviser, as his father had been by Richelieu. "The profession of the king," he declared, "is great, noble, and delightful if one but feels equal to performing the duties which it involves," and he never harbored a doubt that he himself was born for the business.[1]

Louis XIV was careful that his surroundings should suit the grandeur of his office. His court was magnificent beyond anything that had been dreamed of in the Occident. He had an enormous palace constructed at Versailles, just outside of Paris, with interminable halls and apartments and with a vast garden stretching away behind it. About this a town was laid out, where all those lived who were privileged to be near His Majesty or supply the wants of the royal court. This palace and its outlying buildings, including two or three less gorgeous residences for the king when he occasionally tired of the ceremony at Versailles, probably cost the nation about a hundred million dollars, in spite of the fact that thousands of peasants and soldiers were forced to aid in the construction of the buildings and parks without remuneration. The furnishings and decorations were as rich and costly as the palace was splendid. But it may be observed that in spite of all its grandeur the palace was a chilly place in winter, lighted only with hundreds of candles and lacking the decencies of a shipshape modern American farmhouse. Perfume was easier had than cleanliness. For over a century Versailles continued to be the home of the French kings and the seat of their government.

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[1] There is no reason to suppose that Louis himself ever used the famous expression "I am the State," but it exactly expresses his idea of government.

This splendor and luxury helped to attract the nobility, who no longer lived on their estates in well-fortified castles, planning how they might escape the royal control. They now dwelt in the effulgence of the king's countenance; they saw him to bed at night, and in stately procession they greeted him in the morning. It was deemed a high honor to hand him his shirt as he was being dressed, or, at dinner, to provide him with a fresh napkin. Only by living close to the king could the courtiers hope to gain favors, pensions, and lucrative offices for themselves and their friends, and perhaps occasionally to exercise some little influence upon the policy of the government. For they were now entirely dependent upon the good will of their monarch.

The exalted position of the French king, his claims to concentrate in his person, by God's will, all the powers of government without the coöperation or participation of his people, is a matter of the utmost significance in appreciating the history of Europe during the following centuries. Only in the light of these pretensions can the French Revolution be understood. It must also be remembered that the other European sovereigns claimed, in general, similar powers and prerogatives. The various ways in which each was finally forced or induced, during the nineteenth century, to accept a constitution which limited his arbitrary control and gave the people a voice in the government are among the most important subjects which we shall have to study. Finally, the complete destruction of a score of ancient monarchies and principalities forms one of the most striking chapters in the history of the World War, which closed in 1918.

Louis XIV was not indifferent, however, to the welfare of the nation over which he believed God had called him to rule. He permitted his distinguished adviser, the financier Colbert, trained in the service of Mazarin, to remedy such abuses as he could, and even to undertake certain important reforms. Colbert, to whom France still looks back with gratitude, early discovered that Louis's officials were stealing and wasting vast sums. The offenders were arrested and forced to disgorge, and a new system of bookkeeping was introduced, similar to that employed by business men.

He then turned his attention to increasing the manufactures of France, both by establishing new industries and by seeing that the older ones kept to a high standard, which would make French goods sell readily in foreign markets. He argued justly that if foreigners could be induced to buy French products, these sales would bring gold and silver into the country and so enrich it. With the ardor of a "mercantile" economist (see page 73) he made rigid rules as to the width and quality of cloths which the manufacturers might produce and the dyes which they might use. He even reorganized the medieval guilds and encouraged their monopoly; for through them the government could keep an eye on all the manufacturing that was carried on. This would have been far more difficult if everyone had been free to engage in any trade that he might choose. There were serious drawbacks to this kind of government regulation, but France accepted it, nevertheless, for many years.

It was, however, as a patron of art and literature that Louis XIV gained even more celebrity. Molière, who was at once a playwright and an actor, delighted the court with comedies in which he delicately satirized the foibles of his time. Corneille, who had gained renown by the great tragedy of *The Cid* in Richelieu's day, found a worthy successor in Racine, perhaps the most distinguished of French tragic poets. The charming letters of Madame de Sévigné are models of prose style and serve at the same time to give us a glimpse into the more refined side of the court. In the famous memoirs of Saint-Simon, the weaknesses of the king, as well as the numberless intrigues of the courtiers, are freely exposed with inimitable skill and wit.

Men of letters were generously aided by the king with pensions. Colbert encouraged the French Academy, which had been created by Richelieu. This body gave special attention to making the French tongue more eloquent and expressive by determining what words should be used. It is to this day the greatest honor that a Frenchman can obtain to be made one of the forty members of this celebrated group. It will be recalled that Colbert founded in 1666 the French Academy of Sciences, which has since done so much to extend knowledge; he had an astronomical observatory built at Paris, and gave his support and protection to a magazine devoted to careful reviews of new books, the *Journal des Savants*, which is still published regularly. The Royal Library, which then consisted of about sixteen thousand volumes, began to grow into a vast collection. Today the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, as it is called, is one of the greatest libraries in existence; it possesses more than three million volumes, and attracts scholars from all parts of the world to Paris. In short, Louis and his ministers believed one of the chief objects of any government to be the promotion of art, literature, and science, and the example they set has been followed by almost every modern state.

Just before religious toleration was proclaimed in England, Louis XIV exhibited a woeful want of statesmanship in the treatment of his Protestant subjects. The Huguenots, deprived of their former military and political power, had turned to manufacture, trade, and banking; "as rich as a Huguenot" had become a proverb in France. There were perhaps a million of them among fifteen million Frenchmen, and they undoubtedly formed by far the most enterprising part of the nation in business. The Catholic clergy, however, did not cease to urge the complete suppression of heresy.

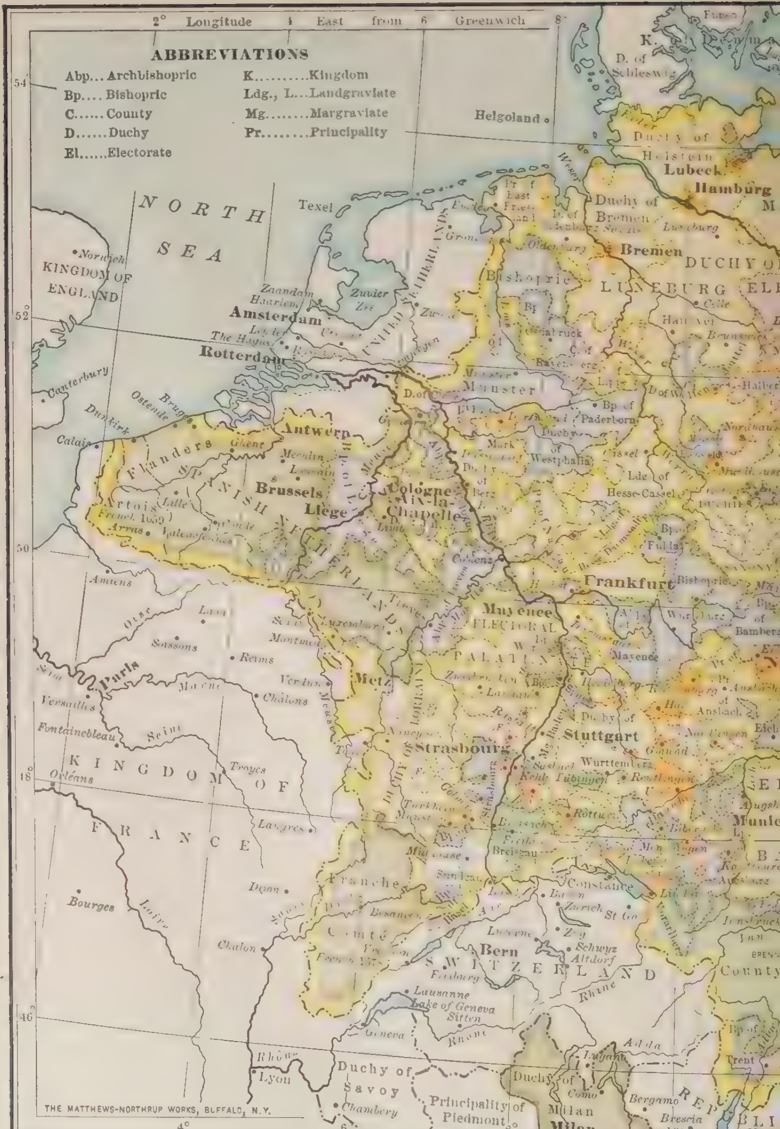
Louis XIV had scarcely taken the reins of government into his own hands before the perpetual hostile treatment to which the Protestants had been subjected at all times took a more serious form. Upon one pretense or another their churches were demolished. Children were authorized to renounce Protestantism when they had reached the age of seven. If they were induced by the offer of a toy or a sweetmeat to say, for example, the words "Ave Maria" (Hail, Mary), they might be taken from their parents to be brought up in a Catholic school. In this way Protestant families were pitilessly broken up. Rough and licentious dragoons were quartered upon the Huguenots with the hope that the insulting behavior of the soldiers might drive the heretics to accept the religion of the king.

At last Louis was led by his officials to believe that practically all the Huguenots had been converted by these drastic measures. In 1685, therefore, he revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had secured their liberties under Henry IV; and the Protestants thereby became outlaws, and their ministers subject to the death penalty. Even liberal-minded Catholics, like the kindly writer of fables La Fontaine and the charming letter-writer Madame de Sévigné hailed the reëstablishment of "religious unity" with delight. They believed that only an insignificant and seditious remnant still clung to the beliefs of Calvin. But there could have been no more serious mistake. Thousands of the Huguenots succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the royal officials and fled, some to England, some to Prussia, others to America, carrying with them their skill and industry to strengthen France's rivals. This was the last great and terrible example of that fierce religious intolerance which produced the Albigensian Crusade, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

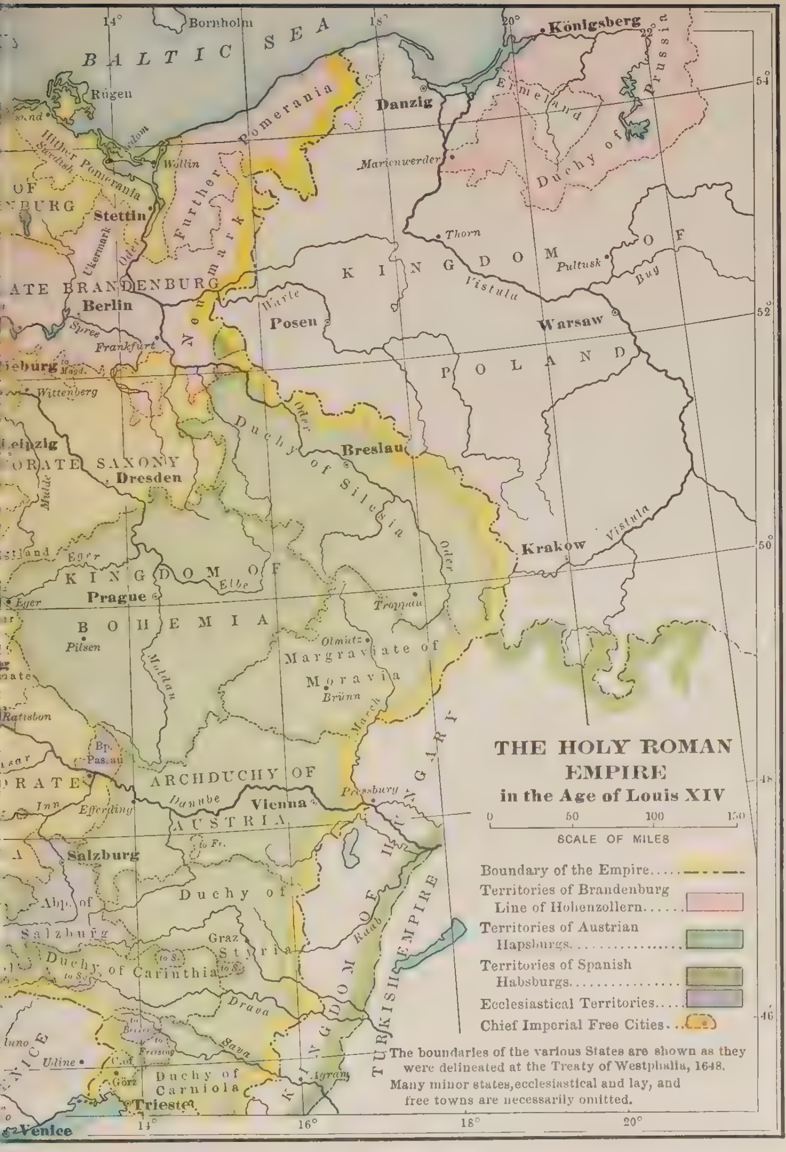
The Holy Roman Empire

"Holy Roman Empire" was certainly a strange name for the German lands. The Empire, as Voltaire said, was neither holy nor Roman; nor was it really an empire, but the most confused congeries of governments—some with fair-sized territories, some tiny as a large private estate, some single towns. It was a survival of Charlemagne's days. He had built up an empire comprising not only Germany but France and Italy (as far south as Rome). Having helped the Pope out of difficulties, he was crowned Emperor by Leo III on Christmas Day, 800. A woman of evil fame had usurped the throne of the surviving eastern portions of the old Roman Empire, and "the name of Emperor had ceased among the Greeks." So it seemed good not only to the Pope but "to all Christian men that they should name Charles, King of the Franks, Emperor. For he held Rome itself, where the ancient Cæsars had always dwelt, in addition to all his other possessions in Italy, Gaul and Germany." Thus report the *Chronicles of Lorsch.*

This historical accident had no appreciable effect on the Eastern, or Greek, Empire, which went its own way until finally the Turks took its capital in 1453. But it put ideas into the



THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.



THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE in the Age of Louis XIV

The boundaries of the various States are shown as they were delineated at the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648. Many minor states, ecclesiastical and lay, and free towns are necessarily omitted.

heads of the German kings, and they endeavored for hundreds of years to keep both Germany and Italy in hand. This led to successive excursions across the Alps, during which the German nobles at home often seized the opportunity to revolt against their ruler. It involved also many a struggle with the popes, notoriously that between Henry IV and Gregory VII. One cannot understand the unification of Germany and Italy in the nineteenth century without going back to their precarious union in the ninth.

How the addition of "Holy" was made to this frantic Empire is not known. But at least among Germans and Italians many dreamed of an ideal arrangement which would bring all Christendom under one prince who would see to their worldly welfare even as the other great power, the papacy, controlled their spiritual life. Dante, in his work on government, *De Monarchia*, holds that there should be a universal monarch in the image of the Roman Emperor. "Man has need of two guides, one the Supreme Pontiff to lead mankind to eternal life, according to the things revealed to us; the other, the Emperor, to direct mankind to happiness in this world, so that in this little plot of earth belonging to mortal man life may pass in freedom and peace." This was, however, as James Bryce points out, an epitaph, not a prophecy.

The most energetic emperors of the Middle Ages, like Otto the Great, Henry IV, and Frederick Barbarossa, had never succeeded in getting the better of their powerful vassals and binding their territories into a consolidated monarchy, such as France became. On the contrary, the central power had grown weaker and weaker, while the various dukes, counts, bishops, abbots, and free towns went their own way, paying less and less attention to the Emperor, coining their own money, raising their own taxes, and, for that matter, fighting their own wars, for each country was permitted to conclude treaties with other countries, as if it were quite independent.

The Emperor, who regarded himself as the successor of the

Roman emperors, was selected in a peculiar manner. He did not inherit the crown, but was chosen by a few of the German rulers who had long enjoyed this right and were consequently called "electors." As they often appear in history, it may be worth while to remember their names. There were first the three ecclesiastical electors,—the archbishops of Mainz, of Trèves, and of Cologne,—who were not only prelates but princes, and who, as their possessions lay upon the Rhine, consequently had much to do with France. Close to them, geographically, was the elector of the Palatinate; then, farther east, the elector of Saxony, and, to the north, the elector of Brandenburg, who was to assume in 1700 the title of "King in Prussia." The seventh elector was the king of Bohemia.[1]

Although the Empire was not hereditary it became so in practice, for since the fourteenth century the electors had been accustomed to select as Emperor the ruler of the Austrian dominions. They were free, however, at any time to choose someone else, and Francis I of France, Henry VIII of England, and other foreign candidates had occasionally had some hopes of securing the imperial crown. Even Louis XIV was induced at one time to make an effort to have himself chosen Emperor and spent some money in gaining the good will of the electors.

The Empire had a general congress, or diet, to which the various members of the union sent representatives and which met at Ratisbon, on the Danube. It had little power and was so badly organized and so slow in its proceedings that business dragged along literally for centuries. The Emperor, as emperor, had little or no steady revenue, and the imperial army was made up of contingents from the various states, which came together very reluctantly and tardily. Consequently, although we hear of the Empire entering into treaties of alliance, participating in wars and concluding treaties of peace, it must be remembered that no one, not even the diet or the Emperor himself, had any particular interest in the Empire as such; everything really depended upon the individual German princes, among whom the ruler of the Austrian territories was the most important.

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[1] This title had been held for some time by the Emperor himself, since Bohemia formed a part of the Austrian dominions. The original number of electors was increased by the addition of the Duke of Bavaria during the Thirty Years' War and, later, the Duke of Hanover, father of George I of England.

The House of Hapsburg, to which the Austrian territories belonged, and which had so long held the office of Emperor, had slowly accumulated its various kingdoms, duchies, counties, etc., by conquest, inheritance, intrigue, and fortunate marriages, running back into the Middle Ages. In the treaty of Nimwegen with France, the Emperor is called "Most serene and mighty Lord Leopold, Emperor elect of the Romans,[1] ever august, King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Margrave of Moravia, Duke of Luxemburg, of Upper and Lower Silesia, Württemberg and Teck, Prince of Swabia, Count of Hapsburg, Tyrol, Kyburg and Görz, etc." Some minor possessions are here modestly omitted; but, on the other hand, Leopold's title "King of Germany" was meaningless, and Louis XIV protested against his still calling himself Duke of Burgundy, since the duchy of Burgundy had belonged to France for over a century.

As for Hungary, that was mostly in the hands of the Turks, with whom the Hapsburg princes had been warring for two centuries. As late as 1683 the Mohammedans were besieging Vienna itself, which was saved only by the timely intervention of the Polish king. After this defeat, however, the power of the Turks rapidly declined, and the Hapsburgs were able in 1699 to force the Sultan to acknowledge their title to Hungary.

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[1] This title "Emperor elect" meant that the Emperor had been chosen by the electors but had not as yet been crowned by the Pope. It was first assumed by Maximilian in 1580 with the Pope's permission; and after his time, although no Emperor ever went to Rome to be crowned by the Pope, as had been the custom earlier, they continued to use the title *Imperator electus.*

It was but natural that the eyes of the Emperor should be turned rather to the east than to the west, since his realms lay mainly to the east of Germany proper and his capital was Vienna,—not Ratisbon, where the diet met, nor Frankfurt-on-the-Main, where the imperial elections took place.

As for the rest of the states included in the Holy Roman Empire, two or three hundred in number, they differed widely in size and character. One had a duke, another a count at its head, while others were ruled by prelates, archbishops, bishops, or by the heads of monasteries—abbots, abbesses, and priors. There were many cities, like Nuremberg, Augsburg, Frankfurt, Worms, and Cologne, which were just as independent as Bavaria, Württemberg, or Saxony. Lastly there were the imperial knights, whose whole possessions might consist of a single strong castle with a wretched village lying at its base. The burgravate of Reineck[1] is said to have included one castle and twelve poor subjects; the standing army of Count Leimburg-Styrum-Wilhelmsdorf[1] was composed of one colonel, nine other officers, and two privates.

Now, it so happened that it was the southwestern portions of the Empire on both sides of the Rhine and nearest France that were most broken up into weak and helpless little principalities. It is no wonder that Louis was encouraged to add, bit by bit, through war or by digging up dubious old feudal claims, the region between France and the Rhine, where he already had so many little *enclaves*, or islands of territory. Next to the French boundary lay the duchy of Lorraine, whose duke suffered so much from Louis that he finally took service in the Austrian army. Three bishoprics within his domain—Metz, Verdun, and Toul—fell into the hands of France about the middle of the sixteenth century. Alsace, before portions of it were ceded to France in 1648, was divided into some forty independent or dependent little countries, not including the ninety villages of the knights. There were the bishopric of Strasbourg, the realms of several abbots and counts, and ten independent towns besides the great free city of Strasbourg.

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[1] The reader will search the map in vain for these and other equally insignificant territories too small to be indicated.

To the north of Alsace lay the ragged possessions of the elector of the Palatinate, which Louis hoped to add to France; east and west of him were the lands of the ecclesiastical electors of Mainz and Trèves, still farther down the Rhine those of the elector of Cologne, and near him the Prussian duchy of Cleves. To the west of Cologne was the duchy of Jülich, and then right in the midst of the Spanish Netherlands the bishopric of Liége. Besides these there were other territories, some too small to appear on even a good map. It will be clear that it is almost impossible to give with any exactness the number of countries which went to make up the singular union known as the Holy Roman Empire. The manner in which Germany finally consolidated itself under the influence of French aggression— which by no means ceased with the death of Louis XIV—will prove one of the most astonishing and decisive events in this narrative.

CONSTRUCTING THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA

That a kingdom should come into existence, extending before the World War all the way from Russia to France, is one of the most astonishing results of a long series of seeming accidents. It it hard to tell where the tale of Prussia's development should begin. In the early Middle Ages a great part of northern Germany was occupied by Slavs. But along the eastern shores of the Baltic were other peoples—Letts, Lithuanians, and Borussians—whose languages were not Slavic but belonged, nevertheless, to the Indo-European, or Aryan, class of speech. Of the origin and arrival of these tribes little or nothing is known.[1] They were doughty pagans and long fought against the efforts of Russians, Poles, and Germans to conquer them and bring them into the fold of Christianity.

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[1] What is left of these peoples received national recognition after the World War in the creation of Lithuania and Latvia (the land of the Letts). Estonia is inhabited by a people allied to the Finns and Hungarians in language.

The early German kings, after Charlemagne's time, established a North Mark, or border province, as an advance post from which the Slavs beyond the Oder might be conquered and Christianized. This task proceeded slowly but steadily. The North Mark came to be called Brandenburg, from one of its chief fortresses, and Albert the Bear (d. 1170) was the first margrave of Brandenburg. Later the title of "margrave" gave way to that of "elector." Early in the fifteenth century, after many vicissitudes, the electorate came into the hands of Emperor Sigismund, who, being hard up, sold it to the hitherto inconspicuous House of Hohenzollern, which is familiar to us through its representatives, Frederick the Great, William I (the first emperor of united Germany), and William II, his grandson, the "Kaiser" of the World War. While it was always the pride of the Prussians that each of its kings added something to what his ancestors had handed down to him, nothing need be said of the earlier, unimportant annexations; no extensions of heavy import for future generations took place until 1614, when the elector of Brandenburg inherited Cleves and Mark and so got his foothold on the Rhine.

But nothing so far explains why the inhabitants of Berlin are named Prussians, after the old pagan Borussians. This brings us to a long chapter in Prussian history, which must be condensed here into a paragraph or so.

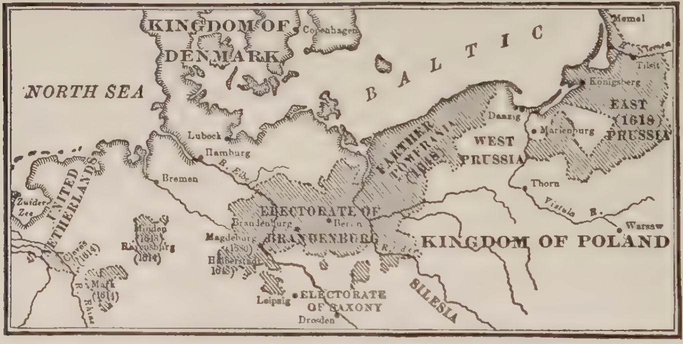
Among the latest of the militant monkish orders to be established during the Crusades was the Teutonic Order, which finally rivaled the Templars and the Hospitalers. As the retention of the Holy Land became hopeless the leader of the order began to look for a more promising enterprise. The king of Poland arranged that the Teutonic Knights should undertake the conquest and conversion of the heathen Borussians on his borders. So at the opening of the thirteenth century the work began. The opposition to Christianization was so fierce and prolonged that the best way to convert the region seemed to be to kill the obstinate pagans and replace them by German colonists.

The successive heads of the Teutonic Order knew how to secure their rights over their new territory. At first they ruled merely over East Prussia; later they acquired West Prussia, and their realms extended along the Baltic for over two hundred miles and far inland. In 1466 reverses compelled the order to cede West Prussia to Poland, as well as a triangular section of East Prussia (the bishopric of Ermeland). The results of this deal can be noted on the map of Europe today, as will be seen in due time. So the knights retained a rather ragged realm, which has played a more considerable part in international discords than its dimensions would appear to justify.

In Luther's day (1525) the knights accepted Protestantism and dissolved their order. They then called their lands the Duchy of Prussia and made their Grand Master, who was a relative of the elector of Brandenburg, their first duke, under the suzerainty of the king of Poland. About a hundred years later (1618) this branch of the Hohenzollerns died out, and the duchy then fell to the elector of Brandenburg.

Notwithstanding this substantial territorial gain, there was little promise that the hitherto obscure electorate of Brandenburg would ever become a formidable power when, in 1640, Frederick William, known as the Great Elector, came into his inheritance. His territories were scattered from the Rhine to the Vistula, his army was of small account, and his authority was disputed by powerful nobles and by local assemblies. The center of his domain was Brandenburg. Far to the west was Mark, bordering on the Rhine valley, and Cleves, lying on both banks of that river. Far to the east, beyond the Vistula, was the duchy of Prussia, quite outside the borders of the Holy Roman Empire and subject to the overlordship of the king of Poland.

Frederick William was, however, well fitted for the task of welding these domains into a powerful state. He was coarse by nature, heartless in destroying opponents, treacherous in diplomatic negotiations, and devoted no time or money to the luxurious life which distinguished Louis XIV and his court. He set resolutely to work to build up a great army, to destroy the local assemblies in his provinces, to place all government in the hands of his own officials, and to add new territories to his patrimony as promising opportunities presented themselves.



TERRITORIES OF THE GREAT ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG

In all these undertakings he was largely successful. By shrewd tactics during the closing days of the Thirty Years' War he managed to secure, in the treaties of Westphalia, the bishoprics of Minden and Halberstadt and the duchy of Farther Pomerania, which gave him a good shore line on the Baltic. He also forced Poland to surrender her overlordship of the duchy of Prussia and thus made himself a duke independent of the Empire.

Knowing that the interests of his house depended on military strength, he organized, in spite of the protests of the taxpayers, an army out of all proportion to the size and wealth of his dominions. He reformed the system of administration and succeeded in creating an absolute monarchy on the model furnished by his contemporary, Louis XIV. He joined England and Holland in their alliances against Louis, and the army of Brandenburg began to be known and feared.

Though a stanch Protestant,[1] the Great Elector permitted religious freedom to a remarkable degree. He made Catholics eligible to office and, on the other hand, gave asylum to the persecuted Huguenots from France.

It was accordingly a promising legacy which the Great Elector left in the year 1688 to his son, Frederick III. Although the career of the latter was by no means so brilliant as that of his father, he was able to transform his electorate into a *kingdom*. The opportunity for this achievement was offered by the need of the powers for his assistance against the designs of Louis XIV. When the Emperor called upon Frederick III in 1700 to aid him in securing a division of the Spanish dominions, the elector exacted as the price of his help the recognition of his right to take the title of "king."

The title "King of Prussia" was thought preferable to the more natural "King of Brandenburg," because Prussia lay wholly without the bounds of the Holy Roman Empire, and consequently its ruler was not in any sense subject to the Emperor but was entirely independent. Since West Prussia still belonged to Poland in 1701, the new king satisfied himself at first with the title "King *in* Prussia."

The second ruler of the new kingdom, Frederick William I, the father of Frederick the Great, is known to history as the rough and boorish barrack king who devoted himself entirely to governing his realm, collecting tall soldiers, drilling his battalions, hunting wild game, and smoking strong tobacco. He ruled his family and his country with a despotic hand, declaring that "salvation belongs to the Lord; everything else is my business."

Frederick William was passionately addicted to military life from his childhood. He took special pride in giant soldiers and collected them at great expense from all parts of Europe. He raised the army, which numbered twenty-seven thousand in the days of the Great Elector, to eighty-four thousand, making it almost equal to that maintained by France or Austria. He reserved to himself the right to appoint subordinates as well as high officials in the service, and based promotion on excellence in discipline rather than on family connections. He was constantly drilling and reviewing his men, whom he addressed affectionately as "my blue children." Moreover, by miserly frugality and entire indifference to the amenities of life, Frederick William treasured up a large sum of money. Consequently he was able to leave to his son, Frederick II, the Great, not only a good army but an ample supply of gold.

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[1] The electors of Brandenburg had introduced the Protestant faith before Luther's death.

Rise of Russia

The vastest of European states had in the time of Louis XIV only just begun to come into somewhat intimate terms with the governments of western Europe. The European realms of the Tsar of Russia before the World War of our own day exceeded in extent those of all the other rulers on the Continent put together. And his European possessions were scarcely more than a quarter of his whole dominions, which embraced huge stretches of territory in northern and central Asia—an empire nearly three times the size of the United States! From the eighteenth century onward Russia began to participate in the wars of the other European powers and to form alliances with them. No one could then foresee that her despotic and conservative government would in the twentieth century marvelously transform itself into a new tyranny in the name of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which would fill Europe and America with far more alarm than ever the Tsars had aroused. So it comes about that the story of Russia is one of the most vital in the history of Europe and the world at large.

The Slavic peoples, comprising the Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Serbians, and other smaller groups, together form the most numerous race in Europe, but only recently has their history begun to merge into that of their western neighbors. In this chapter we shall deal mainly with the Russians, leaving the other Slavic nations to be considered later, especially at the end of this volume.

The Slavs, who belong to the Indo-European group, were settled in southern Russia before the Christian Era. They gradually spread northeastward. In the ninth century some of the Northmen, who played so great a part in western and southern Europe, invaded the region as half pirates and half merchants. It is supposed that one of their leaders, Rurik, was the first to consolidate the Slavic tribes around Novgorod into a kind of state about the year 862. His successor extended his control to the south as far as the river Dnieper. Kiev was the most important town of these Scandinavian adventurers. The word "Russia" is probably derived from *Rous*, the name given by the neighboring Finns to the Northmen.

About the year 1100 the prince of Kiev lost his commanding position. The country fell apart into warring principalities, and the confusion was increased by various kinds of Asiatic marauders. The focus of Russian development and consolidation was shifted northward. Not far from the site of the future St. Petersburg a great commercial town had grown up—Novgorod. It was not the burghers of Novgorod, however, who were destined to conquer their rivals and build up modern Russia, but the princes of Moscow. The progress of unification was checked by the coming of the Mongols. A Russian chronicle of the period says, "For our sins unknown peoples appeared; no one knew their origin or whence they came, or what religion they practiced."

The princes of Moscow and the citizens of Novgorod gave up their mutual conflicts for a time in the presence of this unexpected danger, but they were completely defeated by the troops of Genghiz Khan in 1224. Thirteen years later the Mongols made a second incursion under the name of the "Golden Horde." This time they settled permanently in southern Russia and established their capital on the lower Volga, not far from the Caspian Sea. They continued their pastoral life and, except for occasional cruel and devastating incursions, satisfied themselves with exacting tribute from the Russian princes.

The princes of Moscow showed themselves particularly skillful in dealing with the Mongols. As time went on, the strength of the Golden Horde declined; it fell apart into conflicting "khanates" and left the way open for an extension of the power of the enterprising princes of Moscow. It is curious to note that the Russian state began to take form at just the period when England and France were being consolidated by Henry VII and Louis XI after the Hundred Years' War. But Russia was fated to remain a thoroughgoing autocracy long after both England and France had established constitutional government. This is an important contrast,—one which is to be explained by several considerations. In the first place, the principality of Moscow had no natural or traditional boundaries. It could be extended indefinitely. It did extend until it not only became by far the largest state in Europe but reached across Asia to the Pacific and, finally, in the nineteenth century, down to the confines of India. Naturally, a military despotism seemed the only appropriate government for so aggressive a state.

Then those powerful class interests which tempered the despotism of the Tudors and of the French monarchs were feeble in Russia. The princes of Moscow crushed the republican tendencies in the commercial towns like Novgorod and Pskov, so that the burghers played no such part as did the commons in England. The former independent princes and the nobles in general were too completely subjugated to make much trouble, and their *duma*, or assembly, had no important share in the government. Lastly, the Church was completely subordinated to the State.

It was alleged that the Patriarch of Constantinople had forfeited all respect by his wicked concessions to the Latin Church at the Council of Ferrara in 1438. Moscow therefore succeeded Constantinople (the *second* Rome) and became the *third* and last Rome, and its archbishop claimed the headship of the Orthodox Greek Christians. This theory was emphasized by creating a Russian patriarchate, which was, however, kept under careful government control. So the program of the Russian rulers included, first, indefinite territorial expansion; second, the suppression of all democratic tendencies and, on the other hand, of all efforts of the nobles to gain control; lastly, the complete subordination of the clergy to the autocracy.

It took some time to carry out the program, but Ivan the Great (1462–1505) made much more than a beginning. He was astute and unscrupulous. While he left it to his successors to annex the khanates into which the Golden Horde had fallen, he managed to bring the Tartar chieftains under his influence, and a number of important towns, including Novgorod, under his sway. He managed to encroach on Lithuania, a large state to the west which was for centuries more or less closely associated with Poland. Ivan married the niece of the last Roman emperor who had ruled at Constantinople. This may help to explain why in the Church service he is referred to as "Autocrat of all Russia, the new Tsar Constantine, in the new city of Constantine, Moscow." We have in this a striking instance of the perpetuation of historical sentiment and veneration. The first Christian emperor is summoned to stand sponsor for the Russian autocracy!

The successors of Ivan the Great carried on his work. Of these the most famous was Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584), who began to rule when Henry VIII was casting off his allegiance to the Pope, and who died in the midst of Elizabeth's reign.[1] Ivan was but three years old when his father died. He had a sensitive disposition, and his childhood was embittered by the horrors accompanying an attempt of the former princes to reëstablish their power. When he was only thirteen years old, he met atrocity with atrocity by ordering his huntsmen to set his dogs on one of the leading nobles, who was torn to pieces. At seventeen, when he came to be crowned, he insisted that the title "Tsar of all the Russias" should be conferred upon him. He had, for a monarch in those days, read a good deal and had reached the conclusion that this term, derived from "Cæsar" and meaning king or emperor, was appropriate for the ruler of all the Russias and the successor of the Roman Emperor of the East. In order to affirm the autocracy of the Tsar, Ivan did what he could to replace the older aristocracy by a new nobility of office dependent on the head of the State.

About 1554 Ivan ventured to annex outright two of the chief Mongol khanates, Kazan and Astrakhan, and in this way he greatly extended the Russian boundaries to the east. The Crimea, the remaining khanate, had come under Turkish protection, and was not acquired by Russia for a couple of centuries.

Shortly after the death of Ivan the Terrible a decree was issued which reduced the Russian peasants to a condition of serfdom. This was to insure the Russian landlords a permanent body of agricultural laborers. Previously the peasants had been allowed to wander from one great estate to another as might please their fancies and correspond to their interests. But about the year 1600 this right was abolished, and the serfdom which western Europe had inherited and developed from the institutions of the later Roman Empire was introduced into

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[1] Ivan owes his surname "the Terrible" to the massacres he set on foot in his later years. It is reported that in order to discourage any republican sentiments he had sixty thousand men, women, and children slaughtered in Novgorod. The numbers may be much exaggerated; still it is certain that not only Ivan but his predecessors and successors, including the Bolshevik government after the World War, resorted to far more generous killings than would have been deemed expedient by Western statesmen.

Russia when it was disappearing from the more progressive states in the West. This system of servitude was to prevail for over two centuries and a half. Only after the great Russian revolution of 1917 did the peasants get their revenge. We often forget how long-standing were their woes and the terrible injustice under which they suffered.

In the early seventeenth century there was a period of disorder and civil war in Russia. In 1613 the so-called Romanov dynasty[1] was acclaimed, which lasted down to the end of the World War. Under the Tsars Michael and Alexius, whose combined reigns extended from 1613 to 1676, the autocracy held its own and frustrated an attempt of the patriarchs of Moscow to exalt themselves to the position of popes. Up to this period Muscovy, as the Western peoples called Russia, was little known abroad and was usually regarded as a grotesquely barbarous nation. With the accession of Peter the Great, who ruled from 1689 to 1725, the relations of Russia with the Western powers became more intimate, and the princes of Moscow were at last received into the quarrelsome family of nations.

PETER THE GREAT; HIS EFFORTS TO EUROPEANIZE RUSSIA

Now and then a chieftain appears who quite transcends the standards set by the ordinary run of able rulers. Peter the Great seems to have stepped out of the *Nibelungenlied* or some Icelandic saga. He was a sort of mythical demigod. He had no time to waste on respectability or propriety. All his virtues and vices were on a colossal scale.

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[1] Ivan the Terrible married a member of the Romanov family, which had been very prominent in the affairs of Muscovy long before one of its scions, Michael, was elected Tsar in 1613. By the middle of the eighteenth century the dynasty had received a strong infusion of German blood, because Peter the Great's daughter had married Charles Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, and their son, Peter III, had married Catherine (later to be called "the Great") of Anhalt-Zerbst.

His rage was cyclonic; his hatred rarely stopped short of extermination. His banquets were orgies, his pastimes convulsions. He lived and loved like one of the giants of old. There are deeds of his which make humanity shudder, and no man equally great has ever descended to such depths of cruelty and treachery. Yet it may generally be allowed that a strain of nobility, of which we catch illuminating glimpses, extorts from time to time an all-forgiving admiration. Strange, too, as it may sound, Peter the Great was at heart profoundly religious. Few men have ever had a more intimate persuasion that they were but instruments for good in the hands of God.—R. Nisbet Bain

Peter was coarse in his tastes. As a boy he was a sort of gangster who collected a group of companions of very low degree, whom his aunt Sophia called blackguards. Later he loved to spend his nights in the German or foreign quarter of Moscow and associate with miscellaneous adventurers. A Scotchman, Alexander Gordon, who was appointed major general by Peter, says of the Tsar that it was "uneasy for him to appear in majesty. He was a lover of company and a man of much humor and pleasantry, exceedingly facetious and of vast natural parts. He had no letters [that is, was poorly educated]; he could only [that is, barely] read and write, but had a great regard for learning." He rose early and worked hard on government business until ten or eleven; the rest of the day and a great part of the night he devoted to pleasure, taking his bottle "heartily" and forcing the rest of the company to do the same. He seems always to have had underneath his gayety a steady purpose of promoting his great enterprises. He made a wise selection of aides and helpers from his nondescript companions. Indeed, his second wife, who became his successor, was a girl he picked up in the German quarter during his orgies.

Peter had three main objects in view his whole life long. He was bent on Westernizing Russia; he strove greatly to improve its government; and, lastly, he was steadfastly intent on securing an outlet to the sea and establishing his country as a maritime power. In all these great projects he was unexpectedly successful. Each of these we shall take up in turn.

In manners and customs Muscovy was, from a Western standpoint, notoriously crude and barbarous. And it seemed so to a few of the Russians themselves. Some of the enlightened boyars (nobles) were humiliated by the situation, and Peter's father, Alexius, was eager for new knowledge. The way had been prepared for Peter's innovations.

In 1697–1698 Peter himself visited Germany, Holland, and England with a view to investigating every art and science of the West, as well as the most approved methods of manufacture, from the making of a man-of-war to the etching of an engraving. Nothing escaped the keen eyes of this rude, half-savage Northern giant. For a week he put on the wide breeches of a Dutch laborer and worked in the shipyard at Zaandam, near Amsterdam. In England, Holland, and Germany he engaged artisans, scientific men, architects, ship captains, and those versed in artillery and the training of troops, all of whom he took back with him to aid in the reform and development of Russia.

He was called home by the revolt of the royal guard, which had allied itself with the very large party of nobles and churchmen who were horrified at Peter's desertion of the habits and customs of his forefathers. They abhorred what they called "German ideas," such as short coats, tobacco-smoking, and beardless faces. Peter took a fearful revenge upon the rebels and is said to have himself cut off the heads of many of them. Like the barbarian that he was at heart, he left their heads and bodies lying about all winter, unburied, so as to make quite plain to all the terrible results of revolt against his power.

Peter's innovations extended throughout his whole reign. He made the men give up their cherished Oriental beards and long, flowing garments. He forced the women of the better class, who had been kept in a sort of Oriental harem, to come out and meet the men in social assemblies such as were common in the West. He invited foreigners to settle in Russia and insured them protection, privileges, and the free exercise of their religion. He sent young Russians abroad to study conditions in the western European countries, for he did not wish to be permanently dependent on foreigners and hoped to create a type of well-informed Russian who would help him and carry on his policy when he was dead.

Books, which played such an important part in Western life, were practically unknown in Russia. If a man learned to read, as he rarely did, he was set deciphering some ancient religious ritual. Peter took a personal interest in revising the old, clumsy Cyrillic alphabet and simplifying it into a form that, with a few modifications, is used in Russia today. He gave a Dutch printer the privilege of printing Russian books. Translations of old and new works were made, and Russian writers and scientists were destined one day to pay back their debt to the West by the deep insight of their fiction and the originality of their discoveries.

Innumerable other changes were introduced by the tireless Tsar. He forbade his subjects to kneel before him, for this was an honor for the Deity only. He ordered that the year should begin on January 1 instead of on September 1, and that dates should be reckoned *anno Domini* instead of from the supposed year of the creation of the world. The use of "old style" was continued, however, until the revolution of 1917 and served to throw the Russian calendar somewhat out of agreement with that of the West. Peter built a hospital, encouraged medical training, and frowned on religious magic.

He was denounced as Antichrist. The new garments he commanded his people to wear were deemed indecent and heretical. Some prudent reactionaries saved their beards when they were forced to cut them off, and had them buried with them lest they might otherwise be excluded from the kingdom of heaven. But Peter seems not to have been in the least deterred by opposition; it gave zest to life.

As for the government, Peter had no quarrel with the long-established despotism of the Tsars. He aimed to strengthen his own power and to suppress all interference on the part of the nobles, the guards, and the Church. He wanted a well-ordered system of State departments; he divided his country into eight "governments" for the more ready collection of taxes. It gives one a notion of the extent of the Russian realms to review these new divisions. They were Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Smolensk, Archangel, Kazan, Azov, and Siberia.

Coins in Russia were few and much mutilated. Peter began minting money on a large scale and ordered a careful survey to be made of the mineral resources of his realms. He encouraged commerce and sought to defend the serfs against the atrocious ill treatment under which they suffered. He made war on the deep-seated and perennial corruption and stealing on the part of government officials and offered to reward those who should report cases of dishonesty. He was suspicious of the patriarchate, lest it might encourage the Church to set itself against the government. So the office of Patriarch lapsed, and the Holy Synod, practically a department of State, was substituted. One of Peter's earliest measures was to establish permanent embassies at foreign courts. In this way he insured Russia a diplomatic standing and importance in the policy and intrigues of European nations which it had not previously enjoyed.

Russia secures an Outlet to the Sea

In addition to his plans for bringing Russia abreast of Western civilization and reforming its highly defective government, Peter was perhaps even more thoroughly engrossed in opening a way to the sea—making a window, as he expressed it, through which Russia might look abroad upon the great world. To this he devoted much of the best energy of his life, for it involved him in a long series of weary wars with his neighbors. Russia already extended up to the White Sea. However, Archangel, which was its chief port, lies not far from the arctic circle; it is icebound during a long winter, and at best its ships have to course far around the North Cape to reach the Baltic or the North Sea. Peter had been an enthusiastic shipbuilder and sailor in his youth, and he knew all the disadvantages of the harbors of the White Sea.

There were three possible ways of solving the problem of an outlet by water for land-bound Russia. There was the Caspian, a vast inland sea (over five times the size of Lake Superior) in the midst of ancient trade routes. The Caspian, however, has no outlet, for its level is eighty-three feet below that of the Black Sea. Then there was the Black Sea itself, connected with the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. But its shores were in the hands of a remnant of the Golden Horde (the khanate of Crimea), and the Bosporus and the Dardanelles were carefully guarded by the Turks. Peter meditated expansion around the Caspian and toward the Black Sea. He engaged early in a war with Turkey with a view to extending his control to the south; and later he tried again, but accomplished little. His main desire, which he finally attained, was breaking through to the Baltic.

The region for which Peter longed, at the eastern end of the Baltic, had for some time belonged to Sweden, which had been since the days of Gustavus Adolphus a large and powerful state. It happened, too, that never had Sweden had a more warlike king than Charles XII, who was ten years younger than Peter. When Charles came to the throne in 1697, at the age of fifteen, no one could foresee that he was to prove a prodigy of military prowess. It seemed a most auspicious moment for Peter to join in a conspiracy of Sweden's rivals to seize some of her outlying territory. So a union was formed, including Denmark, the elector of Saxony (who had been chosen king of Poland), and Russia, to increase their realms at the expense of the boy ruler. This led to the Great Northern

War, which began just before the Western powers started the War of the Spanish Succession and dragged on much longer, lasting, in all, over twenty years.

Peter began by besieging Narva, not far from the site where in good time he was to establish St. Petersburg. But Charles astonished Europe by his skill and energy. He besieged Copenhagen and forced the king of Denmark to sign a peace with Sweden. He put to flight the incautious Peter, and with eight thousand Swedes wiped out an army of fifty thousand Russians (1700). He then turned on the elector of Saxony and set up a rival king in Poland (Stanislaus Leszczynski, whose name we shall meet later). His attempt to keep his protégé on the Polish throne proved a serious complication, and Peter was able to get Narva after all and to conquer Livonia as well.

Charles decided to advance into central Russia. The march of the Swedes during a terrifically cold winter through a land devastated by the enemy was as horrible and ineffective as that of Napoleon a hundred years later. At Pultowa (1709) Charles was totally defeated and fled to Turkey, where he spent several years trying to induce the Sultan to lend aid against Peter. The Turks did declare war on Russia no less than three times, but Peter's representatives managed to buy off the leading Turkish officials at critical moments. Charles finally gave up all hopes of Turkish help and returned to his own long-neglected kingdom. In 1718 he was killed while laying siege to a town on the Norwegian boundary. Shortly after his death a treaty was concluded between Sweden and Russia which ceded to Russia not only the region east of Narva but Estonia and Livonia, to the west. This gave Peter a long strip of coast on the Baltic and the Gulf of Riga.

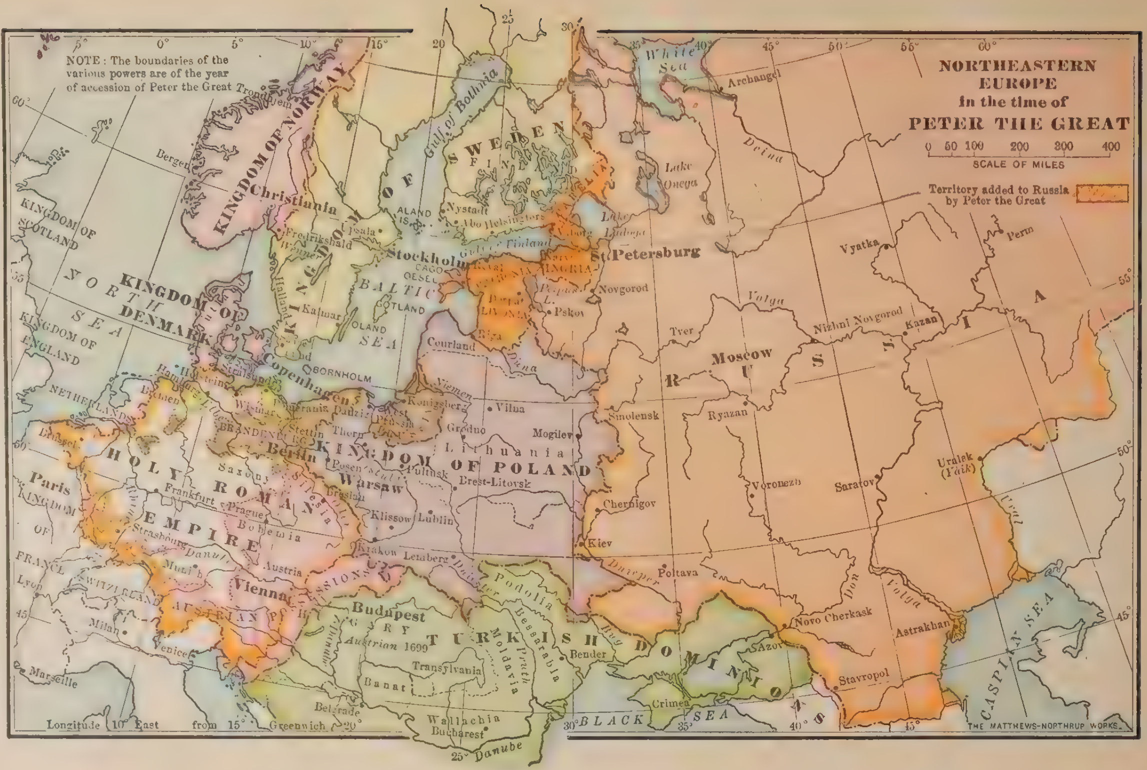
The acquisition of an outlet to the sea was celebrated by the foundation of a new capital. Peter was weary of the stolid opposition which he encountered in the ancient seat of government, Moscow. So he planned and built a city to suit himself. He forced his Swedish captives of war to erect long lines of magnificent stone structures. In this way St. Petersburg arose in the forests and marshes which had previously covered its site. Peter called it his "paradise." It was symbolic of the change from an old to a new Russia. The ancient principality of Moscow had given place to the Russian Empire of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In our own day this remarkable country was destined to undergo a revolution which was still more perturbing to western Europe, and during which Moscow once more became the capital.

For a generation after the death of Peter the Great, Russia was ruled by rather incompetent monarchs. It appears again as an aggressive European state when Catherine II came to the throne in 1762. From that time on, the Western powers had always to reckon with the attitude of the vast Slavic empire in all their great struggles.

THE BALANCE OF POWER

After the medieval dream of universal empire was dissipated by events, philosophers and statesmen began to consider other ways of mitigating strife among the nations, if not of bringing permanent peace to them. Some thinkers based their hopes on the growth of international right and justice, and they found as their spokesman Hugo Grotius, a Dutch lawyer who laid the basis of international law in his famous book *The Law of War and Peace*, published in 1625. Others saw more promise in what they were pleased to call a "balance of power," namely, the grouping of nations in alliances in such a way as to prevent any one nation from becoming too strong.

The origin of this idea may be traced to Italy, where five rival powers—the Pope, Naples, Tuscany, Venice, and Milan—sought to keep order among the contending Italian states by balancing one group against another. In the seventeenth century it became the fashion to illustrate the idea by pictures showing a huge pair of scales in which the nations of Europe



NORTHEASTERN EUROPE in the time of PETER THE GREAT

NOTE: The boundaries of the various powers are of the year of accession of Peter the Great

were nicely and equally poised. By this time the various governments had adopted the custom of maintaining diplomatic agents at foreign capitals; and when these gentlemen had nothing else to occupy their minds, they took pleasure in discussing ways of building up combinations of the powers—unfortunately by no means always in the interests of peace.

It was found by experience, however, that it was as difficult to keep the peace by practicing the art of balancing the powers as it had been to maintain a universal empire. Indeed, the period from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to the Peace of Paris (1763) witnessed more terrible struggles than ever; and the new wars now extended beyond the confines of Europe to far-distant India and America. Novel and powerful motives—trade and colonies—grew in intensity through the years until they produced the awful cataclysm of 1914—the greatest of all conflicts among combinations of world powers. In fact, the doctrine of the balance of power did not make for peace at all. On the contrary, the diplomats quite as often devoted themselves to forming coalitions for the purpose of despoiling other combinations as for the purpose of "holding the scales of justice even." So it worked out that as various independent states were established, these did not act alone, but sought to realize their respective ambitions through combinations and alliances with other states. The history of the great wars of Europe for the last two hundred and fifty years can be summarized under the heads of coalitions and alliances formed for defense and aggression.

In this great game England played a peculiar rôle. Having no territorial ambitions on the continent of Europe and being interested in trade and colonies, she could readily act as a sort of arbiter in European affairs, casting her military and naval power into the one scale or the other as circumstances required. It was to her interest that the Dutch, French, and Spanish should not become too strong, for they were her chief rivals in commercial and colonial spheres. Consequently England was for many decades associated with Austria or Prussia, or with both of them, in checking the pretensions of Spain and France. This is one of the important clues to the maze of diplomatic arrangements and long wars of the past two or three centuries.

The Triple Alliance against France, 1668

Louis XIV had hardly reached his twenty-third year and taken over the reins of power himself before he began to think of realizing the dream of reëstablishing the ancient boundaries of France as reported by Julius Cæsar. France's "natural limits" appeared to be the great river Rhine on the north and northeast, the Jura Mountains and the Alps on the east, to the south the Mediterranean and the mighty chain of the Pyrenees, and to the west and northwest the Atlantic Ocean.

Richelieu had made it an important part of his policy to endeavor to restore all the territory to France which Nature seemed to have assigned to her. Mazarin looked longingly toward the Rhine and sought vainly to win Savoy and Nice, which lie on the French side of the Alps.[1] But he was forced to content himself with inducing Austria, at the end of the Thirty Years' War, to cede to France such rights as she enjoyed in Alsace. A few years later (1659) Mazarin compelled Spain to give up Artois, a few towns on the northern confines of France, and, to the south, all her trifling possessions north of the Pyrenees—that barrier which, as the treaty of 1659 recites, "formerly divided the Gauls from Spain."

Louis's efforts to extend the boundaries of France were confined for the most part to the north and east—to regions now occupied by France herself, Belgium, the German republic, and the tiny duchy of Luxemburg. But in his time the map was no such simple matter as it is today. France was still hemmed in by Spain on the south, north, and east, as she had been since the time of Charles V[1]; for Spain still held the southern Netherlands and Franche-Comté. Then there was a maze of little duchies, counties, bishoprics, and more or less independent towns lying between France and the Rhine, belonging to the weak Holy Roman Empire. Some of this region France had already added to her possessions, as will be seen on the map,[2] and there was reason to believe that she might take advantage of the general demoralization of the Empire to add more. Paris, the French capital, seemed altogether too near the frontier; but, should Louis succeed in adding territory at the expense of Spain and the little states toward the Rhine, it might become almost the center of an enlarged France.

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[1] These regions were added permanently to France some two centuries later.

Louis had no difficulty in finding an excuse for beginning his aggressions. He was married to a Spanish princess, Maria Theresa. When her father died, and her younger brother, Charles II, succeeded to the Spanish throne in 1665, Louis maintained that his wife, as the first-born, was legally the heiress to a great part of the Spanish Netherlands, if not to the whole Spanish realm. He had his lawyers write a book to prove this, and then ordered his troops to take possession of the Spanish Netherlands. He insolently announced that he was only about to undertake a "journey" into the region, as if his invasion were merely a visit to an undisputed portion of his territories. He easily took a few towns on the border, and then turned southeast and quickly and completely conquered Franche-Comté.

Notwithstanding the formidable appearance of the Spanish empire and the traditions of power and glory handed down from the preceding century, Spain was really in no condition to resist these pretensions of Louis. The sovereign, Charles II (see page 131), was a child of only four years when he came to the throne, and a child he remained, in intellect and capacity, until his death in 1700. Spain did not have the army, the navy, or the money necessary to oppose the powerful forces which Louis XIV could muster. It was clear that, unless some action were taken to form a combination against him, he would easily annex all the Spanish Netherlands.

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[1] It must be recalled that in 1496 the heir of the Austrian and Burgundian possessions, which included the Netherlands, married the heiress to all the Spanish realms, and that, in consequence, their son, Charles V, became ruler of a very considerable portion of western Europe. But before his death he divided his territories between his son, Philip II, to whom Spain and the Netherlands fell, and his brother, Ferdinand, who received the older Austrian possessions in Germany.

[2] See map of Holy Roman Empire, pp. 98–99.

The Dutch naturally took the leadership in opposing the designs of Louis. If he seized the Spanish Netherlands, the borders of France would be carried up to the United Provinces and the river Scheldt, and the port of Antwerp would be in French hands, much to the dissatisfaction of the Dutch merchants. At this time the United Netherlands was composed of the seven provinces (eight, including the unimportant Drenthe) lying in a circle around the Zuider Zee. These had successfully combined a century earlier to free themselves from Spanish oppression.[1] They differed greatly in their laws and in the character and occupations of their inhabitants; and they were bound together as loosely as possible, so that each of the members of the union had a right to veto any important measure. The most influential province was Holland, with its vast commerce and its celebrated cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Delft, Leyden, and The Hague, which was the seat of government of the United Provinces. We commonly refer to the present kingdom of the Netherlands as "Holland," although, strictly speaking, that is the name of only one province. In the time of Louis XIV the United Netherlands included about the same area as the Dutch kingdom of today, which is somewhat larger than Massachusetts. Each province had a governor, or stadholder, but it was the established custom for most of the provinces to choose the same member of the House

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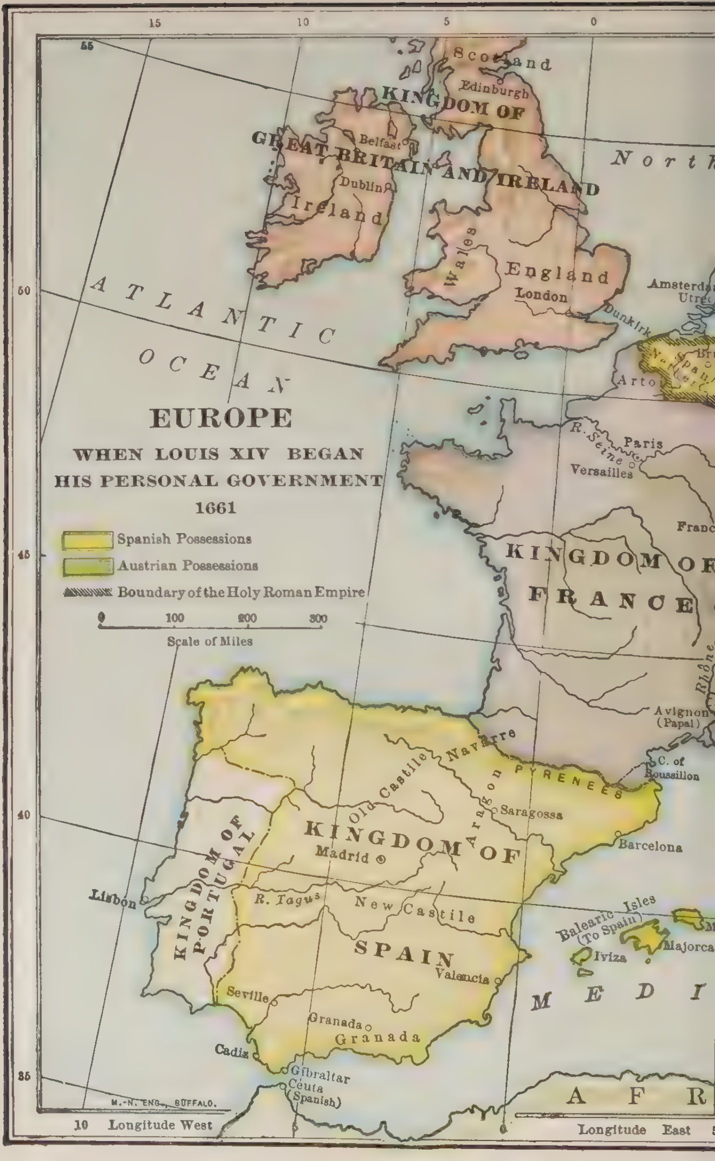
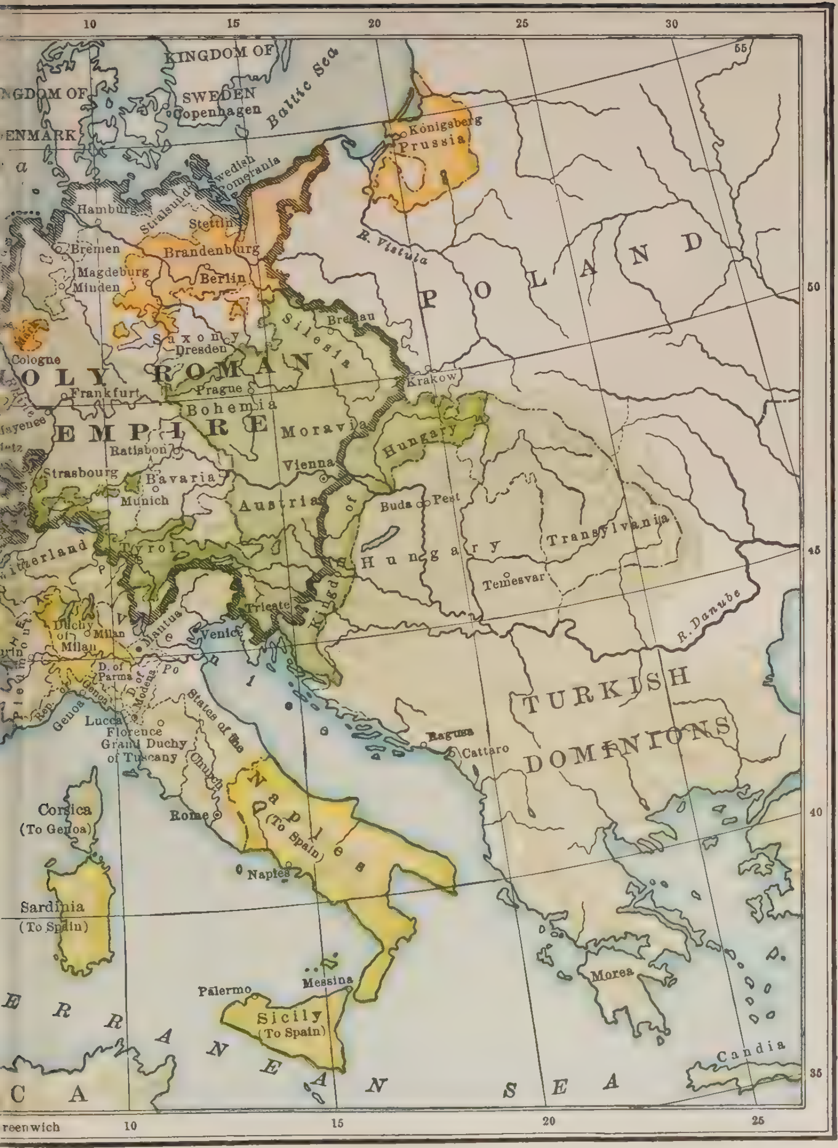
[1] See map, pp. 126–127.



EUROPE
WHEN LOUIS XIV BEGAN
HIS PERSONAL GOVERNMENT
1661

- ▨ Spanish Possessions
- ▨ Austrian Possessions
- ▨ Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire

Scale of Miles: 0, 100, 200, 300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KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
Königsberg
Prussia
Swedish Pomerania
Stralsund
Hamburg
Stettin
Bremen
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Minden
Berlin
Mark
Cologne
Saxony
Dresden
Silesia
Breslau
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Frankfurt
Prague
Bohemia
Moravia
Krakow
R. Vistula
POLAND
Rhine
Meuse
Alsace
Metz
Ratisbon
Strasbourg
Bavaria
Munich
Vienna
Hungary
Austria
Buda
Pest
Kingd. of Hungary
Transylvania
Temesvar
R. Danube
Switzerland
Tyrol
Duchy of Milan
Milan
Mantua
Venice
Trieste
Turin
Piedmont
Rep. of Genoa
Genoa
D. of Parma
D. of Modena
Po
Lucca
Florence
Grand Duchy of Tuscany
States of the Church
Rome
Naples (To Spain)
Naples
Adriatic
Ragusa
Cattaro
TURKISH DOMINIONS
Morea
Candia
Corsica (To Genoa)
Sardinia (To Spain)
Palermo
Messina
Sicily (To Spain)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
Greenwich
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of Orange to fill that office for them. In this way the direction of Dutch affairs passed largely into the hands of that family.

Such was the Dutch republic threatened by the advances of Louis XIV from the south. Although the English had seized the rich colony of New Netherland (with New Amsterdam, now New York) in 1664, and although the English and Dutch had been at war within a twelvemonth, the Dutch in 1668 sought aid against Louis XIV across the Channel. The English, who did not relish the growth of French commercial power and the aggrandizement of France on the Continent, consented to help the Netherlands. At the same time the support of Sweden was secured, and so a Triple Alliance was formed against Louis XIV. This quickly brought him to terms: he returned the Spanish Netherlands to Spain and gave up most of his conquests, reserving only a northern line of frontier forts.

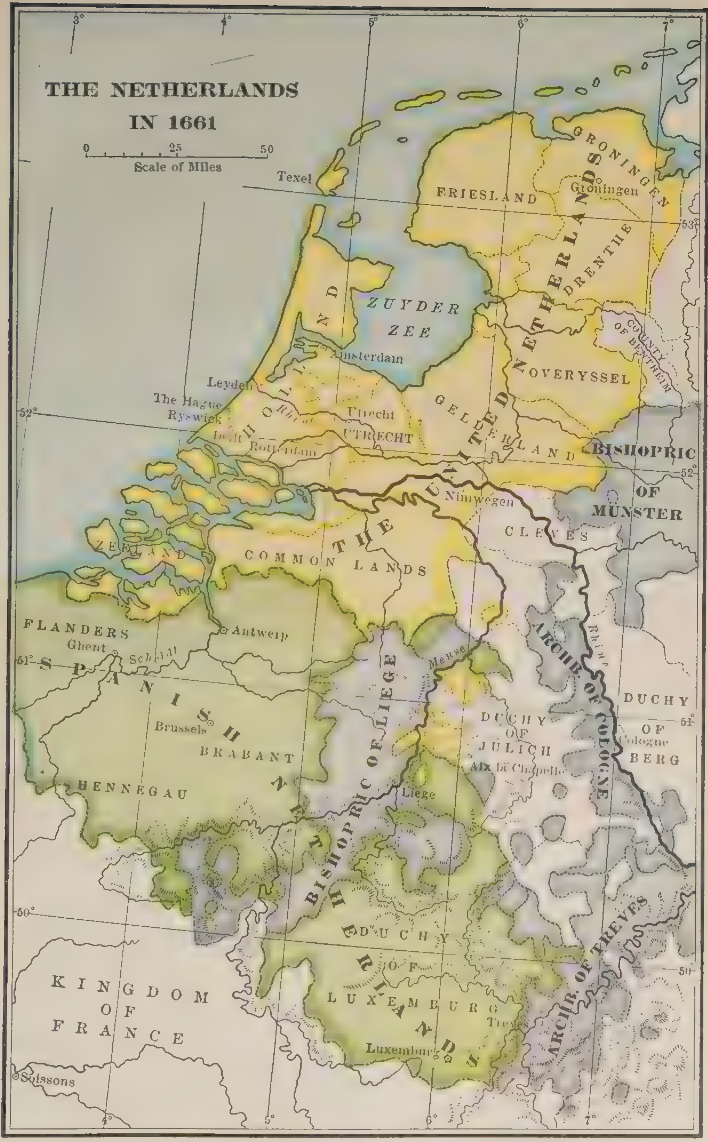
A New Turn in the Balance of Power

Smarting under the check he had received at the hands of the Dutch, Louis XIV set to work to form a combination against them. His diplomats were able to win over the cynical English king, Charles II, by a promise of money which would enable him to amuse himself in his expensive fashion without resorting to Parliament for revenues. Louis was also successful in gaining the support of Sweden, the Emperor, and several German princes by promises of money and territories. He declared that he would now punish the Dutch for their interference with his plans, and he sent a powerful army against them, taking an easterly route to avoid crossing the Spanish Netherlands.

At this juncture there came to the head of affairs, in the United Provinces, William, the great-grandson of William the Silent, a young man of twenty-two, the representative of the House of Orange. The threatening attitude of Louis XIV and the actual approach of the French troops speedily convinced the Dutch that the provinces must stand together. Every one looked to the descendant of William the Silent for safety in the terrible crisis, and William, Prince of Orange, was chosen commander general of all the troops. He was also appointed *hereditary* stadholder by some of the more important provinces, beginning with Holland, and while he never became king, he so increased the powers of the stadholder that the Netherlands ceased to be a republic except in name.

In June, 1672, the French were not far east of Amsterdam, which expected to have to surrender at any moment. The Dutch were ready for peace and offered to cede the southern portions of their territory to France and pay the expenses of the war. Louis, however, asked for still more land and money, and demanded, moreover, that the Dutch should reëstablish the Catholic religion on the same footing with the Protestant and should each year send an embassy to thank him "for having left to the United Provinces the independence which the kings his predecessors had caused them to acquire." These outrageous demands only strengthened the power of William of Orange, who cut the dikes and put a part of the country under water so as to drive out the French; and after a vain effort on their part to take Amsterdam by advancing over the ice during the winter of 1672–1673, they evacuated Holland.

William of Orange now became the leader of the European opposition to France. Both as stadholder of the Dutch provinces and later as king of England, he was to be the stanch and unwavering enemy of Louis and the most serious obstacle in his path. Young as he was, William exhibited the capacity for leadership, diplomacy, and dogged perseverance which had shown itself in his ancestors. He induced Louis's recent allies to desert him and organized against the too-powerful France a "grand alliance," including Spain, the Emperor, the elector of Brandenburg, and other German princes. England, which had never sympathized with its king's love for Louis, became neutral, leaving only Sweden to support France.



THE NETHERLANDS IN 1661

When, at the end of six years of intermittent hostilities, a general peace was concluded at Nimwegen in 1678, the chief provisions were that France should not only leave the United Netherlands intact but should pledge herself to protect the Dutch merchants and their commerce. France was, however, finally permitted to annex some northern towns and Franche-Comté, over which she and Spain had been quarreling for a century and a half.

The ink was hardly dry on the Treaty of Nimwegen before the diplomats were at work on new designs. The ambitions of Louis XIV were not yet satisfied: he boldly announced his claim to the Rhine Palatinate in the name of his sister-in-law. To offset this several German states formed in 1686 the League of Augsburg, which was joined by the Dutch and the Spaniards. Two years later, when the Dutch leader, William of Orange, became William III, King of England, he was able to bring the English into the grand combination against Louis.

France now stood alone against Europe and was really in no condition to begin a new war; for her treasury was empty, her people burdened with taxes, and her best generals dead. Nevertheless Louis seized the Palatinate and the electorate of Cologne, where he was trying to establish his own candidate as archbishop. He also sent his fleet to support James II in his attempt to regain his English throne. In 1689 Louis justified the worst apprehensions of his enemies by a frightful devastation of the Palatinate, which he had decided to evacuate. He burned whole towns, and destroyed the castles, including the beautiful residence of the elector of the Palatinate at Heidelberg, whose magnificent ruins stand as a reminder of this cruel attempt to destroy permanently the prosperity of one of the most beautiful and flourishing districts of Germany. Mannheim was ruined by fire and gunpowder, Speyer and Worms destroyed, and the country ravaged as Sherman ravaged Georgia on his famous march to the sea. Though this was defended as a war measure, the ancient grudge of the Germans against France may even today be aroused by the sight of the ivy-grown walls which still crown many a hill in the region desolated by Louis's minister of war, Louvois.

The war dragged on by land and sea for nearly a decade, until at last, in 1697, France, England, the United Netherlands, and the Empire signed the treaties of Ryswick. The chief provisions of these will serve to recall the main issues which have been alluded to above. Louis surrendered practically all the places (except Strasbourg) that he had occupied since the Treaty of Nimwegen, nineteen years earlier, and agreed to recognize William III as king of England, to make no effort to depose him, and to ratify as William's successor his wife's sister, Anne, a stanch Protestant, thus assuring the exclusion of Catholics from the English throne. He restored Lorraine to its rightful ruler, evacuated the right bank of the Rhine, withdrew his candidate for the electorate of Cologne, and accepted a sum of money in lieu of his sister-in-law's claims on the Palatinate.

It has been wearisome to review these illustrations of the way the theory of the balance of power worked out. They hardly need be remembered except as a part of the sad record of kingly ambition. Holland had been saved, and France had grown somewhat eastward. Forty years had passed since Louis had first begun his aggressions, with all their accompanying pillage, ravishings, death, and destruction. His crowning audacity was the struggle to get Spain under his control. This produced the "Grand Alliance" of his enemies in 1701 and was followed by a dozen more years of war, with important results. Spain is a country of which little has so far been said. We must, as a proper introduction to the long War of the Spanish Succession, recall its greatness and its decline.

CHAPTER V

NEW WARS AND NEW MAPS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Decline of Spain

Like the other provinces of the Roman Empire the Spanish peninsula fell under the sword of the Teutonic invaders and then dissolved into feudal anarchy. A peculiar turn was given to the fate of Spain, however, by the Moorish conquest. In the year 711 the West Goths, who had established themselves in the Iberian peninsula nearly three hundred years before, were utterly defeated in a great battle with the Moors, who had crossed from Africa bearing the banner of Mohammed. For seven hundred years the Moors maintained themselves in Spain. They introduced the learning of the East, especially natural science, and they built beautiful buildings, many of which lend a charm to Spanish architecture to this day.

But in the course of time a few Christian princes who in the region of the Pyrenees survived the Moorish invasion were able to push back the Mohammedan rule. Little kingdoms like Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Navarre appeared. Finally these kingdoms were all united under Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, who were married in 1469. By this time all of Spain had been recovered from the Moors except Granada, in the south, and even that province fell before the victorious troops of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, the year that Columbus sailed away on his first voyage of discovery.

For almost a hundred years the power and territories of the Spanish crown steadily increased. The explorers added whole continents to the king's patrimony, the conquerors poured into his treasury the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru, and the merchants filled his markets with the huge profits from the business with the "fabled East." Moreover, the fortunes of the royal family brought to Spain huge sections of Europe. In 1519, on the death of the Emperor Maximilian, his grandson—who was also the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella—Charles, king of Spain, inherited the dominions of Austria and became, as Charles V, head of the Holy Roman Empire. Thus at the height of her power in the middle of the sixteenth century Spain had, in addition to the New World, "the fairest and wealthiest portions of the Old." The king of Spain was the ruler of prosperous Italian states, like Naples and Milan, the scattered crownlands of Austria, and the busy commercial provinces of Flanders and the Low Countries. Besides the dusky inhabitants of his wide colonies, he ruled Italians, Dutch, Flemings, Germans, and Slavs, to say nothing of the races in his own Iberic peninsula. He had an army which had filled the world with the renown of its valor, and a navy which ruled the seas.

At the very hour when Spain towered above all the other countries of Europe, a number of forces were at work undermining her strength. Though possessed of immense colonies and potential markets, Spain did not develop thriving mercantile and industrial classes such as those that made England "the workshop of the world." The treasure of Mexico and Peru was not used to create a sturdy peasantry or an industrious body of skilled artisans: it was recklessly wasted in wars and by the Spanish grandees. When it was spent, Spain was poorer than before. The Protestant revolt also struck at Spanish power; though the Spanish Inquisition was able to stamp out religious dissent at home, it could not subdue the Protestant Dutch, who defied and defeated the best troops that Spain could send to crush their uprising. So the Dutch provinces were lost by the close of the sixteenth century. Meanwhile England's navy was growing in strength and issuing a challenge that could not be evaded. The king of Spain accepted it, and in 1588 sent his Armada "to sweep the upstart from the sea." The famous naval battle designed to demonstrate Spanish supremacy destroyed it. As the crown of the Holy Roman Empire and the chief possessions of Austria had passed, in 1556, to Charles V's brother, the Hapsburg Ferdinand, Spain came out of the sixteenth century with her dominions reduced and her prestige shattered.

At the close of the next century she had sunk to the position of a third-rate power. Her ruler, Charles II, is described by contemporaries as being without occupations, pleasures, education, sentiment, or the inclination to do anything serious; he could scarcely read and write; he hated the business of State and delighted in the game of jackstraws even after reaching the years of maturity. Though king he did not govern, but was the prey of factious nobles and ecclesiastics who were at once prodigal and without administrative capacity. The offices of State were bestowed on aristocratic favorites or sold to speculators.

The finances of Spain were badly deranged; extravagance was regarded as a virtue, and the systematic accounting for receipts and expenditures was held worthy only of the shopkeeper. A keen observer of the time declared that, so far as the State treasury was concerned, "all was chaos, wrapped in impenetrable obscurity." A high functionary vauntingly asserted that Spain did not wish a Colbert to reform finances because "it was beneath so great a prince as his king to live with parsimony." The pension roll was long; the revenues were decreasing, and only about one fourth of the taxes remained for the king after the pensions, interest, and charges of the collectors were paid. To meet expenses he was compelled to resort to discreditable methods: the coinage was debased; salaries were only partly paid; and the national debt was cut down by repudiations. The chief reliance was borrowing, although the prudent bankers of Genoa deemed Spain's credit so poor that they exacted an interest of from 25 to 40 per cent. In spite of all these expedients, the poor king had to pawn his jewels and plate for personal expenses, and even then he was humiliated by finding his servants deserting him and by the refusal of his tradesmen to trust him.

Under such circumstances it was only natural that the military and naval defenses of the Spanish possessions should be neglected. The army and navy had been worn out in the Thirty Years' War. The war footing of the army amounted to less than twenty thousand effective soldiers; the old military spirit was gone, pay was in arrears, and the soldiers were reduced to rags and beggary. Nobles would serve only in high places, and there were more generals than regiments. The ocean-going fleet had less than a dozen ships in good fighting condition, and the coast defenses were so defective that the pirates could not be kept off.

The government only reflected the general condition of the country. The gold which continued to flow in from the colonies, instead of building up Spanish industry and commerce, really checked them, inasmuch as it encouraged idleness and extravagance among the upper classes, who disdained mercantile pursuits. The population, which now numbers some twenty millions, was then but four or five millions; foreigners controlled the manufactures in a large measure; literature had almost perished; and only the Church showed an increase in wealth and in the number of officials. An Italian ambassador declared, "There is no state in Christendom where the ecclesiastics absorb more of the public revenues, or where religious orders are more numerous." Although diminished in military and naval power and poor in industrial resources, Spain was nevertheless an important factor in the diplomatic intrigues and terrible wars which filled Europe with troubles all during the eighteenth century.

War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713)

In 1700 Charles II, the childless king of Spain, died leaving a will bequeathing his immense empire to Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV. It was a crucial moment in the history of Europe when the news of this royal will reached Paris. Louis XIV clearly foresaw that war was likely to follow his acceptance of its terms, and he well knew that France was already terribly exhausted by his previous enterprises. Nevertheless the prize was tempting beyond measure. He had been secretly working for it for years, and his refusal meant its transfer to a hated rival. To say "no" meant—as Torcy, the head of French foreign affairs, urged—that "the same courier who has been dispatched to convey the news of the will to France will proceed to Vienna; and the Spanish nation, without hesitation, will acknowledge the Emperor's second son as their king. The house of Austria will then unite between father and son the power of Charles V, a power hitherto so fatal to France." Such arguments could not but appeal strongly to the king.

For a brief time Louis XIV hesitated, either to save appearances or because he realized fully the gravity of the situation; but at last he decided to accept the privilege for his grandson, and on November 16, 1700, he called the Spanish ambassador to his private chamber and told him to salute the duke of Anjou as the king of Spain. Louis then threw open the folding doors of his cabinet, bade the courtiers enter, and, with the majestic air of which he was the consummate master, he said: "Gentlemen, permit me to present to you the king of Spain. His station called him to that crown; the late king has called him to it by his will; and the whole nation has fixed its desire upon him and has eagerly asked me for him. It is the will of Heaven; I have obeyed it with pleasure." Then turning to his grandson, he said: "Be a good Spaniard; that is your first duty. But remember that you are a Frenchman born, in order that in this way the union between the two nations may be preserved. By this means you will be able to render both peoples happy and preserve the peace of Europe." The leading French journal of the time boldly proclaimed that the Pyrenees were no more.

Contrary to expectations, Louis's conduct in accepting the throne of Spain for a member of his family failed immediately to arouse general indignation. Both England and the United Provinces concurred in the new arrangement as inevitable, and even acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain under the title of "Philip V." It looked as if Louis were going to have everything his own way; and had he been more discreet he might have secured his prize without war. However, the commercial issue quickly became prominent, for he soon published a series of decrees relating to the Spanish-American trade which clearly indicated that the English and Dutch could expect no favors. He sent French soldiers to reënforce the Spanish troops in the barrier fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands and began to build ships at Cadiz as if Spain were now a part of France. Moreover, he had his courts declare solemnly that his grandson, Philip, still retained his rights to the French crown. Finally, in 1701, upon the death of the exiled king, James II, Louis, contrary to the promise he had made in the Treaty of Ryswick, recognized the deposed king's son as sovereign of England.

It was evident that Louis XIV had large plans for managing Spain's vast colonial empire in a way to benefit French merchants. The empire then embraced, far to the east, the Philippine Archipelago and the Caroline Islands; to the west—thanks to Columbus—Cuba, Porto Rico, and Trinidad. In North America, Spain controlled Florida, Mexico, and Texas, and claimed, indeed, all the great unexplored West. Central America was hers, and all of South America except Brazil, which was Portuguese.

The trade of this huge empire Spain had tried to keep entirely in her own hands. Columbus had sailed away to the west under the auspices of the queen of Castile, and consequently Castile proposed to retain for herself all the advantages of his discoveries and those of his successors. The idea of the "open door," which would have permitted all shipowners to sail freely back and forth from Dutch, English, or Portuguese ports to Havana, Vera Cruz, or Porto Bello, was unheard-of in those days. Castile looked upon her lucky find as a gold prospector would look upon the discovery of a rich claim, which he would scarcely expect to share with his less fortunate neighbors.

At first Spain forbade all foreign vessels to enter American waters, and Spanish merchants were ordered not to carry on business with traders of other European nations without the express permission of the king. Even in Spain only one port, Seville, was allowed to engage in trade with the colonies. All ships bound for America must leave from that port and must deliver their goods there on their return.[1] For a time Vera Cruz and Porto Bello were the only colonial ports through which trade could be conducted with Spanish America. Moreover, all ships were required to sail in fleets with regular convoys which made but very few trips a year. This was doubtless necessary when piracy and buccaneering were rife, but the system was maintained, like other restrictions, with the view of keeping the trade in the hands of the companies in which the government had vested it.

Spain was, however, unable to defend her monopoly. In the first place, she could not cover the broad Atlantic with guards and watch every inlet and landing-place along the interminable coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. Moreover, her home industries were so slight that she was unable to supply her colonies with all they needed; so they gladly conducted a secret and illicit trade with the merchants who came to them from England and Holland.

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[1] Not until 1778 were the special privileges originally granted to Seville, and later to three or four other towns, abolished and all Spanish ports opened to colonial trade.

These conditions had produced a curious species of trader —half merchant, half pirate, and necessarily always a smuggler—who sailed the Spanish Main[1] prepared, when unduly tempted, to sink a Spanish convoy and capture the unwieldy galleons laden with treasure. The English seamen of Elizabeth's time—Drake, Hawkins, and others—had ranged the high seas, first visiting the west coast of Africa to capture cargoes of negroes who could be sold as slaves in the Spanish colonies. When war existed between Spain and her European neighbors, her merchants naturally fared worse than usual, for it was considered patriotic as well as profitable to attack her ships. But smuggling flourished at all times, and it is supposed that by the eighteenth century England was carrying on illegally a more considerable trade with the Spanish colonies than did the mother country through her regular channels.

It was these commercial interests that gave the question of the Spanish succession its chief importance for the English. Should France obtain the vacant Spanish throne for a member of her reigning house, she would doubtless take pains to assure to herself all possible advantages in the trade with the Spanish colonies, and she would be able to supply the necessary military and naval forces to aid Spain in keeping out intruders as never before. Nor was it only the Western trade that was involved; for France, with even indirect control of Spain and southern Italy, could exclude English merchants from their intercourse with the Levant (as the eastern Mediterranean regions were called),—a calamity which England must avoid at any cost.

When it was clear that France intended to give support to the crumbling Spanish empire, and benefit from the union of

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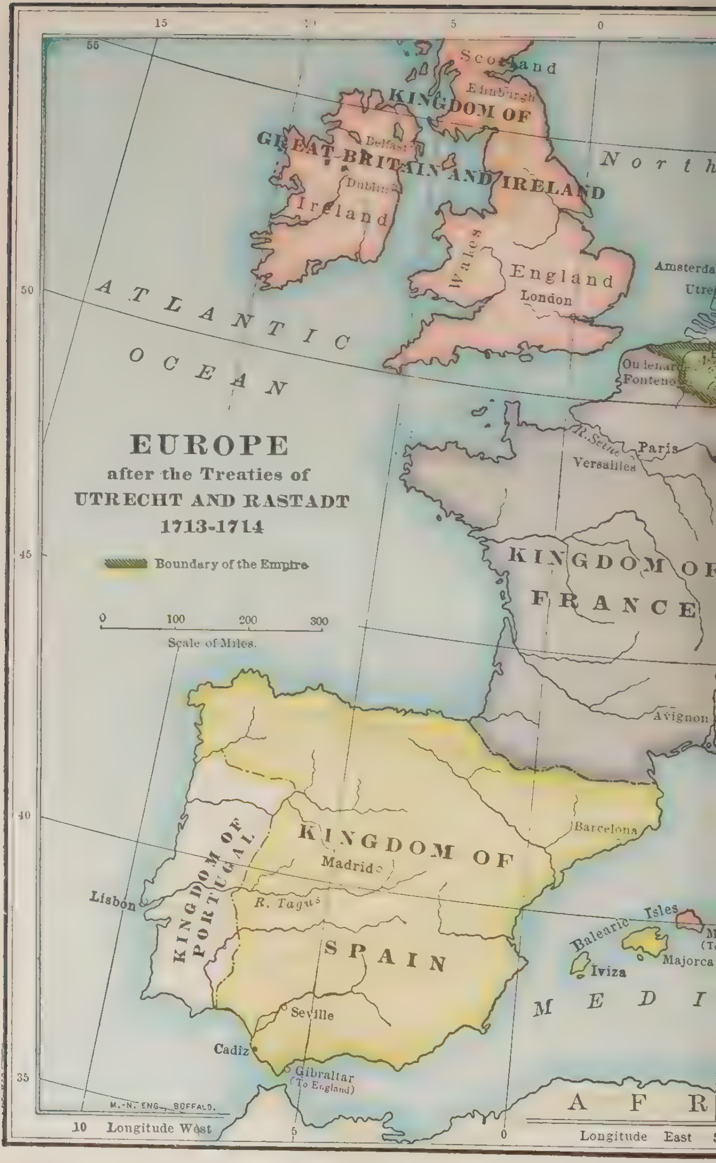
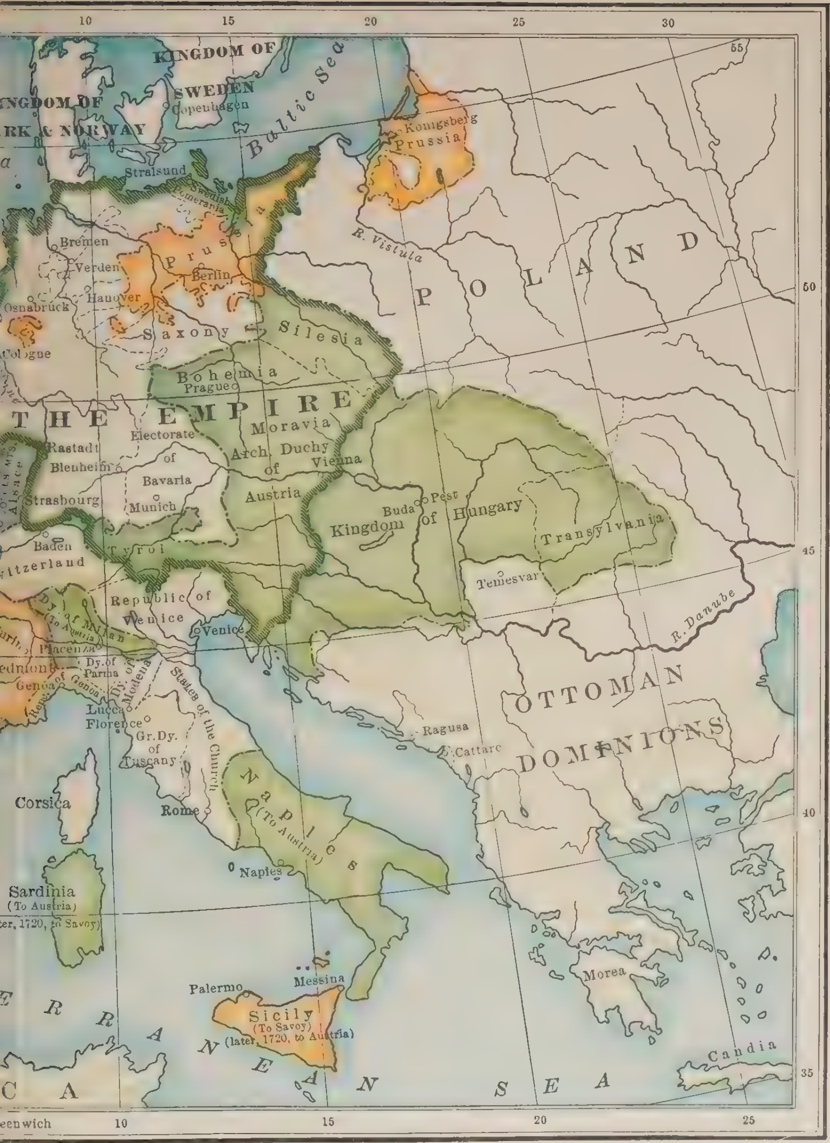
[1] The term "Spanish Main" perhaps meant originally the mainland of Central and South America as contrasted with the West Indies, but it is commonly applied to the neighboring waters, especially the Caribbean Sea.



EUROPE
after the Treaties of
UTRECHT AND RASTADT
1713-1714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KINGDOM OF
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NGDOM OF
RK & NORWAY
Baltic Sea
Konigsberg
Prussia
Stralsund
Swedish
Pomerania
Bremen
Verden
Prussia
Berlin
Hanover
Osnabruck
Saxony
Silesia
R. Vistula
POLAND
50
Cologne
Bohemia
Prague
THE EMPIRE
Moravia
Electorate
of
Bavaria
Rastadt
Blenheim
Arch. Duchy
of
Austria
Vienna
Strasbourg
Alsace
Munich
Buda
Pest
Kingdom
of Hungary
Transylvania
Baden
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(To Austria)
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Parma
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Rep. of Genoa
R. Danube
OTTOMAN
DOMINIONS
States of the Church
Lucca
Florence
Gr. Dy.
of
Tuscany
Ragusa
Cattaro
Corsica
Rome
Naples
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(later, 1720, to Austria)
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the two crowns in one family, William III, king of England, formed in 1701 a Grand Alliance in which England, Holland, the Emperor, and the king of Prussia were the leading members. In making this coalition the participants very frankly set forth their purposes. These were five in number: Spain and France were never to be united under the same ruler; the commercial privileges of the English and Dutch in the Spanish empire were to be continued; France should not be permitted to seize the Spanish Indies or engage in trade there; the Spanish Netherlands were to be conquered, to form a barrier against France; Milan, Naples, and Sicily were to be seized as the Emperor's share of the spoils and to give security to the commerce of the English and Dutch in those parts of the Mediterranean.

William himself died (1702) just as hostilities were beginning, and so the alliance against Louis lost its great leader. William was succeeded by his sister-in-law, Anne, who was not distinguished for her capacity as a ruler. The English were, however, pledged to the alliance and deeply interested in it.

Accordingly the long War of the Spanish Succession was carried on vigorously by the English general, the Duke of Marlborough, as well as by the Austrian commander, Eugene of Savoy. Louis, on the contrary, no longer had generals like Condé and Turenne, who had gained the victories in his earlier wars. All the important battles, Blenheim, Ramillies, and Oudenarde, went against him. The conflict was more general than the Thirty Years' War had been; even in America there was fighting between the French and English colonists which in American histories goes by the name of "Queen Anne's War." In the unequal conflict France was rapidly being ruined by the destruction of her people and her wealth; after some ten years of war Louis was willing to consider a compromise that would bring peace. As the allies were constantly quarreling among themselves, and bitterly charging one another with failure to render the promised help in the war, Louis was able to save something from the wreck in the treaties which established peace once more.

The Peace of Utrecht[1] changed the map of Europe as no previous treaty had done,—not even that of Westphalia, which closed the Thirty Years' War in 1648. Each of the combatants got a share of the Spanish booty over which they had been struggling. The Bourbon Philip was permitted to retain the crown of Spain and all her colonies, but the Spanish and French crowns were never to rest on the same head. Though losing the Spanish Netherlands and her Italian possessions, Spain was really benefited by this arrangement; for under her new sovereign, attention could be given to those domestic and administrative reforms so long and so sadly needed.

The Archduke Charles, now become Emperor after the death of his brother, was of course obliged to surrender his hopes of becoming king of Spain; but his disappointment was offset by considerable additions to the Austrian realms. He was awarded the Spanish Netherlands, which were to continue to form a barrier between the Dutch and the French. Moreover, he received most of the Spanish possessions in Italy; namely, Naples, Milan, and the island of Sardinia. In this way it came about that Austria got that hold upon Italy which was not relinquished until 1866—indeed, not completely until 1918.

Of all the countries which participated in the War of the Spanish Succession, England came out with the most considerable and permanent gains. In the first place, the question of the succession to the English crown was set at rest. Louis XIV had always shown himself ready to forward a revolution in England in order to place a Catholic king once more upon the throne. But he now agreed to recognize Anne as the legitimate ruler and promised never, either openly or by fomenting sedition, to attack her or her Protestant successors as designated by Parliament.

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[1] The greater part of the powers which had been involved in the War of the Spanish Succession concluded peace with one another at Utrecht, April, 1713; but the Emperor did not sign his treaty with France until the following March, at Rastadt. This was accepted by the representatives of the Holy Roman Empire a few months later at Baden, in Switzerland. So, to be quite accurate, one should speak of the Peace of Utrecht-Rastadt-Baden, 1713–1714.

In America, England acquired from France Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region, all of which she still holds. In this way the gradual expulsion of the French from North America began. From Spain, England received the rock of Gibraltar, from which she still commands the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, an acquisition that grew in importance with the establishment of the British Empire in India and the opening of the Suez Canal. Moreover, she induced Spain to bind herself not to grant to France or any other nation the right to trade freely with her colonies, but secured for herself the highly prized privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies with African slaves for thirty years. She was also permitted to send each year to Porto Bello, on the isthmus of Panama, a ship of five hundred tons' burden laden with merchandise,—a concession which only served to encourage smuggling on a larger scale than ever before and led finally to a war between the two countries.

ENGLAND MERGES INTO GREAT BRITAIN

Hereafter, if a common inaccuracy is to be avoided, *England* should, as a European power, be referred to as *Great Britain*, and the *English* government be called the *British* government; for, with the union established between England and Scotland in 1707, the whole island of Greater Britannia (originally distinguished in this way from Lesser Britannia, that is, Bretagne, across the Channel), including England, Wales, and Scotland, became a single state.[1]

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[1] For centuries the difficulties between England and Scotland had led to much bloodshed and suffering. In 1603, on the accession to the English throne of the Scotch king, James VI, as James I of England, the two countries had come under the same ruler, but each maintained its own independent parliament and system of government. Finally, in 1707, both countries agreed to unite in

In order to make the later history clear, a change in the English dynasty just as England was becoming Great Britain must also be noted at this point. None of Queen Anne's children survived her, and she was succeeded, according to an arrangement made before her accession, by the nearest Protestant heir. This was George I, son of James I's granddaughter, Sophia.[1] She had married the elector of Hanover[2]; consequently the king who came to the English throne in 1714 was a German, and as elector of Hanover his Continental realms belonged to the Holy Roman Empire.

This circumstance did not cause as much trouble as might have been expected. There was no question of uniting Hanover and Great Britain in any way. Indeed, Great Britain assumed no responsibility for her king's German territory.

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one government. Forty-five members of the British House of Commons were thereafter to be chosen in Scotland, and sixteen Scotch lords were added to the British House of Lords. About a century later, January 1, 1801, the official name of Great Britain became "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." There seems to have been a desire to please all the countries in the United Kingdom, together with Ireland, when the heir to the throne, born in 1894, was named Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David.

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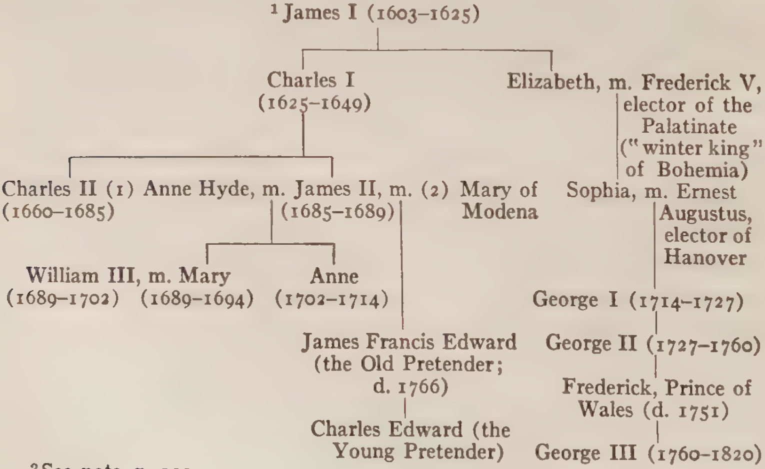
James I (1603–1625)
Charles I (1625–1649)
Elizabeth, m. Frederick V, elector of the Palatinate ("winter king" of Bohemia)
Charles II (1660–1685)
(1) Anne Hyde, m. James II, m. (2) Mary of Modena
(1685–1689)
Sophia, m. Ernest Augustus, elector of Hanover
William III, m. Mary
(1689–1702) (1689–1694)
Anne (1702–1714)
George I (1714–1727)
James Francis Edward (the Old Pretender; d. 1766)
George II (1727–1760)
Frederick, Prince of Wales (d. 1751)
Charles Edward (the Young Pretender)
George III (1760–1820)

[2] See note, p. 100.

Nevertheless the policy of the Hanoverian kings was from time to time influenced by attacks made upon their electorate. The inability of George I to speak English led to an important result; for he was compelled to turn over most of the business of government to his ministers, and, as will be shown later, this led to the development of the famous British cabinet.[1]

At the close of the War of the Spanish Succession, Great Britain was in a position to overshadow not only the French but her former rivals on the sea, the Dutch and the Spanish. Her navy became the finest and most powerful in the world. For a quarter of a century after the Peace of Utrecht, Great Britain managed, with a trifling exception, to keep out of the struggles on the Continent. Later, as we shall see, she felt obliged, at least through subsidies and diplomatic negotiations, to intervene in European conflicts in order to maintain the "balance of power," which she believed essential to her welfare. Her important wars were waged in far-distant portions of the world and more often on sea than on land. Fifty years after the death of Louis XIV, Great Britain succeeded in driving the French out of both India and North America and so laid the foundations of that vast overseas empire which secured her a long commercial supremacy among the people of the earth (see the following chapter).

When Louis XIV died in 1715, after a reign of more than seventy years, the French appear to have experienced a sense of relief in being well rid of the old man. There was no one to spoil the general satisfaction by foretelling that the new king, then but five years old, was beginning a long and inglorious reign during which he would gratify a taste for low debauchery and exhibit an insensibility to the public welfare quite alien to his great-grandfather, whose death was mistaken for a harbinger of better times to come. France was exhausted by her long wars and ceased to be a serious menace to her neighbors until the French Revolution stirred up new troubles.

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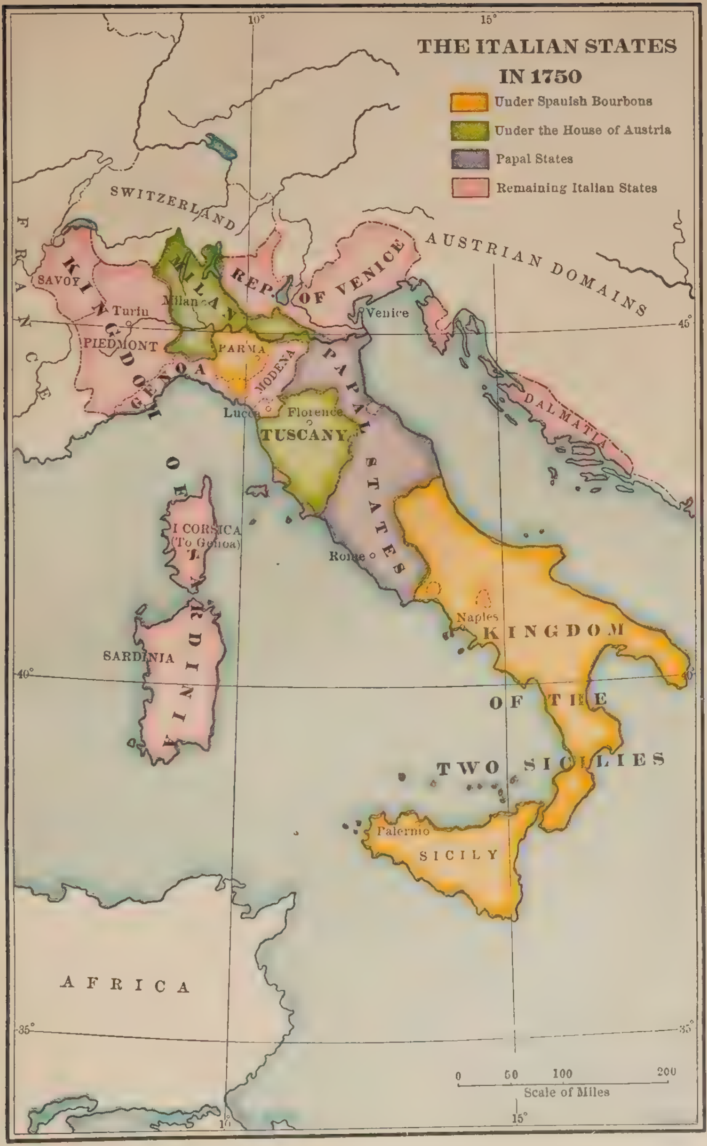
[1] See last section in Chapter VII.

Though her king was incompetent and her generals inferior; though her campaigns resulted in shameful defeats; though she lost her colonies and was weighed down by bad taxes and the survivals of feudal dues and privileges,—France nevertheless, during the reign of Louis XV, became the leader of European thought and the teacher of the nations. Her scientists, philosophers, and economists, as we shall see, pointed the way toward progress by denouncing the old abuses and errors—sometimes too hotly, it is true, but in such a manner that no one could refuse to listen to them. At last, in the Revolution of 1789, France gave Europe an example of thoroughgoing reform that was sooner or later followed by all the European powers.

Poland and Italy, Apples of Discord

The division of the variegated and widely scattered Spanish realms after the War of the Spanish Succession led to various complications which well illustrate the European situation of the time and the problems of the future. The Bourbon Philip had been permitted to retain the crown of Spain and the Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere. He had, however, to give up the Spanish Netherlands, which were one day to become the kingdom of Belgium. These went to Austria. To Austria were also assigned most of the Spanish possessions in Italy,—Naples, Milan, and the island of Sardinia. Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, but two royal marriages led to two little wars before the Italian situation was adjusted.

The new Bourbon king of Spain had married an enterprising Italian princess, Elizabeth of Parma, who, regardless of the lives and treasure of her Spanish subjects, soon set her heart upon securing some kind of respectable principality for their little son, Don Carlos. Under her influence Spain tried (1717–1718) to regain Sardinia and Sicily by arms, but was forced by France and Great Britain to agree to a peace in 1720 in which Parma and Tuscany were promised to Don


THE ITALIAN STATES IN 1750
Under Spanish Bourbons
Under the House of Austria
Papal States
Remaining Italian States
10°
15°
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIAN DOMAINS
FRANCE
SAVOY
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Turin
PIEDMONT
MILAN
Milan
REP. OF VENICE
Venice
PARMA
MODENA
GENOA
Lucca
Florence
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
Rome
CORSICA
(To Genoa)
SARDINIA
DALMATIA
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Palermo
SICILY
AFRICA
45°
40°
35°
0 50 100 200
Scale of Miles

Carlos as soon as their rulers, who were without heirs, should die. The Emperor at last acknowledged Philip as king of Spain, but only on condition of receiving Sicily. This had to be taken from the duke of Savoy, who was obliged to content himself with the island of Sardinia instead, and the title of "King of Sardinia."[1]

The second royal marriage to furnish an excuse for further fighting and another readjustment of territory was that of Louis XV of France. He had married the daughter of that Stanislaus Leszczynski whom the Swedish king, Charles XII, had vainly tried to keep on the Polish throne (see page 119). Louis felt it his duty and privilege to attempt the restoration of the deposed king. An opportunity offered itself in 1733, and the French were forced to go to war in the interest of their king's father-in-law. Spain sided with Stanislaus, and Austria supported his rival; but it was *Italy*, not *Poland*, in which both were really interested.

After two years of hostilities (the War of the Polish Succession) and three years of negotiations a new agreement was made at Vienna in 1738. The Emperor, who had been badly beaten, agreed to turn Naples and Sicily over to Don Carlos on condition that the latter should give up all claim to Parma and Tuscany. In this way the queen of Spain secured the coveted kingdom of the Two Sicilies[2] for her son and his heirs. This younger branch of the Spanish Bourbons held all southern Italy until the last of them was driven out by Garibaldi in 1860.

As Louis XV had not succeeded in replacing his father-in-law on the Polish throne, he looked about for a dukedom to solace the ex-king's declining years. Since there was none vacant, the duke of Lorraine was induced to surrender his patrimony to Stanislaus Leszczynski, after whose death (which occurred in 1766) France was to be allowed to annex this long-coveted region. In view of this advantageous arrangement France gave her consent to a marriage between Francis, the dispossessed duke of Lorraine, and the Emperor's daughter, Maria Theresa, of whom we shall hear more anon. As an indemnity for the loss of his duchy, Francis was given Tuscany, with its famous city of Florence. This had long been under the rule of the Medici, but the line had died out in 1737, and their lands thus passed to a stranger from across the Alps.

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[1] The entire disregard of the "self-determination of nations" may be noted in all these shiftings. But the misnamed kings of Sardinia were destined ultimately to become kings of Italy. The dukes of Savoy had come into possession of Piedmont, with its city of Turin, in 1601. In this way they became an important power in northwestern Italy.

[2] This singular name owes its origin to the fact that during the Middle Ages the kingdom of Naples was commonly called Sicily, as well as the island of Sicily.

Italy's fate was sealed for more than a century. As we glance at the map (in 1750) we find a Spanish ruler once more controlling, as of old, all the southern portions of the peninsula. Another foreign power, Austria, holds Milan and, indirectly, Tuscany (Parma she agreed in 1748 to hand over to a younger son of the queen of Spain). Across the peninsula, between the Austrian and the Spanish lands, lay the Papal States, which for hundreds of years had belonged to the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The two ancient republics, Venice and Genoa, once the glory of Italy, had lost a great part of their former importance, nor were the two little independent duchies of Modena and Lucca in a position to resist foreign interference.

As later history showed, the hope of Italy lay in the king of Sardinia, whose capital was Turin. His realms consisted of Piedmont and the mountainous Savoy, together with the unimportant island from which he derived the royal title that he was destined one day to exchange for the more glorious one of "King of Italy." We shall later describe the extraordinary series of events in the nineteenth century that enabled Italy to free herself from the control of foreign nations, and to unite all her scattered members into a firm national union.

The Peace of Utrecht did not affect the Holy Roman Empire, which remained for almost another century the same loose union of practically independent dukedoms, principalities, bishoprics, and towns that it long had been. The new kingdom of Prussia was, however, preparing to assume an important place in European affairs.

As for eastern Europe, we have seen that Peter the Great had at last won an outlet to the sea for Russia. Little further happened in the way of Russian expansion down to the accession of Catherine the Great in 1762. The Turks had been driven out of Hungary, which was under Hapsburg rule. We have now to take up the European struggles which filled the middle of the eighteenth century.

FREDERICK THE GREAT AND MARIA THERESA

It was reserved for Frederick II of Prussia to win for his little kingdom a prominent place among the European powers and to earn for himself the title of "the Great." As a youth he gave no promise of military distinction. He had disgusted his father by his fondness for French books and his passion for writing verses and playing the flute. When eighteen years old Frederick had tried to run away, to escape the harsh military discipline to which he was subjected. He was captured and brought before the king, who was in such a rage that he seemed upon the point of killing his renegade son with his sword.

After this, Frederick consented to give some attention to public affairs. He inspected the royal domains and began, for the first time, to study the peasants, their farms, and their cattle. He was very fond of writing and seized every spare moment of a busy life to push forward his works upon history, politics, and military matters. No less than twenty-four volumes of his works, *all in French*, were published shortly after his death, and these did not include everything that he had managed to write.

Frederick had no trouble, when the time came, in showing the world that he was one of the greatest generals of modern times. Upon his father's death in 1740 it seemed for a moment as if he proposed to inaugurate an era of peace. He dismissed the giant guards whom his father had taken such pains to get together; he reorganized the Academy of Berlin and hastened to confer with the great Voltaire in regard to the new responsibilities which he had now to meet.

Frederick came to the throne in the spring of 1740. In the autumn the Emperor, Charles VI, died and left his extensive domains to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, then only twenty-three years old, five years younger than her future rival, the king of Prussia. Her father, it will be remembered, had aspired to the throne of Spain and had most reluctantly acknowledged the Bourbon Philip V, with whom he long continued to fight over their respective claims to Italian territory. Since he had no male relatives to whom the Hapsburg possessions would descend after his death, he labored for years to insure to his favorite child, Maria Theresa, the inheritance of all his lands. In order to do this he drew up a revised code of laws relating to the rights of succession, which was called the Pragmatic Sanction. This he so arranged as to exclude the daughters of his elder brother and give preference to his own.[1]

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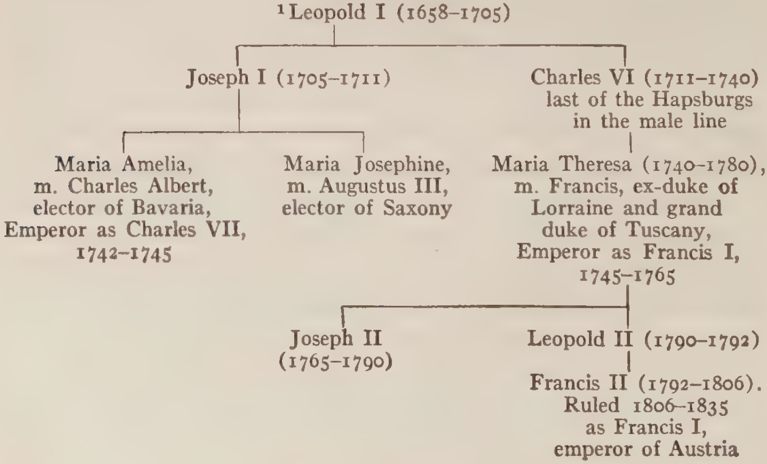
Leopold I (1658–1705)
Joseph I (1705–1711)
Charles VI (1711–1740) last of the Hapsburgs in the male line
Maria Amelia, m. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, Emperor as Charles VII, 1742–1745
Maria Josephine, m. Augustus III, elector of Saxony
Maria Theresa (1740–1780), m. Francis, ex-duke of Lorraine and grand duke of Tuscany, Emperor as Francis I, 1745–1765
Joseph II (1765–1790)
Leopold II (1790–1792)
Francis II (1792–1806). Ruled 1806–1835 as Francis I, emperor of Austria

By promises, concessions of territory, and tedious negotiations he induced the more important powers of Europe—Russia, Prussia, Holland, Spain, England, and France—to agree to his plan.

For a time it seemed as if no one were going to take advantage of Maria Theresa's inexperience to rob her of her outlying possessions. She began immediately to display astonishing energy and aptitude for the business of governing. Her clear judgment, her distinguished bearing, her love of pomp and ceremony, all helped her to sustain her dignity in the trying circumstances in which she soon found herself. She had none of Frederick's appreciation of culture, and, unlike most of her royal contemporaries, exhibited a contempt for science and philosophy. Nor had she any sympathy with religious toleration; on the contrary, she abhorred the skeptical notions of the Prussian king and his admiration for Voltaire.

The problems which confronted her would have been difficult enough if her realms had been compact and inhabited by people of a single race. The Austrian possessions were, however, a most miscellaneous and scattered collection of territories, great and small, inhabited by a great variety of widely differing races: Germans in Austria proper, Czechs mixed with Germans in Bohemia and Moravia, Magyars in Hungary, Croatians and Slovenes to the south, Italians in Milan and Tuscany, and French and Walloons in the Netherlands. The chief cities of the young queen included such scattered and varied places as Vienna, Pest, Prague, Milan, Brussels, and Antwerp.

While the Spanish Bourbons might try to increase their Italian territories at her expense, or France encroach upon the Netherlands, Maria Theresa's more natural enemies were nearer home. Of her two cousins (the daughters of her father's elder brother, Emperor Joseph I) one had married the elector of Saxony; the other, the elector of Bavaria. Both these princes accordingly laid claim to portions of Maria Theresa's lands: the elector of Saxony wanted Moravia, and the elector of Bavaria wanted Bohemia.

It was, however, none of Maria Theresa's relatives that first attacked her, but Frederick of Prussia, whose anxiety to increase the bounds of his kingdom precipitated a series of wars which lasted with scarcely any interruption for nearly a quarter of a century and altered the map of the world more fundamentally than had even the long War of the Spanish Succession. Frederick saw no easier way of forwarding his designs than by robbing the seemingly defenseless Maria Theresa of Silesia, a strip of territory lying to the southeast of Brandenburg.

To save appearances he offered to join Austria in a firm alliance if she would peacefully cede Silesia to him, but Maria Theresa indignantly replied that she was prepared to defend her subjects, not to sell them. Thereupon, scarcely two months after the death of Charles VI, Frederick marched his army into the coveted district, occupied the important city of Breslau, and had soon gained possession of the whole province. He did not take the trouble to declare war, and offered as an excuse for his attack only a vague claim to a part of the land.

War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748)

Maria Theresa got together an army with difficulty, and her troops were hopelessly defeated by the Prussian king at Mollwitz early in April, 1741. This brilliant victory attracted the attention of all the European monarchs, especially those who saw a prospect of following Frederick's example and seizing some part of the defenseless queen's territory. France joined Prussia in June, hoping to weaken her old enemy Austria; to secure the election of her friend, the elector of Bavaria, as Emperor instead of Maria Theresa's husband, Francis; and lastly, to gain the long-coveted Austrian Netherlands. Spain, Sardinia, and Bavaria joined France and Prussia. But Maria

Theresa's appeal to Great Britain had brought a prompt response from George II, who, as elector of Hanover, feared the increasing power of Prussia and the possibility that France might annex the Netherlands. Consequently he induced Parliament to make a grant to aid the young queen in defending herself.

The French army joined that of the elector of Bavaria and advanced into Austria. They turned into Bohemia, took Prague in November, 1741, and forced the representatives of Bohemia to recognize the elector of Bavaria, Charles Albert, as their king. Early next year he was duly chosen Emperor, as Charles VII, at Frankfurt.

A great part of Maria Theresa's possessions were now in the hands of her numerous enemies. Nevertheless her courage did not fail. She appealed to her Hungarian subjects. It took a good deal of negotiation to induce them to participate in a war that had already proved so disastrous; but at last their queen roused their enthusiasm, and they provided her with soldiers so that she was able in a short time to cope successfully with her western enemies.

In February, 1742, the very day on which Charles Albert was crowned Emperor, one of her armies swept into his capital of Munich, while the other was defeating his French allies. In the summer she came to terms with the Prussian king, who perfidiously deserted the French on condition that Maria Theresa should cede him Silesia. The Austrian troops forced the French across the Rhine, and Charles VII, in spite of his august title, became a sort of vagrant who had to rely upon the French commander for pocket money.

The war, instead of coming to an end as might have been expected, now broadened out by coalescing with a war between Great Britain and Spain which had begun in 1739, just before the seizure of Silesia by Frederick. The first Bourbon king of Spain, Philip V, became in later life a sad mental and physical wreck; but his energetic wife, Elizabeth of Parma, did what she could, with the aid of able ministers, to strengthen her adopted country. The marine forces were increased, and the heavy old galleons were replaced by more modern ships. Efforts were made, too, to check the smuggling which the British continued to carry on.

British merchants, who had long violated with impunity the Spanish laws which prohibited them from trading with the West Indies and South America, now began to bring home stories of the hardships they had suffered in Spanish prisons. One of the many stories alleged that a certain Captain Jenkins, while engaged in legitimate commerce, had been arrested by the savage Spaniards, who had cut off his ear. The captain's story helped to excite the populace, and gave rise to the name "the War of Jenkins's Ear."

The pacific Sir Robert Walpole, who was then at the head of British affairs, discouraged a resort to arms and urged a careful investigation of the charges; but he was forced to agree to war in 1739. When he heard the clamor of bells announcing to the people the commencement of hostilities, he declared, "They are ringing the bells now; they will be wringing their hands soon."

The momentous results in India and America of the war thus begun will form the subject of the following chapter. So far as the continent of Europe was concerned, the conflict between Great Britain and Spain merged into the general turmoil; for France, instead of being discouraged by her reverses, made advances to Spain and concluded a "family compact" by which each branch of the Bourbons agreed to defend the territories of the other. France promised, moreover, to help Spain to regain Gibraltar and Minorca, which she had been compelled to cede to Great Britain, and also to win the English colony of Georgia, in North America. France as an ally of Spain was now at war with Great Britain as well as with Austria, and she at once threw her troops into the Austrian Netherlands, where they won for a time victories as brilliant as those achieved by Louis XIV upon the same battle ground during the early years of his reign.[1]

Frederick II of Prussia scarcely participated in the war. France was thus left in the lurch once more while Frederick quoted an ancient verse, "Happy are they who, having secured their own advantage, can look tranquilly upon the embarrassments of others."

For four years the war raged in the Austrian Netherlands, the Rhine valley, Silesia, Saxony, Italy, North America, and India without bringing permanent gain or glory to any of the combatants, for all the fearful sacrifices of life and money. Finally all parties, weary of the long conflict, laid down their arms and agreed to what is called in diplomacy the *status quo ante bellum*, which meant that everything should be restored in general to the conditions which existed before hostilities began.

In the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 France agreed once again to make no further attempt to aid the Stuart pretenders to regain the English throne.[2] The Pragmatic Sanction and the election of Maria Theresa's husband as Emperor Francis I were ratified by the powers. Little Parma was turned over by Austria to a younger son of Elizabeth of Parma, queen of Spain. Great Britain had spent a huge sum of money and yet had not succeeded in forcing Spain to promise to stop searching British vessels suspected of smuggling or to remedy any of the other abuses which had led to the war.

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[1] The French forces ventured to invade the territory of the United Provinces in 1747. The Dutch, frightened as they had been in 1672 by Louis XIV's invasion, proclaimed William IV, Prince of Orange, *hereditary* stadholder of all the provinces, and so once more transformed the former republic into a monarchy in all but name.

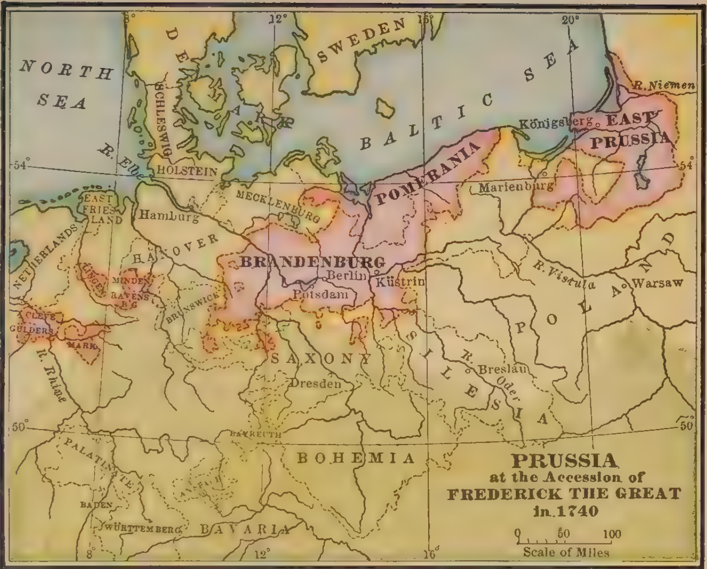
[2] During the war Charles Edward, grandson of James II, had landed in Scotland, gathered the Highland clans about him, and marched southward into England with the hope of wresting the English scepter from George II. France having failed to send the expected aid, he was utterly defeated at Culloden in 1746, and regained the Continent only after the most romantic adventures. This episode put an end forever to the attempts of the Stuarts to win back the English throne.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763)

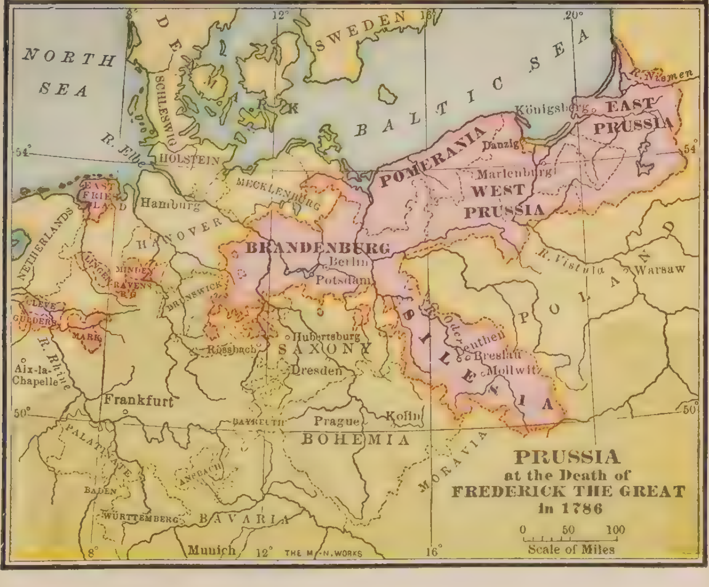
The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle proved to be only a truce, for none of the parties to the settlement were satisfied with the outcome. The question of French and English predominance on the seas and in India and North America was left undecided. Maria Theresa could not reconcile herself to the loss of Silesia; according to an English envoy she forgot that she was a queen and broke into tears like a woman whenever she saw a Silesian. Therefore, when the Tsarina Elizabeth offered her aid in recovering the lost province, she gladly accepted it. Louis XV harbored bitter feelings against his former ally, Frederick, whom he charged with breach of faith in withdrawing from the conflict when he had gained his own ends. On the other hand, Frederick made fun of the French generals and retorted that Louis likewise had thought only of his own interests.

The renewed conflict, which was to involve the Indian rajahs of Hindustan and the colonists of Virginia and New England, began, singularly enough, near the site now occupied by busy Pittsburgh, where General Braddock was defeated (1755) by the French and their Indian allies in his attempt to take Fort Duquesne. The English captured two French frigates off the coast of Newfoundland, and war commenced on the high seas before it was declared in 1756. Frederick the Great was well aware that Maria Theresa was forming a coalition against him, and accordingly entered into an alliance with Great Britain, who was thereby ranged among the enemies of Austria instead of, as formerly, among her friends.

The news of Frederick's alliance with Great Britain had a remarkable effect upon the court of Louis XV. Kaunitz, the able ambassador of Maria Theresa, had been busy trying to bring France over to his side, and he now succeeded; in spite of two hundred years of hostility to the House of Hapsburg, France bound herself to her inveterate enemy in an alliance of



PRUSSIA
at the Accession of
FREDERICK THE GREAT
in 1740



PRUSSIA
at the Death of
FREDERICK THE GREAT
in 1786

friendship and defense. After this astonishing diplomatic revolution by which Prussia and Great Britain were now allied against France and Austria, Frederick's enemies proceeded to plan a partition of Prussia. Maria Theresa was to restrict his territories to the boundaries of a hundred years before, to deprive him of his rank of king, and thus thoroughly to humiliate him. Russia, Saxony, and Sweden also agreed to join in the concerted attack upon Prussia, and armies gathering from all points of the compass threatened to reduce the Hohenzollern state to insignificance.

However, it was in this very war that Frederick earned his title of "the Great" and showed himself the equal of the ablest generals that the world had seen. Learning the object of the allies, he did not wait for them to declare war upon him; with entire disregard of international law he invaded Saxony, expelled the elector, assumed the administration of the province, and defeated the Austrians sent against him (1756). The next year, however, he found himself thickly beset with difficulties. Sweden, having joined the coalition against him, occupied East Pomerania; France began to pour an enormous army into his Rhenish provinces; Russian troops invaded East Prussia and overwhelmed the general whom Frederick dispatched against them; and Frederick himself was badly beaten at Kolin by the Imperial army.

Nevertheless Frederick recruited fresh levies, turned to the western part of Saxony to meet the oncoming French troops, and gained one of his most famous victories at the battle of Rossbach (1757) against the French and Imperial forces. Then, swinging back to the east, he worsted the Austrians and Russians a month later at Leuthen, in Silesia, in a memorable battle which Napoleon afterwards declared would alone have placed the Prussian king among the great generals of all time. For five years more Frederick continued the unequal struggle in Saxony, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Bohemia, sometimes in victory and sometimes in bitter defeat, but subjected to a constant strain on his resources which eventually shattered his splendid army and embittered its intrepid commander.

During these trying years one of Frederick's principal sources of support was the annual subsidy of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds furnished him by William Pitt, then the chief minister in Great Britain and director of British operations on land and sea. Unfortunately for Frederick, in the autumn of 1761 Pitt was forced to resign his office owing to the fact that the new sovereign, George III (1760–1820), longed for peace and was especially opposed to the minister's plan for increasing the war burden by fighting the king of Spain, who had just renewed the family compact with France. The subsidies that had so materially helped Frederick in his struggle were now withdrawn, and he was advised to make terms with his enemies. Naturally this reversal of the British policy greatly incensed Frederick and inspired him with a stanch hatred for England which he cherished until his death.

The outlook would now have been gloomy indeed for Frederick had it not been for the death of his bitter enemy, the Tsarina Elizabeth of Russia, in 1762. Her successor, Peter III, was a great admirer of Frederick and promptly concluded peace with him. Freed thus from further danger on the Russian side, Frederick turned upon the Austrians, drove them out of Silesia, and in November agreed to a truce with Maria Theresa as a preliminary to a final settlement, which was reached at Hubertsburg, in Saxony, in February, 1763. The Seven Years' War brought to Frederick only a renewed confirmation of his claim to the Silesian province, and to Austria an enormous war debt and the promise of the Prussian king to assist Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II, in securing the succession to his father as Emperor.

Meanwhile France and England brought their maritime and colonial struggle to a close in a treaty of peace signed at Paris in February, 1763. This settlement was most disastrous for Louis XV, who, instead of the glory and dominion he had sought, had to acknowledge only defeat and ruin. The great empire which the French colonists had been building up in the valley of the St. Lawrence and east of the Mississippi for more than a century had to be surrendered to England. Though France retained five trading-posts in India, they were not to be fortified, and thus the hopes of conquering Hindustan which she had cherished during recent years came to naught. Great Britain, on the other hand, emerged from the conflict incontestably mistress of the seas and the world's greatest colonial power (see the following chapter).

In addition to the discredit resulting from these grave territorial losses, Louis XV had become burdened by a connection with the House of Austria, which was thoroughly unpopular with his subjects, and he had incurred a great war debt that helped materially to bring on in later years the financial disaster which precipitated the French Revolution.

Three Partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, and 1795)

Frederick's success in seizing and holding one of Austria's finest provinces did not satisfy him. The central portions of his kingdom—Brandenburg, Silesia, and Pomerania—were completely cut off from East Prussia by a considerable tract known as West Prussia, which belonged to the kingdom of Poland. The map will show how great must have been Frederick's temptation to fill this gap, especially as Poland was in no condition to defend its possessions.

With the exception of Russia, Poland (including Lithuania) was the largest kingdom in Europe. It covered an immense plain with no natural boundaries, and the population, which was very thinly scattered, belonged to several races. Besides the Poles themselves, there were Germans in the cities of West Prussia, and Lithuanians and Russians in Lithuania. The Jews were very numerous everywhere, forming half the population in some of the towns. The Poles were usually Catholics, the Germans were Protestants, and the Russians adhered to the Greek Church. These differences in religion, added to those of race, created endless difficulties and dissensions.

Instead of having developed a strong monarchy as her neighbors—Prussia, Russia, and Austria—had done, Poland remained in a state of feudal anarchy, which the nobles had taken the greatest pains to perpetuate by binding their kings in such a way that they had no power either to maintain order or to defend the country from attack. The king could not declare war, make peace, impose taxes, or pass any law without the consent of the diet. As the diet was composed of representatives of the nobility, any one of whom could freely veto any measure (for no measure could pass that had even one vote against it), most of the diets broke up without accomplishing anything.

The kingship was not hereditary in Poland: each time the ruler died the nobles assembled and chose a new one, commonly a foreigner. These elections were tumultuous; and the various European powers regularly interfered, by force or bribery, to secure the election of a candidate who they believed would favor their interests.

The nobles in Poland were very numerous. There were perhaps a million and a half of them, mostly very poor, owning only a trifling bit of land. There was a saying that the poor noble's dog, even if he sat in the middle of the estate, was sure to have his tail upon a neighbor's land. A few rich and powerful families really controlled such government as existed in Poland. There was no middle class except in the German towns. The peasants were miserable, indeed. They had sunk from serfs to slaves over whom their lords had the right of life and death. They owed all the fruits of their labor to their lords and were mere chattels, living in hopeless filth and misery. There was for them no king, no law but the will of their masters, no country but the manor on which they were born and to which they belonged like the cattle in the fields.

Augustus III of Poland died in 1763, just as the Seven Years' War had been brought to a close, and Frederick immediately arranged with the new Russian ruler, the famous Catherine II, to put upon the vacant throne her favorite, Poniatowski, who took the title of "Stanislaus II."

Since Catherine (1762–1796) was to play a conspicuous rôle in all the affairs of Europe for thirty-five years, a word must be said of the manner in which this German woman became the ruler of all the Russias. She was the daughter of one of Frederick the Great's officers and had been selected by the king in 1743, at the request of the Tsarina Elizabeth, as a suitable wife for Peter, the heir to the throne. At the age of fourteen this inexperienced girl found herself in the midst of the intrigues of the court at St. Petersburg; she joined the Greek Church, exchanged her name of Sophia for that of Catherine, and by zealous study of both books and men prepared to make her new name famous.

Her husband proved to be a worthless fellow who early began to neglect and maltreat her. Within six months after his accession as Tsar Peter III, Catherine won over the imperial guard and had herself proclaimed empress. Peter was forced to abdicate, and was carried off by some of Catherine's supporters, who put him to death, probably with her tacit consent.

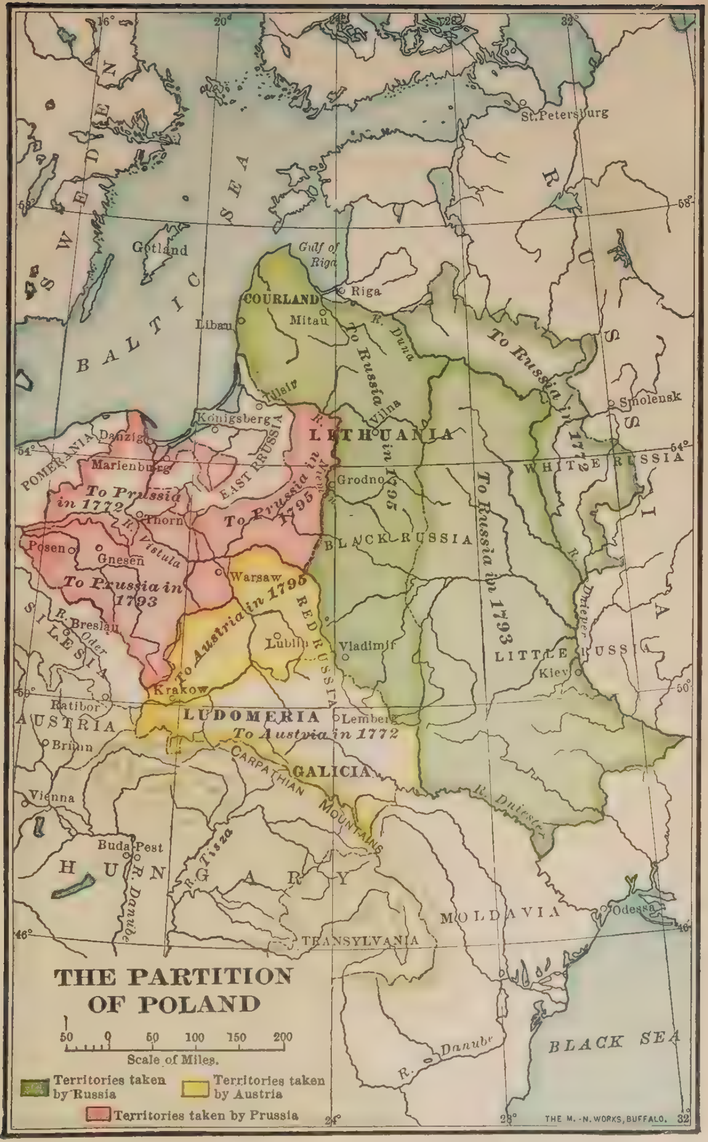
In the spirit of Peter the Great, Catherine determined to carry on the Europeanizing of Russia and extend her empire. She was doubtless thoroughly unscrupulous and hypocritical, but she was shrewd in the choice and management of her ministers and was herself a hard worker. She rose at six o'clock in the morning, prepared her own breakfast, and turned to the dull business of government, carefully considering the reports laid before her relating to the army, the navy, finances, and foreign affairs. She read and admired the writings of Voltaire and the various other French philosophers and reformers, whom she welcomed at her court whenever she could induce them to visit her. She was, in short, in her tastes and energy, a sort of female Frederick the Great.

To return to Poland, Catherine was disappointed in Stanislaus Poniatowski, who showed himself favorable to reform. He even proposed to do away with the *liberum veto*, the sacred right of any member of the diet to block a measure no matter how salutary. Russia, therefore, supported by Prussia, intervened to demand that the *liberum veto*, which insured continued anarchy, should be maintained, and that the adherents of the Protestant and Greek churches should be granted reasonable rights.

Meanwhile France, in order to direct Catherine's attention to another quarter, encouraged the Turks to attack her; but Catherine's armies gained victory after victory. She sent a fleet around through the North Sea into the Mediterranean (1770), which destroyed the Turkish squadron in the Ægean Sea. Her forces occupied the coast of the Black Sea and seemed ready to cross the Balkan Mountains and perhaps to put an end to the Turkish power in Europe.

Austria was thoroughly alarmed by the prospect of having Russia for a neighbor on the southeast instead of the ever-weakening Turks. She consequently approached her old enemy, Frederick, and between them they decided that Russia should be allowed to take a portion of Poland if she would consent to give up most of her Turkish conquests; then Austria, in order to maintain the balance of power, should also be given a slice of Poland, and Frederick should take the longed-for West Prussia.

Accordingly, in 1772 Poland's three neighbors arranged to take each a portion of the distracted kingdom. Austria was assigned a strip inhabited by almost three million Poles and Russians, and thus added two new kinds of people and two new languages to her already varied collection of races and tongues. Prussia was given a smaller piece, but it was the coveted West Prussia, which she needed to fill out her boundaries, and its



THE PARTITION OF POLAND

inhabitants were to a considerable extent Germans and Protestants. Russia's strip on the east was inhabited entirely by Russians. The Polish diet was forced, by the advance of Russian troops to Warsaw, to approve the partition.

This scandalous mutilation of an ancient kingdom, which had once been one of the most extensive in Europe, awakened general indignation and touched the seared consciences of men who had become accustomed to see thousands of soldiers killed and hundreds of towns sacked to secure a trifling addition of territory to France or a throne for the queen of Spain's son. Even those who had shared the booty showed signs of shame, especially Maria Theresa, who wept while she reached out her hand for her share.

The Polish government seemed at first, however, to have learned a great lesson from the disaster. The king immediately sought to introduce reforms which would correct the evils and strengthen the ancient kingdom against further aggression. During the twenty years following its first dismemberment there was an extraordinary revival in education, art, and literature; the old universities at Vilna and Krakow were reorganized, and many new schools were established. King Stanislaus Poniatowski summoned French and Italian artists and entered into correspondence with the French philosophers and reformers. Historians and poets sprang up, to give distinction to the last days of Polish independence.

Finally a new Polish constitution, approved on May 3, 1791, did away with the *liberum veto*, made the crown hereditary, and established a parliament something like that of Great Britain,—in short, gave to the king power enough to conduct the government efficiently and yet made him and his ministers dependent upon the representatives of the nation.

There was a party, however, which regretted the changes and feared that in time they might result in doing away with the absolute control of the nobles over the peasants. These opponents of reform appealed to Catherine for aid. She, mindful as always of her own interests, denounced all changes in a government "under which the Polish republic had flourished for so many centuries," and declared that the reformers were no better than the abhorred French Jacobins, who were then busy destroying the power of their king. She sent her soldiers and her wild Cossacks into Poland, and the enemies of the new constitution were able with her help to undo all that had been done and to reëstablish the *liberum veto*.

Not satisfied with plunging Poland into its former anarchy, Russia and Prussia determined to rob her of still more territory. Frederick the Great's successor, Frederick William II, ordered his forces to cross his eastern boundary, on the ground that Danzig was sending grain to the French Revolutionists, that Poland was infested with Jacobins, and that, in general, she threatened the tranquillity of her neighbors. In this second partition (1793) Prussia cut deep into Poland, added a million and a half Poles to her subjects, and acquired the towns of Thorn, Danzig, and Posen. Russia's gains were three millions of people, who at least belonged to her own race. On this occasion Austria was put off with the promises of her confederates, Russia and Prussia, that they would use their good offices to secure Bavaria for her in exchange for the Austrian Netherlands.

At this juncture the Poles found a national leader in the brave Kosciusko, who had fought under Washington for American liberty. With the utmost care and secrecy he organized an insurrection in the spring of 1794 and summoned the Polish people to join his standard of national independence. The Poles who had been incorporated into the Prussian monarchy thereupon rose and forced Frederick William to withdraw his forces.

Catherine was ready, however, to crush the patriots. Kosciusko was wounded and captured in battle, and by the end of the year Russia was in control of Warsaw. The Polish king was compelled to abdicate, and the remnants of the dismembered kingdom were divided (1795), after much bitter contention, among Austria, Russia, and Prussia. In the three partitions which blotted out Poland from the map of Europe, Russia received practically all the old grand duchy of Lithuania, or nearly twice the combined shares of Austria and Prussia.

Except for the extinction of Poland and the increase in the size of Prussia, Russia, and Austria, with the accompanying novel complications, no very important shiftings of boundary lines or changes of dynasties resulted in Europe from the prolonged wars of the eighteenth century. The reader can hardly hope to remember very long even the few details which have been recalled. They are nevertheless impressive as illustrating the standards of international morality, later to be perpetuated by the wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period, and maintained down to our own time. The *raison d'état*, as the diplomatists called it, was evoked to cover governmental perfidies and aggressions entirely abhorrent to the prevailing notions of private human relationships, outside those of the criminal class.

CHAPTER VI

EUROPEAN EXPANSION OVERSEAS

How the Globe became Europe's Market Place

Perhaps the most amazing peculiarity of western-European civilization is its tendency to diffuse itself rapidly among all mankind. No considerable portion of the globe has remained unaffected by modern European enterprises, inventions, and discoveries. There have always been wanderers and conquerors both by land and by sea, but in the scope of their adventures none can compare with modern European peoples and their colonial offspring in their world-embracing range. They have made possible the intercommunication of all humanity. With the compass to guide and steam to drive their ever-swifter and ever-larger vessels, with airships to soar above mountains, rivers, and oceans, all barriers, whether of land or of water, have disappeared. Submarine telegraphs and the marvel of radio permit practically instantaneous understandings between the most widely separated points. Modern commerce, unlimited in its enterprise, has eagerly seized upon all these devices to convert the whole globe into a single market place where all nations, peoples, and tribes can conveniently traffic, exchange their wares, and supply their needs.

The war that began in 1914 speedily involved most of the nations of the earth, and left none of them, civilized or savage, wholly untouched by the commotion it caused. Representatives of most of the peoples of the earth now convene around a council table at Geneva; and the delegates from Japan, South Africa, or New Zealand can communicate more readily at any moment with their home government than Louis XIV, in his palace at Versailles, could have word from Paris, ten miles away. So it has come about that European interests and problems, European thought and invention, have become world interests and problems, world thought and invention. Indeed, *European history has never been confined to Europe.* Up to the eighteenth century Europe was on the whole passive rather than active,—it received rather than gave. Then matters began to be reversed: European civilization became aggressive; it invaded, conquered, and acquired; it blandly assumed that the earth and the fullness thereof was its rightful heritage. There might be a price to pay, but this was, to stanch imperialists, "the white man's burden."

Europe includes scarcely a twelfth of the land upon the globe, and yet over three fifths of the world is today either occupied by peoples of European origin or ruled by European states. The possessions of France in Asia and Africa exceed the entire area of Europe; even the little kingdom of the Netherlands administers a colonial dominion three times the size of Germany. The British Empire, of which the island of Great Britain constitutes but a hundredth part, includes one fifth of the world's dry land. Moreover, European peoples have populated the United States, which is nearly as large as all Europe, and rule Mexico and South America.

Successive wars have been waged during the past two centuries by the European nations in their efforts to extend and defend their distant possessions. The internal affairs of each country have been constantly influenced by the demands of its merchants and the achievements of its sailors and soldiers, fighting rival nations or alien peoples thousands of miles from London, Paris, or Vienna. The great manufacturing towns of England—Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham—have owed their growth and prosperity to India, China, and Australia. Ports like Liverpool, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Marseille would dwindle away if their trade were confined to the demands of their European neighbors.

Many forces combined to carry Europeans beyond the confines of their continent to the distant parts of the earth: the lust for riches, the lure of adventure, and the zeal of Christian missionaries. These forces had long been in operation before the days of Columbus. The ancient Greeks and the Romans had carried on a large trade in silks, spices, and precious stones with India and China. Stern old Romans had lamented that millions of sesterces in gold were annually sent away in exchange for jewels and filmy silks to adorn the ladies and gratify their vanity. This commerce lapsed, of course, with the decline of Rome, but memories of it did not entirely disappear. Slowly, through the Middle Ages, European interest in the Far East revived, and travelers added to the scanty knowledge handed down from antiquity.

The Christian Church was hardly established before missionaries, daunted by no perils, journeyed far and wide in Asia to convert the stranger. As early as the third century a Christian writer exclaimed, "We can count up in our reckoning achievements in India, and among the Chinese, Persians, and Medes." All down through the centuries the work was kept up. In 1245 a missionary, sent by the Pope into "the land of the Great Khan," far beyond the Black Sea, wrote a lively account of his journeys and discoveries. He highly praised the Chinese for their wisdom and virtue, and declared that their country was "very rich in grain, wine, gold, silver, silk, and everything that tends to the support of mankind." Meanwhile the Crusades had taken many thousand Europeans as far east as Egypt and Syria, and interest in distant countries was enlivened by new tales of adventure.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century two Venetian merchants, the Polo brothers, visited China and were kindly received by the emperor of the Mongols. On a second journey they were accompanied by Marco Polo, the son of one of the brothers. When Marco got back to Venice safely in 1295, after a journey of twenty years, he gave a glowing account of the peoples he had visited and the wonders he had seen. His exploits were described in a book that was destined to become famous. He told of the Chinese emperor's splendid palace, with its walls of burnished gold and silver, its jeweled panels, and its gorgeous tapestries. He made the eyes of his reader stare with tales of princes wearing robes of silk stiff with beaten gold and bound by girdles set with precious stones.

A few years later a monk in France who had been to Armenia wrote a description of Asia. This was followed by a handbook compiled by an Italian commercial agent who had been into the distant East. He explained how goods were packed, money exchanged, and tariffs paid. He described the routes and told how the wayfarer could travel in safety and comfort. In short, he gave to Europe a sort of Baedeker's Handbook of Eastern Travel. It is clear from the pages of this work that the routes to western Asia and India were well known and that travel over them was well established more than a century before Columbus was born.

While merchants and travelers were multiplying contacts with the East, writers and geographers were piecing together bits of information in an effort to make maps of Asia. They had, to aid them, some important books written by the Greeks. Cosmas, a Christian writer of the sixth century, compiled a work which showed considerable knowledge of India. A monk in 1306 drew a map showing Africa ending in a point. In 1459, when Columbus was a little boy playing in the streets of Genoa, Fra Mauro, laboring in his monastery near Venice, made a wonderful map showing Africa, with a water route around its southern point, the Indian Ocean, and a rough outline of Asia. At the same time a Florentine geographer, Toscanelli, was emphasizing what was known by learned men all through the Middle Ages, that the world was a globe and that, consequently, India could be reached by sailing west. He wrote a letter and made a map setting forth his ideas. Though the map has been lost, the letter has come down to us, and we can see clearly what was in the writer's mind. Some believe that Columbus had both the letter and the map when he sailed westward in 1492.

The compass had come into use in Europe in the thirteenth century. It exercised a tremendous influence on the development of modern commerce. There is plenty of evidence that mankind had made long voyages on the open sea before it was introduced, but it greatly reduced the hazards of ocean traffic. There are indications that a crude kind of compass was known to the ancient Chinese, and the idea, like that of printing, may have come through the Arabs to Europe. The first definite reference to its use is in a book published in England about 1180. The writer reports that "mariners at sea when, owing to clouds hiding the sun by day or to the darkness of night, they lose their way, touch a magnet to a needle, which will then spin around until it comes to a stop with its point to the north." Long before Columbus set sail, sea captains could hold a course and keep a log. They had an improved *astrolabe*, so that they could determine their latitude by observing the position of the sun.

With these aids, knowledge of the Far East, the trade routes, the seas, and the shape of continents was accumulated by the few adventurous and curious persons who were not content with things as they were, but were always eagerly seeking new ideas and new things. In the course of time practical men applied this knowledge. In the age of Marco Polo, Italian sailors had opened direct water communications with England and the Netherlands and had begun the search for a route around Africa to the precious markets of the East.

The Italian fleets that touched at Lisbon aroused the interest of the Portuguese, who then took up the work of exploration. By the middle of the fifteenth century, Portuguese navigators had reached the Canary Islands, Madeira, and the Azores. Before this time no one had ventured along the coast of Africa beyond the arid region of the Sahara. The country was forbidding, there were no ports, and mariners, moreover, were discouraged in their progress by the general belief that the torrid zone was uninhabitable. In 1445, however, some adventurous sailors came in sight of a headland beyond the desert and, struck by its luxuriant growth of tropical trees, they called it Cape Verde (the green cape). Its discovery put an end once for all to the idea that there were only parched deserts to the south.

The rapid progress of the Portuguese was made possible by the help of Prince Henry, a son of the king, who is known in history as "the Navigator." Though skilled in military science and brave in battle, Henry turned from the usual occupation of princes to work with scholars and sailors in discovering new lands. He refused a high military command and fixed his home at Sagres, a lonely promontory looking out to sea. There he built an observatory and made a home for astronomers, map-makers, and navigators. He bought books and maps and founded a school to train sailors; he sent expedition after expedition down the coast of Africa. When he died, in 1460, he left behind a group of trained workers and the memory of a noble life devoted to the science of navigation.

Voyages of the Portuguese and Dutch

Prince Henry's followers, by working their way farther and farther down the African coast, became convinced that the cape could be rounded. At last in 1486, six years before Columbus sailed out of Palos on his fateful voyage, Bartholomew Diaz reached the long-sought goal and sailed far beyond the southern tip of the Dark Continent. Twelve years later Vasco da Gama, spurred on by Columbus's great discovery, after sailing around the Cape of Good Hope and northward beyond Zanzibar, steered straight across the Indian Ocean and reached Calicut, in India, by sea (1498), thus opening up a new trade route of which Portuguese sailors, under the direction of the government, were not slow to take advantage.

As fleet after fleet of Portuguese merchantmen appeared in Eastern waters, they excited the natural suspicion of the Mohammedan merchants who had long enjoyed a monopoly of the trade between the East Indies and the eastern ports of the Mediterranean, where the products were handed over to Italian merchants to distribute to Western nations. They were unable, however, to drive the newcomers away. So for a long time the Portuguese held a preëminent place as a maritime power and had the satisfaction of seeing the Italian towns decay as Lisbon grew in wealth and importance. They occupied Maskat, in Arabia; Ormuz, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf; and Goa, Calicut, and other points on the Indian peninsula and the shores of the neighboring island of Ceylon.

The Portuguese were, however, by no means content with supplanting the Mohammedan merchants in the Indian Ocean. A celebrated Portuguese navigator and conqueror, Alfonso de Albuquerque, got control of Malacca in 1511 and sent three ships through the narrow straits into the mysterious Malay Archipelago, whence came the specially rare spices, nutmeg and cloves. The adventurous mariners crossed the equator, skirted along Sumatra and Java, and, passing the great island of Borneo, finally reached their goal, the Moluccas, or Spice Islands *par excellence*, which lie two thousand miles beyond the Strait of Malacca.[1]

In order to give a just idea of the vast extent of the Malay Archipelago a little map on the following page shows the out-

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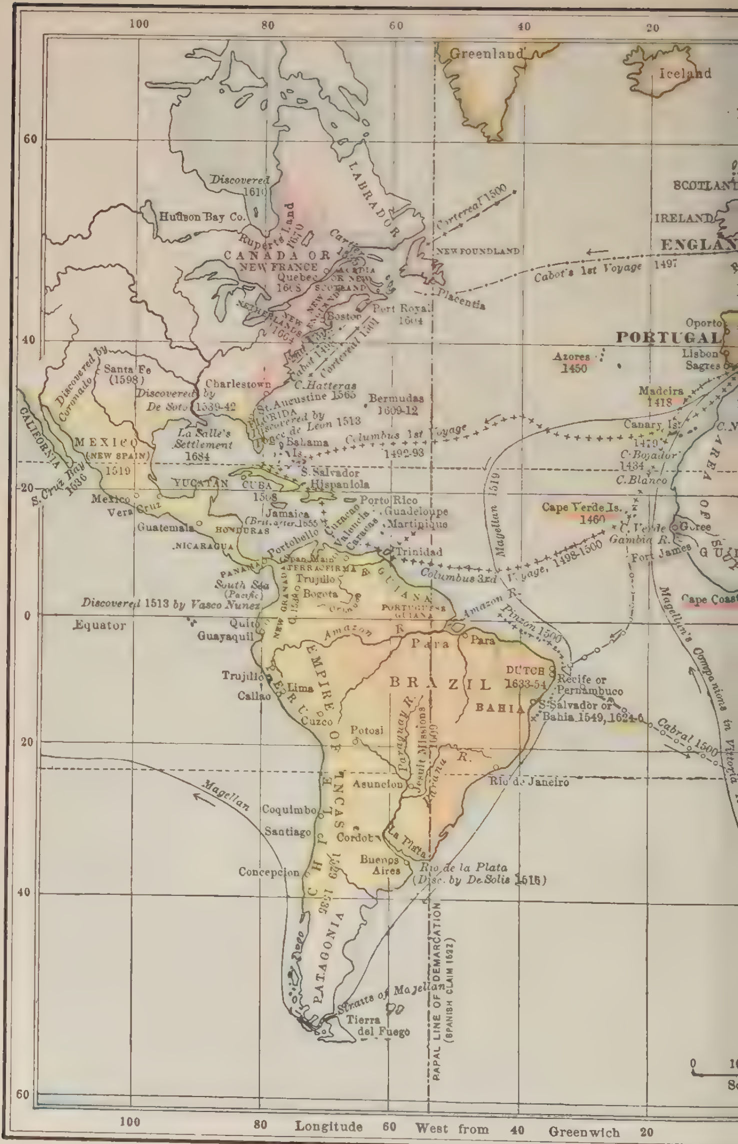
[1] There is no doubt that the desire for spices was the main reason for the early exploration of the globe. This motive led European navigators to try in succession every possible way to reach the East: by going around Africa; by sailing west, in the hope of reaching the Indies, before they knew of the existence of America; then, after America was discovered, by sailing around it to the north or south, and even sailing around Europe to the north. It is hard for us to understand this enthusiasm for spices, for which we care much less nowadays. One former use of spices was to preserve food, which could not then, as now, be carried rapidly, while still fresh, from place to place; nor did our conveniences then exist for keeping it by the use of ice. Moreover, spice served to make even spoiled food more palatable than it would otherwise have been.


100
80
60
40
20
Greenland
Iceland
SCOTLAN
IRELAND
ENGLAN
Discovered 1610
Hudson Bay Co.
Ruperts Land 1670
LABRADOR
Cartier 1535
CANADA OR NEW FRANCE
Quebec 1608
ACADIA OR NEW SCOTLAND
NEW ENGLAND
NEW NETHERLANDS 1664
Boston
Port Royal 1604
Corterea.l 1500
NEWFOUNDLAND
Placentia
Cabot's 1st Voyage 1497
Cabot 1498
Cortereal 1501
PORTUGAL
Oporto
Lisbon
Sagres
Azores 1450
Madeira 1418
Canary Is. 1479
C. Bojador 1434
C. Blanco
Santa Fe (1598)
Discovered by Coronado
Discovered by De Soto 1539-42
Charlestown
C. Hatteras
St. Augustine 1565
FLORIDA Discovered by Ponce de Leon 1513
Bermudas 1609-12
Columbus 1st Voyage 1492-93
Bahama Is.
S. Salvador
Hispaniola
CALIFORNIA
S. Cruz Bay 1536
MEXICO (NEW SPAIN) 1519
La Salle's Settlement 1684
YUCATAN
CUBA 1508
Mexico
Vera Cruz
Jamaica (Brit. after 1655)
Guatemala
HONDURAS
NICARAGUA
PANAMA
Portobello
Curacao
Valencia
Caracas
Porto Rico
Guadeloupe
Martinique
Trinidad
Magellan 1519
Cape Verde Is. 1460
C. Verde
Goree
Gambia R.
Fort James
Cape Coast
AREA OF SU
G U
Columbus 3rd Voyage, 1498-1500
Span. Main
TERRA FIRMA & GUIANA
South Sea (Pacific)
Discovered 1513 by Vasco Nunez
Trujillo
Bogota
NEW GRANADA 1536
PORTUGUESE GUIANA
Amazon R.
Pinzon 1500
0
Equator
Quito
Guayaquil
Para
BRAZIL
DUTCH 1633-54
Recife or Pernambuco
BAHIA
S. Salvador or Bahia 1549, 1624-6
Cabral 1500
Magellan's Companions in Vittoria
Trujillo
Callao
Lima
PERU
EMPIRE OF INCAS
Cuzco
Potosi
Paraguay R.
Jesuit Missions 1609
Parana R.
Asuncion
Rio de Janeiro
Magellan
Coquimbo
Santiago
Cordoba
CHILE 1529-1535
La Plata
Buenos Aires
Rio de la Plata (Disc. by De Solis 1515)
Concepcion
PATAGONIA
Diego
Straits of Magellan
Tierra del Fuego
PAPAL LINE OF DEMARCATION (SPANISH CLAIM 1522)
60
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20
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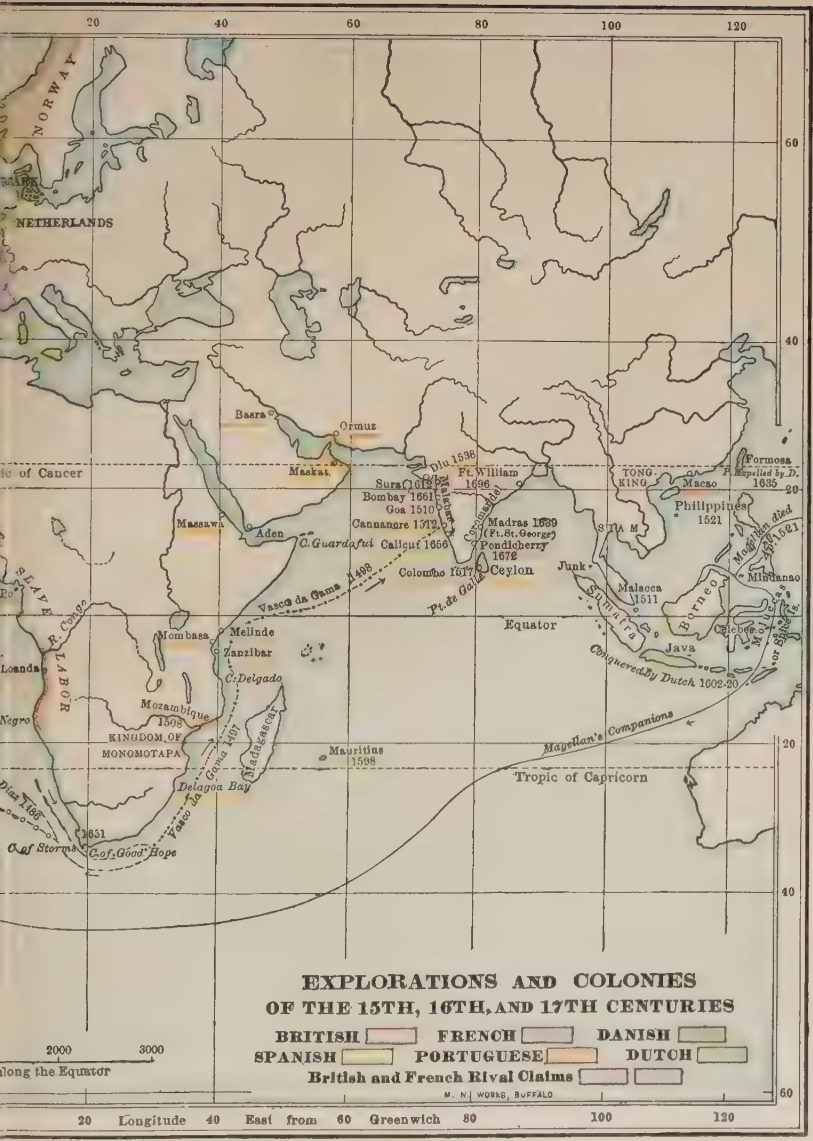
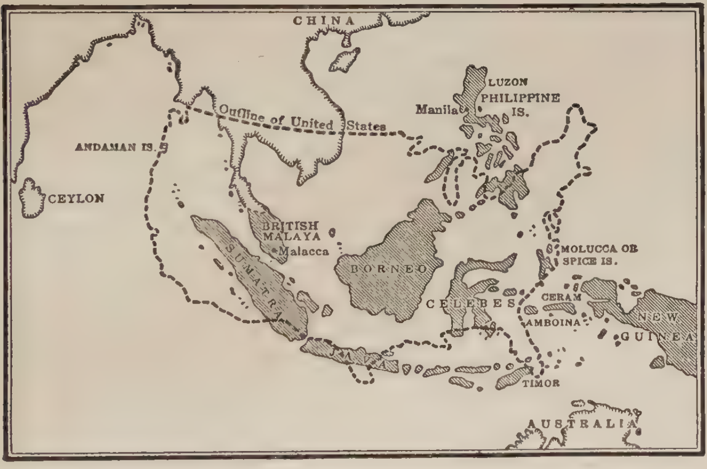
60
0 10
Sc
100
80 Longitude 60 West from 40 Greenwich 20



EXPLORATIONS AND COLONIES
OF THE 15TH, 16TH, AND 17TH CENTURIES

lines of the United States superimposed upon the region which lies between the Andaman Islands and the Spice Islands. It will be observed that it is about as far from the western point of Sumatra to the western point of New Guinea as from Portland, Maine, to San Francisco,—that is, some three thousand miles. The island of Sumatra is a good deal larger than Great Britain and Ireland, and Borneo considerably exceeds in size the whole of France or Germany. Java, which is but a little smaller than England and Wales, has a population now of nearly thirty millions. The other islands are, however, much less densely populated, and much of Borneo is still unexplored to the present day. Australia scarcely attracted the attention of the early navigators; it was left for Great Britain to occupy that continent in the nineteenth century and establish flourishing colonies there.



THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO AS COMPARED WITH THE AREA OF THE UNITED STATES

In accordance with the custom of the time, the Portuguese sought to monopolize the entire trade with the Far East and to shut out all other nations; but their designs were at length frustrated by seamen as energetic and daring as themselves. The Dutch had learned about the great profits to be found in "the golden East," for they had acted as the chief carriers of Eastern produce from Lisbon to the ports of northern Europe. In the course of time they decided to engage directly in Eastern trade on their own account. Their plans were favored by fortune.

When they began their new program, Portugal found itself at a serious disadvantage; for it had come under the Spanish crown in 1580, and the Spanish were much more interested in the gold and silver mines of America than in the trade with the East. Spain did not have ships enough to police the seas of two hemispheres, especially after the English had destroyed her mighty Armada in 1588. The Dutch had therefore little to fear from the Portuguese when, in 1595, they sent out their first expedition to India. They rapidly established trading houses and seized, one by one, the most favorable stations which the Portuguese had selected and occupied, until by the close of the seventeenth century only Goa and a few minor trading-posts remained from the vast commercial empire which the Portuguese had built up.[1]

Meanwhile the energetic Dutch had discovered redoubtable competitors in the English—last, but greatest, of European peoples in their zest for colonial expansion. Previously the English merchant adventurers had trafficked in the Netherlands and even in the Baltic, but there was little indication before the close of the sixteenth century that Great Britain was ever to become the queen of the seas.

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[1] These points the Portuguese managed to hold through the wars and revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and they retain in the East today Goa and Diu in India, Timor in the Malay Archipelago, and Macao near Hongkong, as well as two or three minor stations.

European Rivalry for Oriental Trade

In the year 1600 certain English business men organized the "Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." It had the right to operate all the way round the world from the Cape of Good Hope to the Strait of Magellan. It came to be called the East India Company, but at that time "East Indies" was a highly comprehensive term having no special reference to India and including the Spice Islands.

The organization of trading companies, not only by the English but by the Dutch and French, was rendered necessary owing to the considerable capital required in fitting out ships, collecting suitable cargoes, and maintaining trading stations. The English East India Company was authorized, as the merchant adventurers had been earlier, to choose its officials, make rules for its own government, and defend its interest and monopoly against private and foreign competition. Whatever the terms of their charters, the great companies were all, by implication, free to make war upon one another; their vessels were equipped with cannon, and troops were collected and used when necessary. The functions of these business corporations hence transcended the ordinary powers of private companies. They were in some respects really *states* which had to manage warlike operations far from the seat of the home government. Nor were they unimportant states, since the London East India Company, for instance, became finally a conquering power which for many years ruled over millions of people.

It was therefore really a *war for trade*[1] into which the English company entered when it sent out its first fleet of four vessels in 1601 under the command of James Lancaster. The expedition reached Sumatra in June of the following year; and after the ships were loaded with spices from the Moluccas, it was decided to establish an English station at Bantam, in Java. Other voyages followed at intervals of from two to three years; and in 1612 the English, after defeating the Portuguese at sea near Surat, on the west coast of Hindustan, were permitted to establish a trading center there.

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[1] So general was the recognition of this private warfare among the merchants of the different nations that Spain and France, in a treaty in 1598, frankly stipulated that everything west of the Canary Islands should be left to the test of force. In 1622, when England and Portugal were at peace, the agents of the English company at Surat fitted out a small fleet, sailed to Ormuz, bombarded the town, took the Portuguese on board their ships, and transferred them to Goa. This wanton act, which apparently caused no trouble at home, would today be regarded as a just cause of war.

Four years later Jahangir, the Great Mogul of India, was induced by Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of King James I, to permit the English merchants to live and freely carry on their business under his protection in his kingdoms. He gave a general command that "what goods soever they desire to sell or buy they may have free liberty without any restraint; and at what port soever they shall arrive, that neither Portugal nor any other shall dare to molest their quiet; and in what city soever they shall have residence, I have commanded all my governors and captains to give them freedom answerable to their own desires, to sell, buy, and to transport into their country at their pleasure."

Originally the English had no idea of conquering any part of Hindustan. They did no more than establish agencies, or "factories," as they were then called (after the "factors," or agents, who managed them). These were trading settlements where one would find a great warehouse in which were stored the goods brought from England to be sold in India, and the Indian commodities which the native merchants, or the Englishmen who penetrated into the interior, had collected for shipment to England. Around the warehouse were the houses of the agents of the East India Company, built in a fashion better suited to European needs than were the native dwellings. Sometimes the entire settlement was surrounded by fortifications, especially after it was found that the richly stocked warehouses might be sacked by native marauders.

About 1640 the English established a factory at Hugli, near the mouths of the Ganges in Bengal, one of the richest of the Indian provinces.[1] About the same time, they built Fort St. George at Madras, nearly a thousand miles down the coast, on the first land actually acquired by them.

As has been said, it was the Dutch, not the Portuguese, who were the most serious rivals of the English merchants, especially when the latter sent their ships three thousand miles to the eastward of India to the Spice Islands, where they proposed to get their share of nutmeg, mace, and cloves. The Dutch claimed exclusive rights to the particularly precious islands of Banda and Amboyna, where the rarest spices grew; and for a time they seemed to have the advantage. They owned more than half of the merchant ships of Europe, and consequently Rotterdam and Amsterdam enjoyed a great part of the profits which resulted from carrying goods to the East and then returning to supply England and the ports of the Continent with the spices, precious stones, ivory, and rich fabrics of the Orient.

Stirred by tales of Dutch gains and angered by the boasts of the Dutch merchants as they gathered in their profits on the docks of London, English merchants cast about for ways of outwitting their rivals. In 1651 they hit upon a clever device. They induced Parliament to pass a Navigation Act that was designed to cut down Dutch trade and encourage English shipping. The act provided that only English vessels should be permitted to bring to England commodities produced in Asia, Africa, or America. The result was a short, brisk commercial war between the Dutch and the English, fought at sea, in which sometimes one fleet, sometimes the other, gained the upper hand.

This conflict is notable as the first modern example of a distinctly commercial struggle. Nations were beginning to go to war over trade instead of over religion.

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[1] This station was later transferred to Calcutta, a few miles away.

On the accession of Charles II, in 1660, the English, after almost twenty years of civil war and disorder, were ready to devote themselves more seriously to defending and extending their trade and their colonies in the East and the West. The king granted a new charter to the East India Company which gave it a monopoly of the trade, with the right to coin money, administer justice, punish independent English merchants who sailed ships into Eastern waters on their own account, and, finally, to wage war and make peace with non-Christian states. The Navigation Act of 1651 was reënforced by additional provisions to the effect that not only must the ships be owned and manned by Englishmen but they must be English-built as well; and English agents were ordered to prevent the Dutch from getting any of the English trade. Charles II dispatched troops to the company's settlements, to help defend them against attacks from Europeans and natives. Moreover, he turned over to the company the town of Bombay, which his Portuguese wife had brought him as her dowry. This soon (1685) became the headquarters of the company (instead of Surat), and it is now the second-greatest emporium of Indian trade.

The war with Holland, begun under Cromwell immediately after the passage of the first Navigation Act, was renewed under Charles II. The two nations were very evenly matched on the sea; but in 1664 the English succeeded in seizing some of the West Indian islands from the Dutch, as well as their colony on Manhattan Island, which was renamed New York in honor of the king's brother, the Duke of York. On the other hand, the Dutch expelled the English from their last foothold in the Spice Islands (1667). Five years later Charles II was induced by his friend Louis XIV to attack the Dutch once more—those "eternal enemies" of England, who were to be utterly destroyed as Carthage had been blotted out by the Romans.

But the war, as we have already seen, resulted in a victory for the Dutch,[1] who soon joined the English against the menacing power of Louis XIV and in 1688 sent their stadholder over to occupy the vacant English throne. Their strength had, however, been exhausted in the long wars with Louis XIV, and they gave up the attempt to oppose England in India. Although the Dutch no longer dominated the seas as they had earlier done, they still held important possessions and enjoyed a flourishing trade at the opening of the eighteenth century.

The business of their East India Company was so profitable and the dividends so large that the stock continued to be rated at two or three times its original value. The Dutch held the Cape of Good Hope, which they had taken as a halfway post on the route to India; the island of Ceylon; some important centers on the mainland of India; and actual dominion or predominance in the Spice Islands, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, the Malaccan peninsula, and Siam. They monopolized the European trade with Japan and the greater portion of the spice business. Nevertheless their advance was checked, and it was not they but the French who were now to fight with England for the control of India and North America.[2]

The ambitions of Louis XIV were not confined to punishing the Dutch, annexing territories at the expense of his neighbors, and assuring the Spanish throne to his grandson. In 1664, under the influence of Colbert, the king chartered the French East India Company, granting it a monopoly of trade for fifty years, the right to cast cannons, raise troops, and garrison posts, and to declare war and make peace in the name of its sovereign. The king also assisted the company with large grants from the royal treasury in overcoming the difficulties which the enterprise necessarily involved.[1]

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[1] See page 126.

[2] In spite of the severe losses growing out of the wars at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, the Dutch now hold Java, Sumatra, Celebes, the Molucca Islands, portions of Borneo, and other islands in the East, comprising an area of over 700,000 square miles, with a population of some 36,000,000.

In 1669 the first French traders under the new company arrived at Surat, where they established a factory beside those of the English and Portuguese. From here they sent out their agents in every direction. Three years later the French became the rivals of the English in Bengal by fortifying themselves at Chandernagore, just north of Calcutta. They also purchased from the ruler of the Carnatic, on the eastern shores of the Dekkan, a plot of ground of about one hundred and thirteen acres, upon which was the village of Pondicherry, destined to be the capital of the French dominions in India.[2]

In order to follow the approaching struggle between the English and French companies for the control of India, we must pause a moment to consider this extraordinary country and the conditions which existed there at the opening of the eighteenth century.

India and its Peoples

The Indian peninsula is composed of three great divisions. In the extreme north are the regions of the Himalaya Mountains and their foothills. South of these are plains and the valleys of a network of rivers draining into the Ganges, which flows southeastward for fifteen hundred miles into the Bay of Bengal, fertilizing one of the most thickly populated districts of the world. The third region is the table-land of southern India (the Dekkan), rising in many places, especially near the seacoast, into mountain ranges and drained by rivers running eastward into the Bay of Bengal.

While all variations of climate may be found in India, from the extreme heat of the tropical regions to the temperate climate of the north and the alpine cold of the Himalayas, yet, generally speaking, the heat and humidity make the country rather trying to men accustomed to the colder and drier climes of the north. India yields almost all the mineral and vegetable products which are the objects of modern commerce. The northern plains of the Ganges and its tributaries furnish cotton, tobacco, indigo, spices, dyes, opium, rice, and grain; while the southern table-lands, in addition to grain and cotton, afford a variety of minerals and precious stones, among which are the famous diamonds of Golconda.

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[1] For fifty or sixty years French merchants had been going to India; and Richelieu had reorganized a company which had been established as early as 1604. It is unnecessary to say more of these beginnings.

[2] They had also a factory at Masulipatam, and minor stations at Calicut, Golconda, and a few other points.

The present British domain of India, including Burma, is about as large as all Europe, excluding Russia, and has about as many human beings living within its confines. It is nearly two thousand miles long and two thousand miles wide in its extreme measurements. It is as far from the mouth of the Indus on the west to the mouths of the Ganges on the east as from Dublin to Moscow. From the foot of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin is a journey equal in length to that from Stockholm to Crete. The peoples of India speak about a hundred and fifty different languages, not including various local dialects, and they are racially very mixed. Their religions and customs present far greater diversity than do those of Europe. Notwithstanding the British supremacy, there are hundreds of native states, large and small, tribes and chieftainships, which still enjoy a considerable degree of self-determination.

There is a picture of early India in one of the hymns of the *Rig-Veda*:

> Varied truly are our thoughts.
> Varied are the ways of men. . . .
> I'm a poet, dad is medicine-man,
> Mamma is grinding at the mill.
> With varied thoughts intent on gain
> We follow after wealth of cows. . . .

The horse [longs for] an easy car to draw,
The troops of lovers jest and laugh,
The frog wants too a water pool.
O Indu, flow round for Indra.[1]

The son is a dreamer, father practices incantations, mother sees to the meals; wealth is reckoned in cattle, as in ancient Rome (hence the Latin *pecunia*, and our "pecuniary"); the horse is useful, if sometimes lazy; the frog is entitled, like the lovers, to what he longs for; the powerful god Indra must be invoked to protect and bless. Indeed, so varied were the thoughts of India and so varied its ways, that its best thinkers became tolerant beyond anything dreamed of in the Western world. And when they expressed a conjecture about the mysteries of life, they were wont to add, from the bottom of their hearts, "But this is not, after all, exactly the way it really is." So one may turn to India to escape the confident dogmatism and literalness of European tradition and discover quite different religious ideas from those familiar to Western peoples.

The *Rig-Veda* and other collections of hymns, psalms, and ritualistic directions, and the great epic, the *Mahabharata*, filling many printed volumes, tell, in mythical fashion, of the invasion of India by the Aryas. Embedded in the vast *Mahabharata* is the famous (but much later) *Bhagavad-Gita*, a treatise on salvation through selflessness and through escape from the false seductions of life. These books, together with endless commentaries on the Vedas, *Upanishads*, constitute the chief parts of the voluminous holy scriptures of the Hindus. It is a literary jungle into which European scholars began to penetrate in the nineteenth century when they learned Sanskrit, the ancient Indo-European language in which these are composed. Some part of this literature has been done into English and other European tongues and underlies the theosophical lore of the West.

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[1] *Vedic Hymns*, pp. 79–80. Translated by Edward J. Thomas.

The Aryas were the ancestors of the modern Hindus and akin in language to most of the peoples of Europe. The date when they moved down from Persia and the north into India, and when their ancient literature was composed, no one knows; according to their legends it was some five thousand years ago. These fair Northern invaders found a dark-skinned race, whom they scorned and reduced to servitude. These aboriginal "Dravidian" peoples form the earliest known stratum of the Indian population.[1] They still occupy southern India, numbering some fifty-five millions and speaking tongues entirely alien to those of the Hindus.

There arose among the Hindus a great prophet, Gautama, the Buddha (or "enlightened"). He was a contemporary of Confucius, the revered teacher of the Chinese; his life overlapped that of Æschylus, the first great tragic poet of Greece; and it was but a few years after his death (483 (?) B.C.) that Nehemiah became the restorer of Jerusalem and of the Jewish religion. Buddha's teachings were derived more or less from earlier Hindu speculations in regard to life and salvation. All things are transitory (even the gods must come to an end); in its very nature being is misery; and the soul is an illusion. These are the fundamental truths which the followers of Buddha strive to master as the fixed and necessary nature of being. To be saved, one must see things as they are; greed, lust, and hate —that is, *desire* in all its forms—underlie misery. Ways must be found to quench desire and reach an ideal state, *Nirvana,* which seems to be philosophic calm, the peace that passeth understanding, the merging of self in the infinite—a condition which to strenuous Western observers borders upon sheer annihilation. In this way one may be perfected and finally escape from the cycle of rebirths and consequently from renewed misery. Gentleness, toleration, love for one's fellows, and an ardent missionary impulse are conspicuous in Buddhism, in the form in which it was originally proclaimed.[1]

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[1] Some anthropologists conjecture that the wild tribes of central India, such as the Bhils and Gonds, numbering about eleven millions, are the oldest kind of inhabitants.

Within a century after Alexander the Great added the banks of the Indus to his huge empire, the most famous of ancient Indian rulers, Asoka (ruled 264–228 B.C.), became disgusted with war and violence and dedicated his later years to the peaceful spread of Buddhism. He set forth in public places the rules of righteous conduct where all might see them.[2] A number of these most interesting inscriptions have been unearthed recently in various parts of India and throw much light on the earlier aspirations of Buddhism. In spite of the work of this Buddhist Constantine and his successors, the religion of Gautama was destined after a few centuries to disappear from India (except in Burma), as Christianity disappeared from Syria. The Buddhist doctrines, with their concomitant culture, were, however, carried (with every kind of modification, compromise, and distortion) into Tibet, China, and Japan. There are at least one hundred and fifty million human beings who revere the Buddha's name today.

The prevailing religion in India came to be Brahmanism, a mixture of the older notions of the Aryas and the innovations of Gautama. Its chief characteristics are the recognition of innumerable gods; the acknowledged supremacy of the priestly Brahmans (Brahmins), and adhesion to every kind of superstitious rule regarding the social relations and personal contacts of the several "castes"; and the worship of the cow, including even a respect for its honorable dung.

Of the castes, that of the Brahmans is the highest; it claims the monopoly of all holy rites, it furnishes the scholars, poets, and lawgivers, and it demands unconditioned reverence on the part of all other castes. Water in which a Brahman has dipped his toe gains for the humble a celestial quality. There are all kinds of Brahmans, proud and insolent, gentle and meditative. Next to them are the Rajputs, or warriors; then the Vaisyas, the peasants and merchants. Lowest of all are the Pariahs, who are not regarded as worthy of belonging to any caste but are outcasts from society, scorned by all, even their degraded selves. Familiar association between the castes is deemed sinful, and the distance which must be maintained in order to avoid uncleanness and the necessity for purification is established by rule. The various castes are forbidden to intermarry, and no one can escape the group into which he happens to be born. The system is very complicated and subject to many variations and violations. But this brief description gives some idea of its fundamental character.

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[1] See Mrs. Rhys Davids's *Buddhism* (Home University Library) and *Buddhism in Translations*, by H. C. Warren (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. III), for a sympathetic presentation of the earliest form of Buddha's teachings as they are preserved in Burma and Ceylon today. The beliefs and practices of the great majority of Buddhists are at the present time alien in many respects to the fundamental teachings of the prophet.

[2] Asoka's missionaries were to associate with all manner of men, the proud Brahmans and the despised outcast alike.

In addition to the Hindus, in all their bewildering variety and admixtures, there are millions of Mohammed's followers in India. This is the result of repeated invasions through the northwestern passes by Afghans, Persians, Turks, and Mongols, who aspired to gain an overlordship in India. During the rapid expansion of Islam a few decades after Mohammed's death, efforts were made by the Mohammedans to win India as they won Spain, but the Hindus combined to drive out the invader. Then began incursions on the part of the restless Mongol peoples, who were harassing eastern Europe. These had been converted to Mohammedanism as they moved westward. The famous Tamerlane (Timur) invaded India in 1398. The chief result of this brief occupation was that it suggested to a descendant of his, Baber (d. 1530), a renewed and this time successful attack on India. In this way the so-called Mogul empire was established. Its bounds, at first limited to portions of northern India, were greatly increased by one of Baber's successors, Akbar, in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

This extraordinary ruler strove to bring about a great religious compromise which might reconcile Hindus and Mohammedans. He himself married a Hindu wife from the military caste of the Rajputs, and promulgated a faith which he hoped would be accepted by everyone as containing the essentials of all religions. Like Elizabeth, his contemporary, he deemed a State religion necessary, and he put himself at the head of it. Each morning he worshiped the sun in public as the symbol of the soul of light that animates the universe.

Akbar's son Jahangir (1605–1627) was the first Great Mogul with whom the East India Company had dealings. His son, Shah Jehan, founded the modern city of Delhi, erected the famous "peacock throne," and built the lovely Taj Mahal, where he and his favorite wife are buried. His son, Aurungzeb, during a long reign from 1658 to 1707, extended his rule, by foul means and fair, over a great part of India. After him the Mongol emperors were without exception feeble folk, generally with short and meaningless reigns, down to the year 1857, when the British put an end to the dynasty of Baber and became more powerful than he or any of his successors had been.

The significance of all this is that a great number of the rulers of India today are Mohammedans, and over sixty millions of its people are faithful to Islam. The adherents of Hinduism are, however, reckoned at well over two hundred million. The Buddhists, outside of Burma, are negligible. Of Christians there are some four million, over against some nine million who still bow down to wood and stone, in a primitive fashion antedating the refinements of Hindus, Buddhists, Musselmans, and Christians.

This "India," with no native name, or any common tongue except a sort of *lingua franca* encouraged by the British in the nineteenth century,[1] and with rival religions from the most primitive to the most sophisticated, was destined to come under the rule of new invaders from an island lying ten thousand miles away in the Atlantic Ocean. There is no stranger story than that of the British in India.

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[1] This vernacular of trade takes two forms: *Hindustani*, in which many Sanskrit words are incorporated to suit the taste of the Hindus, and *Urdu*, which is loaded with Persian and contains some Arabic words to suit the Mohammedans.

Struggle of the British and French for India

It was in the midst of one of the long European wars—that of the Spanish Succession—that a vital change took place in the affairs of India which precipitated in time a deadly contest between the British and the French for the possession of the peninsula. In 1707, as we have seen, the last of the really powerful Mogul emperors, Aurungzeb, died. His successors could not hold their vast heritage together, and the huge empire began to crumble into pieces as that of Charlemagne had done. Like the counts and dukes of the Carolingian period, the emperor's officials—the subahdars and nawabs (nabobs), and the rajahs (that is, the Hindu princes temporarily subjugated by the Mongols)—gradually regained the power in their respective districts. Although the emperor—or Great Mogul, as the English called him—continued to maintain himself in his capital at Delhi, he could no longer be said to rule the country at the opening of the eighteenth century, when the French and English were beginning seriously to turn their attention to his coasts.

The real situation in India had long been apparent to the French governors; and in 1741 when Dupleix, the most remarkable of them, received his appointment, he openly adopted the policy of establishing French power by allying himself with the native rulers and playing them off one against another. He strongly fortified the French capital, Pondicherry. He assumed princely titles granted him by the Great Mogul and introduced Oriental pomp into his processions and ceremonies. As he had but few soldiers, he enlisted great numbers of natives—a custom which was also quickly adopted on a large scale by the English. These native soldiers, whom the English called sepoys, were taught to fight in the manner of the Europeans and, under the sterner discipline of Western military rules, soon developed into capable soldiers, especially when supported by some European officers and privates.

During the wars which raged in Europe over the realms of Maria Theresa, the French and English East India companies were also fighting to extend their power. One question at issue was whether the French or the English candidate should become nawab of the Carnatic. Dupleix appeared at first to have the advantage over the English, but his magnificent plan of creating a vast French colonial empire in India was frustrated by an English commander of even greater genius than his. This was Robert Clive, who had become a clerk in the service of the English company at Madras in 1744. He had discovered that the sword was more to his taste than the quill of the bookkeeper, and had taken service in the army when hostilities with the French broke out. His skill in organizing the native troops was such that Dupleix was unable to maintain his reputation, and was recalled to France in disgrace in 1754.

The final crisis in India came in 1756, when France, casting in her fortunes with Austria, was forced to wage war at one and the same time with Prussia on land and England on the sea. The French government dispatched Count Lally to India with a large force for the purpose of destroying the English settlements along the Madras coast. Though for a time successful, he was finally beaten and his fleet disorganized and driven away, so that the French land forces were not supported from the sea as were the English. Count Lally was hopelessly defeated at the decisive battle of Wandewash in 1760 and fell back to Pondicherry where, blockaded by land and sea, he was compelled the next year to surrender the French capital in India. The dream cherished by Dupleix was now dispelled, and never again were the French seriously to menace the rising power of England in India.

The Treaty of Paris, of 1763, which brought the Seven Years' War to a close, returned Pondicherry to France, as well as the other posts which she had held prior to Dupleix's territorial gains; but these posts were not to be fortified, and French troops could not be stationed in Bengal, the seat of the growing power of England. France ceased to be a rival in the contest for the possession of the peninsula, and the English were left free scope in the work of conquering and ruling India.[1]

While the troops of the English East India Company under their able commander, Clive, were successfully fighting the French under Lally, they were also beginning the conquest of Bengal. This important province on the Ganges was under one of the Great Mogul's nawabs, or viceroys, whose seat of government was at Murshidabad, about one hundred miles north of Calcutta. With the decline of the Mogul's power the nawab had become practically independent. Now the English, in their anxiety to get the better of their French enemies, had taken the liberty of fortifying their posts in the nawab's possession without obtaining his consent. This gave offense to the new nawab, Surajah Dowlah, a headstrong young fellow who had just come into power. The English further irritated him by giving shelter to his relatives, who were fleeing from his wrath.

Surajah Dowlah thereupon marched upon Calcutta, seized some of the property of the company, and shut up one hundred and forty-five Englishmen in a little room about eighteen feet square, with only two small windows. Whether the nawab had really intended to destroy the unfortunate prisoners or not, only twenty-three of them staggered out of the dungeon when the door was opened the following morning. This tragedy of the "Black Hole of Calcutta," as it was called, raised a cry of revenge on the part of the English, and a call for help was immediately sent to Madras, where Clive was stationed with some troops.

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[1] The French still have ten posts in India aggregating about two hundred square miles, with the old town of Pondicherry as their capital. The colony has a governor and is represented in the French Parliament.

In response to this call Clive hastened at once to Bengal by sea and, by show of force, compelled Surajah Dowlah to restore the English prisoners and make compensation for the injuries he had inflicted. Not content with this achievement, Clive seized the French settlement at Chandernagore, in the nawab's dominions, whereupon Surajah Dowlah allied himself with the French against the English. The quarrel was finally decided at the battle of Plassey (1757), where Clive, with about nine hundred English soldiers and two thousand sepoys, defeated the nawab's force of nearly fifty thousand natives aided by a few French.

After the great victory of Plassey, Surajah Dowlah was deposed and murdered, and Clive's nominee was proclaimed nawab on condition of rewarding his English friends with enormous gifts from Surajah Dowlah's treasury. The new nawab proved unsatisfactory, however, despite his liberality, and he was deposed in favor of another nominee of the English, who, to their surprise, showed such independence when he got into power that they were forced to make war upon him in order to reduce him to submission. Like the war with Surajah Dowlah, this new conflict turned out in favor of the English in spite of the fact that the Great Mogul came to the aid of his nominal vassal. At the battle of Buxar the Mogul himself was captured and compelled to grant to the company the right to administer his imperial revenues in Bengal. This meant that, for all practical purposes, the victors became governors of this vast region, although a nominal nawab was retained in office.

Thus, by a series of unexpected events, a trading company was transformed into a great governing body supporting thousands of soldiers, waging war, making treaties, acquiring territory, administering a portion of the Great Mogul's finances, and enjoying immense revenues from taxes and trading monopolies. Exceptional advantages for enriching themselves were now offered to the agents of the company in India because the directors, ten thousand miles away, could exercise very little control over officials, traders, and agents in a strange land with no strong government to keep the foreigners in order.

Huge fortunes were consequently accumulated rapidly by graft and by exploiting the helpless natives; penniless young men who had gone out in the service of the company returned to England in ten or twelve years in the possession of such wealth as to excite the astonishment of the people at home.[1] Clive himself was poor when he first entered the employ of the company, but at the age of thirty-four he enjoyed an income of two hundred thousand dollars a year and yet regarded himself as moderate in his accumulations. He frankly declared that the evil of corruption was contagious in India and that it had spread among the civil and military employees down to the lowest rank.

Strange as it may seem, in spite of its remarkable achievements and the trading advantages it had won, the East India Company was sadly in debt and was faced by the most difficult problems in the management of its unwieldy undertakings. This state of affairs, coupled with the conduct of the company's agents in India and the news of a terrible famine in Bengal in 1770, which destroyed nearly one half of the population, called the attention of the British government to the necessity of exercising a stricter supervision over the English enterprises in India. Parliament thereupon vested the control of Bombay and Madras in the hands of a governor and four councilors in Bengal, to be appointed by Parliament in the first instance and by the directors of the East India Company thereafter, but always subject to the approval of the crown. Moreover, all reports sent to London by the company's agents were to be open to inspection by the British government.

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[1] Those who returned from India to spend their ill-gotten gains in London were popularly known as nabobs. They often figure in Thackeray's novels.

The English possessions were surrounded by the domains of native rulers, great and small, who had ordinarily risen to power through military prowess and were liable to sudden and violent overthrow. The peninsula was thus kept in a constant state of turmoil, and there could be no hope of peace until some one power suppressed the petty rulers. Warren Hastings became governor-general of India in 1774. For various reasons, for which he was not always responsible, his administration was filled with military conflicts with the natives, although the company was not intent on extending its possessions. Serious accusations of cruelty and misgovernment were brought against him, and on his return to England in 1788 he was impeached by the House of Commons, the charges being presented in a long and impassioned speech by the celebrated orator Burke.[1] This famous trial dragged on for seven years and finally ended in the acquittal of Hastings.

The extensive wars in which the company was engaged during Hastings's administration led Parliament in 1784 to assume a more direct management of Indian affairs. A board appointed by the king was to reside in England, supervise the civil, military, and financial transactions of the company, and examine their accounts and reports. In matters pertaining to the expenditure of revenue, and to diplomacy, peace, and war, power was vested in the governor-general and three advisers appointed by the company with the king's approval and liable to be dismissed by him at will. This meant that the highest authority in India was thereafter to be in the hands of officials whose choice was practically determined by Parliament.[2]

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[1] Later writers defend Hastings against the charges advanced by Burke, and seem to agree that only his heroic measures could have saved India for the English. See Lyall, *Warren Hastings*, in English Men of Action Series.

[2] The first of the governors under the new arrangement was Lord Cornwallis, who retrieved in war and government in India the reputation that he had lost in the conflict with the American colonies. The third governor-general, Lord Wellesley, with the assistance of his famous brother, later Duke of Wellington, steadily annexed new territories whose rulers had disturbed the British control.

Although, in assuming control of the political affairs of the company, Parliament distinctly repudiated any intention of making further conquests in India, the governor-generals who were sent out found themselves irresistibly drawn into wars by the restlessness of native rulers whose domains bordered on the English possessions. By 1805 the British dominion had been extended far up the Ganges valley, southward along the eastern coast, and over a great portion of the southern end of the peninsula.

Spanish Expansion in the New World

By one of the strangest fortunes of history the search for the water route to the Far East uncovered two new continents; and the period that saw the beginnings of English dominion in India witnessed the foundation of a new England beyond the seas—a new country that was in time to outrival in numbers, wealth, and power every great nation in western Europe. It was in the year 1492, as we all know, that Columbus, a Genoese navigator sailing under the auspices of Spain, set out in three little ships upon a journey westward to Cipango (Japan), which he hoped to reach in five weeks. Thirty-six days from the time he left the Canary Islands he came upon land, the island of San Salvador, and believed himself to be in the East Indies. Going on from there he discovered the island of Cuba, which he believed to be the mainland of Asia, and then Haiti, which he mistook for the longed-for Cipango. Although he made three later expeditions and sailed down the coast of South America as far as the Orinoco, he died without realizing that he had not been exploring the coast of Asia. Columbus had been supplied by the Spanish queen, Isabella, with the money necessary to carry out his undertaking, and consequently the new-found islands and the adjacent mainland were claimed by Spain.

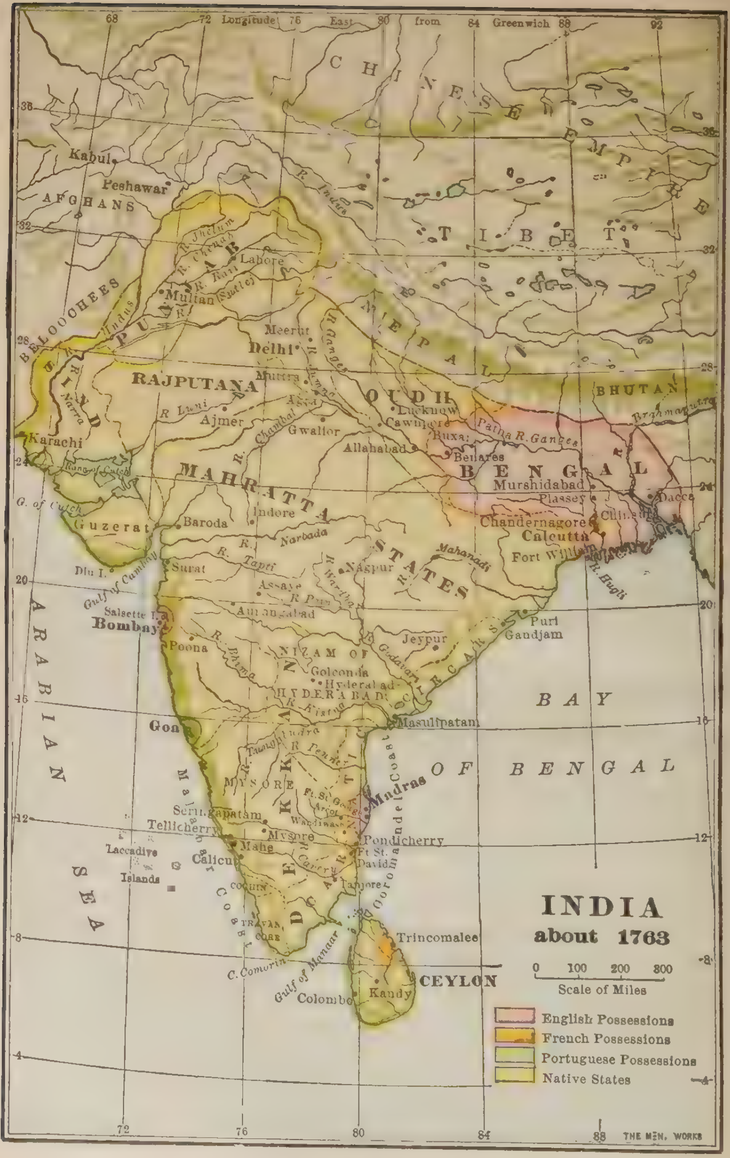
While Columbus and others were exploring the Caribbean

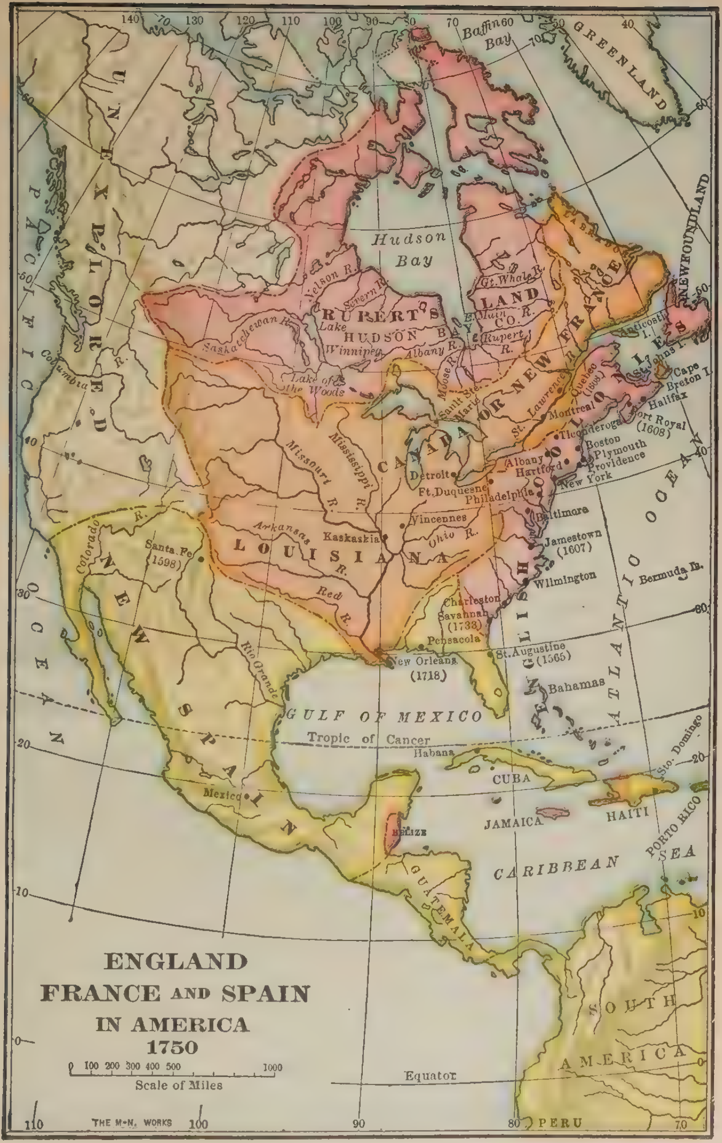
Sea in the interests of Spain, Cabral, a Portuguese commander on his way around Africa to India, was carried so far west that he came upon Brazil. Thereupon the coast southward was rapidly investigated by the Portuguese, who in this way came into possession of a vast region in the New World.

Curious as it may seem, the brilliant exploits of Columbus were at first disappointing to the Spaniards, for the islands of the West Indies yielded a poor return for the outlay necessitated by the various expeditions. The Portuguese, on the other hand, were deriving fabulous sums from their Eastern trade, and the Spaniards therefore determined to find a western route to India. They at once began an energetic search for a passage into the waters of the Pacific, and it was this motive, together with their natural taste for exploration and adventure, that led to the foundation of their power on the mainland.

In 1508 Pinzon set out on a voyage to discover what lay beyond the islands which Columbus had found, and sailing across the Gulf of Mexico, he skirted along the coast of Central and South America. Five years later the spirited Balboa, with a small troop, pushed his way through the jungles of the Isthmus of Panama, and on the morning of September 25, 1513, saw from the mountain heights the waters of the Pacific. After prostrating himself, he "poured forth his boundless gratitude to God and all the heavenly hosts who had reserved the prize of so great a thing unto him, a man of small wit and knowledge, of little experience, and lowly parentage."

It remained for Magellan, a Portuguese who had deserted to Spain, to find his way down the barren and seemingly interminable coast of Patagonia, reach the straits which bear his name, and thus penetrate into the Pacific. Crossing this wide ocean he reached the Philippine Islands after accomplishing the greatest feat of continuous seamanship that the world has ever known. Here he was killed by a native, but his vessel, the *Victoria*, reached home in 1522. This first voyage ever made around the globe required very nearly three years.


INDIA
about 1763
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles
English Possessions
French Possessions
Portuguese Possessions
Native States
Longitude East from Greenwich
CHINESE EMPIRE
TIBET
NEPAL
BHUTAN
AFGHANS
BELOOCHEES
PUNJAB
SIND
RAJPUTANA
OUDH
BENGAL
MAHRATTA STATES
NIZAM OF HYDERABAD
CIRCARS
MYSORE
KARNATIC
DECCAN
CEYLON
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Kabul
Peshawar
Lahore
Multan
Meerut
Delhi
Muttra
Agra
Ajmer
Gwalior
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Allahabad
Buxar
Benares
Patna
Murshidabad
Plassey
Dacca
Chandernagore
Chinsura
Calcutta
Fort William
Karachi
Rann of Cutch
G. of Cutch
Guzerat
Baroda
Indore
Diu I.
Gulf of Cambay
Surat
Nagpur
Assaye
Aurangabad
Salsette I.
Bombay
Poona
Golconda
Hyderabad
Jeypur
Puri
Gandjam
Masulipatam
Goa
Malabar Coast
Coromandel Coast
Seringapatam
Tellicherry
Mysore
Mahe
Calicut
Cochin
Travancore
Laccadive Islands
Ft. St. George
Madras
Arcot
Wandiwash
Pondicherry
Ft. St. David
Tanjore
C. Comorin
Gulf of Manaar
Trincomalee
Colombo
Kandy
R. Indus
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
R. Chambal
R. Luni
Narra
R. Narbada
R. Tapti
R. Purna
R. Wardha
R. Mahanadi
R. Godavari
R. Bhima
R. Kistna
Tungabhadra
R. Pennar
Cavery
R. Hugli
Brahmaputra
THE M.E.N. WORKS



ENGLAND
FRANCE AND SPAIN
IN AMERICA
1750

From Cuba the Spaniards found their way into Mexico, a country inhabited by a people that had developed a high degree of civilization which has been attracting of late the deep interest of archæologists. The Mexicans lived in *pueblos*, or towns, cultivated the soil, and exhibited great skill in working up gold and silver into utensils and ornaments which they had stored up in vast quantities. They had a rule that they must fight their neighbors at least once every twenty days in order to obtain victims for sacrifice and for their cannibal feasts. Human sacrifice they believed essential in order to support the sun, which would otherwise perish.

In 1521 Cortes captured the city of Mexico and began the conquest of New Spain, as he called the region,—a tract eight hundred miles in length and extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. The chief incentive for conquering this territory was the great supply of gold and silver articles which the natives had been accumulating for centuries. These were sent to Spain to be recast into coin. Before long, rumors reached the Spaniards of untold wealth among the Incas of Peru; and ten years after Cortes had won Mexico Pizarro, with a company of one hundred and eighty-three soldiers, invaded and cruelly subjugated the land. He and his followers gratified their thirst for riches by plundering the burial places where the gold and silver articles which had belonged to the dead were deposited with their former owners.[1]

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[1] The Spanish built churches and made every effort to convert the natives to Christianity. "The aboriginal population, freed from the grinding tyranny of their old masters, increased and throve; new mines, especially of silver, were discovered and wrought. Both Peru and Mexico assumed gradually the semblance of civilized life; and their prosperity testified to the benefits conferred on them by conquests which, however unjustifiable upon abstract grounds, in both cases redeemed the populations affected by them from cruel and oppressive [native] governments, and bloody and senseless religions" (E. J. PAYNE, in *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, chaps. i–ii). This rosy view of the Spanish conquest deserves respectful consideration, since it is that of an eminent scholar; but it should be said that earlier historians reached entirely opposite conclusions and accused the Spaniards of practically exterminating the natives by their cruelty.

After the conquest of Peru, Spain's stream of treasure from the New World was trebled; the silver mines of Europe were abandoned, and soon all the gold supply also was derived from America. It is no wonder that English, French, and other mariners found excuses for capturing Spanish galleons, and by piracy and smuggling strove to share in the riches which Spain enjoyed in the West Indies.

The Spaniards in time sent expeditions to explore what is now the southernmost part of the United States. After Pizarro had conquered Peru, one of his lieutenants, De Soto, traversed this region in search of gold and silver such as had been found in Mexico and Peru. He struggled through forests and swamps for four years, finding only an Indian village here and there, and at last reached the Mississippi, where he died, leaving his disheartened followers to make their way back to Mexico. After these seemingly fruitless explorations Spain lost interest in North America and, with the exception of Mexico and Florida, left it to be fought over by other European powers, especially France and England.[1]

Spain, however, pressed on westward where Magellan had shown the way. Forty-four years after he had laid claim in her name to the archipelago which he had discovered far to the south of Japan, an expedition of soldiers and friars was sent out from New Spain (Mexico) to occupy the islands. These they discovered to be "large and rich, well provided with inhabitants, food, and gold." The group had earlier been named the Philippine Islands, after Philip II, who was then heir to the Spanish throne. In 1571 a well-sheltered bay was discovered upon the west shore of the island of Luzon, and there the town of Manila was established and made the seat of the Spanish government in the islands.

The archipelago consists of seventeen or eighteen hundred islands, large and small, inhabited by three distinct races which are divided into many tribes differing from one another in both language and civilization. The Spaniards were early defeated by the Sultan of Sulu and never gained complete control over the more savage tribes, especially the Moros, who still cling to Mohammedanism. The friars and Jesuits, however, Christianized a great part of the islands, and the natural products, such as hemp, tobacco, coffee, sugar, and rice, were developed.

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[1] Spain, however, founded, to the north of her main possessions, St. Augustine in 1565, and Santa Fe (New Mexico) in 1598.

It was the policy of Spain to keep a firm hold on her possessions in the New World, and for three centuries she ruled the subjugated natives by means of viceroys. As the conversion of the heathen was always regarded as important by the Spaniards, friars followed the explorers, establishing missions from Chile to California,[1] and in 1600 there were four hundred monasteries in New Spain alone. The Spaniards did not emigrate in great numbers, but by the close of the eighteenth century there were in all the colonies probably some three or four millions of them whose blood was unmixed with that of the native races, beside many half-breeds. The colonials, in addition to being governed by officials sent out from Spain, could trade only with Spanish merchants. Spain strove with great energy to maintain a complete monopoly over all business within her empire.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN NORTH AMERICA

The marvelous reports of Spanish explorers and conquerors naturally aroused the interest of the king of France, who is said to have written his brother monarch below the Pyrenees a witty letter asking him by what right he claimed the earth. In 1522 Verrazano, an Italian in French service, captured two Spanish treasure ships dispatched by Cortes to Spain. This loot the lucky captain turned over to the French king, Francis I, who was so impressed by the affair that he commissioned Verrazano to explore the shore from Florida to Newfoundland and to search for a northwest passage to the East Indies. Upon this exploration France based her claim to North America, which she named New France. Ten years later another Frenchman, Jacques Cartier, made his way up the St. Lawrence River and took possession of the banks in the name of his sovereign. He even made an unsuccessful attempt to found a colony on the present site of Montreal.

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[1] The mission monasteries in California (especially the one which may still be seen at Santa Barbara) have exercised a very happy influence upon the architecture of the region.

A company having been formed in France for colonizing Acadia (as Nova Scotia was then called) and Canada, a group of Frenchmen succeeded in 1604 in establishing a permanent settlement in Acadia at Port Royal, and four years later the famous Champlain, "the Father of New France," as he has been fittingly called, founded a settlement at Quebec. With this as a base the French explorers, traders, and missionaries worked their way westward and southward, the long reaches of navigable waters and the rich fur trade luring them farther and farther inland. Champlain, like Livingstone, was at once a missionary and an ardent explorer. He discovered (1609) the beautiful lake which bears his name, and wrote a number of books which served to make the great virgin forests and their savage inhabitants known to his countrymen.

Montreal was permanently founded in 1642, over a generation later than Quebec, and the French companies offered every inducement to settlers who would agree to go to Canada; but the severe climate and the hard life deterred all except the more adventurous, and when Louis XIV came to the throne there were not more than three thousand of his subjects dwelling in the valley of the St. Lawrence. The French explorers and missionaries pressed westward in the hope of finding the Pacific. They discovered the Great Lakes, raised a cross at Sault Sainte Marie, and in the name of Louis XIV laid claim to all the lands about the lakes, discovered or undiscovered, "bounded on the one side by the seas of the north and of the west, and on the other by the South Sea."

Rumors began to reach the French explorers of a wide river flowing across the continent which might enable them at last to reach the Pacific. In 1673, under the guidance of friendly Indians, Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, and Joliet, a veteran explorer and trader, reached the upper Mississippi. Father Marquette gives a fascinating account of their experiences. Undeterred by the warnings of the Indians, who declared that the river was full of monsters which would devour them and their canoes, and lined with savage peoples who would kill them without mercy, Marquette and his companions committed themselves to the stream and for days floated down with its current, stopping to smoke a pipe with the Illinois Indians, observing the buffaloes on the banks, and noting the muddy Missouri River as they passed the site of St. Louis. They finally satisfied themselves, as they approached the Gulf of Mexico, that "the Mississippi discharged itself into it and not to the eastward of the Cape of Florida or westward into the California Sea." Fearful lest they should meet the Spanish, they turned back.

Their work was completed by La Salle, a determined and experienced explorer, who had already discovered the Ohio River. Encouraged by Louis XIV, he set out from Lake Michigan in January, 1682, with a band of twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Indians, all inured to hardship. After passing down the Illinois River and the Mississippi, whose mouth they reached in April, La Salle solemnly took possession of all the region watered by the great river and its tributaries and named it Louisiana, after his king. His attempt to colonize the country was, however, a failure.

Although England was later to become predominant in North America, it was a hundred years after its discovery before her mariners did much more than hunt in vain for a western passage to India and plunder such Spanish ships as they might encounter. In 1497 John Cabot, an Italian by birth, sailed from Bristol westward with the hope of reaching "the island of Cipango and the lands from which Oriental caravans brought their goods to Alexandria." But he found only the barren coast of Labrador, which he believed to be a part of Asia. For at least a century and a half thereafter so little was known of North America that mariners continued to search for a convenient passage westward to the Pacific and the Spice Islands.

Under Elizabeth there was an outburst of maritime enthusiasm. The adventures of Sir Francis Drake afford an example of the way in which the English raided the Spanish posts. Setting sail from Plymouth in November, 1577, with five vessels and one hundred and sixty-four men, Drake passed the Strait of Magellan the next August, and then turned northward, following the west coast to Santiago in Chile, where he rifled the chapel, carrying off a "silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar cloth"; and from a Spanish vessel which they seized close by, his men got upwards of thirty-seven thousand ducats of pure gold. Later they plundered three barks, taking from them fifty-seven wedges of silver, each weighing twenty pounds. Near Panama they captured a Spanish ship from which they took "great riches, such as precious stones, thirteen chests full of *reals* of plate, fourscore pound weight of gold, and six and twenty tons of silver." Drake then sailed northward along the coast of North America, and, turning westward across the Pacific, reached Borneo on February 8, 1580, and England, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, in November of the same year. Drake was only one of the many English seamen engaged in capturing the treasure ships of the hated Philip II. It was a quarter of a century after Drake's triumphant return before the English succeeded in obtaining a firm foothold on the continent of North America. In 1607, the year before Champlain planted Quebec, Englishmen founded their first successful colony, which they named Jamestown after their king, James I. After a period of privation and suffering the colonists began to make their way inland and take possession of the fertile valleys of Virginia. Under Charles II, North and South Carolina were colonized.

Far to the north a New England was established. The colonists of that section differed essentially from those of Virginia. In 1620 the *Mayflower* had landed at Plymouth, bringing stern, religious Englishmen, who could not endure the ceremonies of the English church as it had been organized under Elizabeth[1] and who had fled to the New World to found permanent homes where they might worship as they pleased. Nine years later the Massachusetts Bay Company began to attract thousands of well-to-do Puritans, whose worldly prosperity contributed not a little to the success of the colony. Offshoots of this colony sprang up in Connecticut and in Rhode Island. The climate and the soil of New England did not encourage the use of slave labor, which became the bane of the Southern colonies. The Northern colonists, instead of scattering upon great plantations, kept together and formed compact settlements, which tended to develop a spirit of political independence and well-organized governments, destined to exercise an important influence as time went on.

During the early years of their development the two great domains seized by the English were divided by a broad belt of land in possession of the Dutch. Henry Hudson, an English mariner sailing under the Dutch flag, had discovered (1609) the river which bears his name, and the island of Manhattan at its mouth. On this island the Dutch West India Company established its colony of New Amsterdam. From it as a base the Dutch spread out, occupying the valley of the Hudson and what is now New Jersey, which they named New Netherland. But the short history of the Dutch in North America came to an end in 1664, when their possessions were conquered by the English.

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[1] See pages 54–55.

Maryland became the refuge for persecuted Roman Catholics. Pennsylvania, granted to William Penn by Charles II in 1681, developed into a thriving colony of Quakers, whose simple habits and opposition to war had made them hated in England. Some fifty years afterward the colony of Georgia was planned under the management of Governor Oglethorpe, and the town of Savannah was established, near the boundary of Spanish Florida. Thus within the scope of little more than a century the foundations of the thirteen original English colonies were firmly laid. Within another half century they were to take their place among the independent nations of the earth.

Many changes occurred in the various companies which received grants and established colonies in the New World; there was much fighting with the Indians and constant uncertainty and disputes in regard to boundaries. The wars in Europe,[1] moreover, were usually accompanied by little wars among the colonists of the various nations involved. Into these matters we need not go. During the War of the Spanish Succession (called Queen Anne's War by the colonists) the New England settlers had captured the French stronghold of Port Royal in Nova Scotia (then Acadia). This was important for them on account of the cod which their fishermen caught every year on the neighboring Newfoundland banks. By the Peace of Utrecht, at the end of the war, France ceded Nova Scotia to England and acknowledged her right to Newfoundland and the region about Hudson Bay, which had been in dispute between the two countries.

The Struggle between France and England in North America

Many things conspired to bring victory to English banners when the final contest with the French for the possession of Canada and the Mississippi Valley was opened. Prominent among them were the English sea power and the French colonial policy. From the enactment of the first navigation law in 1651, the English had steadily increased their mercantile marine as the nursery of seamen, and their fighting marine as the bulwark of empire. In power and skill on the sea the French were soon outrivaled. At the same time French colonial policy and the conditions in France prevented the effective occupation of the great domains claimed in the New World. The exhausting wars of Louis XIV, designed to make petty territorial gains on the Continent, killed off the men who could have been the pioneers of an American empire, and used up the money that could have been employed in opening the new country. The religious policies of the French government also worked against effective empire-building. The Huguenots, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, would gladly have found homes in the New World and built up the French power as the Puritans had the English. But New France and Louisiana had been explored by the Jesuits, and both the home government and the priests scattered about North America stoutly opposed the coming of the heretical Huguenots, who were therefore forced to flee to Protestant countries in search of freedom.

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[1] See preceding chapters.

The French who came to America were, in general, too engrossed in the fur trade, in exploring, in converting the Indians to Christianity, or in fighting the English colonists, to form strong settled communities. They were not permitted to govern themselves when they did collect in settlements, but were carefully watched by the officials of a king who forbade them to trade with anyone except Frenchmen and Indians. As a result of these conditions the scattered French population of North America was less than a hundred thousand souls when the war broke out with England in 1754.

The situation of the English colonies, from Massachusetts to Georgia, was quite different. They varied greatly, it is true, in population, religion, trade, and industry, but they had much in common and could combine far more easily than the French. Four fifths of the English lived within a short distance of the seacoast and were consequently in ready communication with the mother country as compared with Frenchmen in Kaskaskia or Detroit, or even in New Orleans. Each of the colonies had its own government, and its representative assembly which voted taxes and passed laws subject to the approval of the king.

Moreover, the English settlers were, for the most part, seeking permanent homes for themselves and their families; there were few mere traders, trappers, missionaries, or wandering adventurers. In spite of the rule made by Parliament that they must trade mainly with England, industry and commerce increased; for it was always possible to evade the navigation laws, which were not strictly enforced. The population of the English colonies increased very rapidly; for, contrary to the policy of the French, women had come to the British settlements as well as men. By the close of the War of the Spanish Succession there must have been toward half a million, and by 1750 this number had about trebled. A great part of the colonists at this latter date had been born in America; but they were still loyal to their English king, and were now able to vote money, men, and ships to aid him in his wars.

As the English colonies grew they gradually pressed inland and so inevitably came into conflict with the French, who claimed all the region south of the Great Lakes. The New England population expanded toward the St. Lawrence; that of New York and Virginia westward toward Lake Erie and into what is now Ohio. In 1749 the Ohio Company was formed by London merchants and leading Virginians with a view to forwarding colonization beyond the Alleghenies. The French were alarmed, established a fort at Erie, and prepared to defend, as the boundary between them and the English, a line which would today lie within the limits of western Pennsylvania.

Virginia now raised a little army of four hundred men, which set out under George Washington to protect a fort that the

Ohio Company was building on the present site of Pittsburgh. The French, with their allies, the Indians, reached the spot first; captured the fort, which they named Fort Duquesne; and compelled Washington to surrender on condition that he and his men should be permitted to return to Virginia. In this way the French and Indian War originated, quite independently of any trouble between England and France, which were then at peace.

It was clear that a struggle was not to be avoided, and both France and England began to send forces to America. The English colonies even considered a plan of federation (which for the moment came to nothing) and collected troops to fight side by side with the soldiers sent from England. Of the English troops, which amounted in 1758 to about fifty thousand, more than half were supplied by the colonies. An expedition was sent from Boston to Nova Scotia, with a view to completing the conquest of a region which had been already in part ceded to England. The English commander, General Braddock, tried to recapture Fort Duquesne; but, failing to heed the warnings of Washington, he was defeated by the French and Indians and killed (1755).

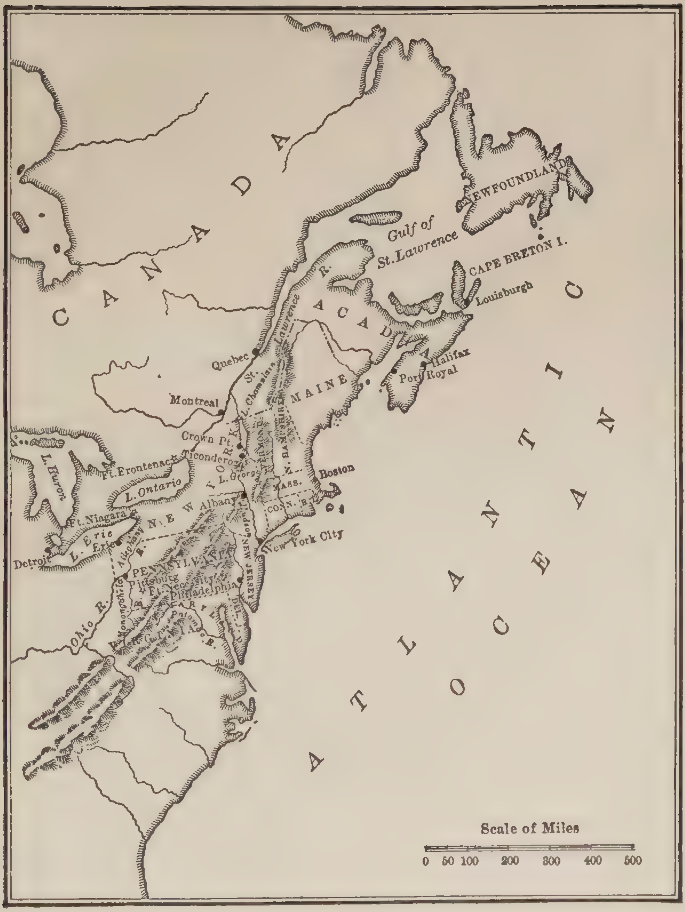
In 1756 the Seven Years' War opened, and England, as the ally of Frederick the Great, took up arms against France and Austria.[1] In America the French troops were under the able command of Montcalm, who was supported by all the Indians in the disputed region. For a time the English were kept out of the mooted territory; but when William Pitt was put at the head of the British government, in 1757, all was changed. He not only aided the hard-pressed Frederick with men and money in the European war but sent out reënforcements to the American colonists which enabled them to take Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, to capture Fort Duquesne (which they renamed after Pitt), and to drive the French out of western New York.

[1] See pages 152 ff.

The following year the English were able to begin the conquest of Canada. They took Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and Fort Niagara. Then, from the recently captured Louisburg, the English under General Wolfe made their way up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec, the key to the French power in Canada, which was defended by Montcalm. After an unsuccessful siege of three months Wolfe's troops one night scaled the heights upon which the town stands, and the next day defeated the French who had come out to meet them. Both Montcalm and Wolfe were killed in this memorable engagement. From this time on, the conquest of Canada progressed rapidly. The French forts surrendered in quick succession; and when Montreal was captured (1760), the French gave up the unequal contest and recalled their troops.

Just before the close of the Seven Years' War, Spain entered the conflict in America as an ally of France, and this gave the English an excuse for organizing an expedition which succeeded in taking Havana. The colonists, who eagerly attacked the Spanish merchantmen on the seas, were now able to outnumber in vessels, guns, and men the whole navy that England had possessed when the English colonies had first been established a century and a half earlier.

In the Peace of Paris (1763), which brought the Seven Years' War to a close, France gave up all her territory in North America. To England she ceded the lands east of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans; this important city, together with all the territory west of the river, she gave to her ally Spain. Spain, on her part, ceded Florida to England on condition that England would restore to her Havana and Manila, both of which the English had captured. In this way England got possession of practically all that part of North America which had as yet been explored and developed, with the exception, of course, of Mexico. While Spain's territory was greatly augmented by Louisiana, she was not in a



ATLANTIC COAST

position to colonize the region, which, so to speak, lay fallow until, forty years later, it was purchased by the United States.

The only remnants of the French occupation of North America today are the French-speaking Creoles of New Orleans and the French Canadians in and about Quebec and Montreal. We still retain the word "prairie" which the French explorers gave to the grassy plains of Illinois. Names like "Detroit," "Vincennes," "Terre Haute," "Des Moines," and "Baton Rouge" still remind us of the nationality of the first explorers and missionaries, and it is pleasant to think that Joliet, La Salle, and Marquette each has a town dedicated to his memory even though no word of his language may be spoken there.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION ADDS A NEW POWER TO THE WORLD[1]

Though the Atlantic Ocean separates America from Europe, and some Americans are wont to speak of their "isolation," the fact remains that the United States is a projection of European civilization. Most of its citizens are of European origin. Its language and its heritage of culture are European. Moreover, this continent has figured in every great European quarrel since the days of William III. America was involved as colonies in Queen Anne's War, in King George's War, and in the French and Indian War—the American counterparts of European conflicts. America was involved as an independent nation in the Napoleonic Wars and in the World War (which opened in 1914). Moreover, the United States owed its independence, in a large measure at least, to the active aid of France, the ancient rival of England in the long contest for supremacy in Europe and Asia and America. For these reasons, and many more, the rise and growth of the United States must be reckoned among the potent forces in European and world history—the history of international wars and diplomacy as well as the less violent history of democracy and political ideas.

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[1] The following brief review of the American Revolution aims to do no more than recall the relation of the movement to European affairs. For fuller accounts see Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, Vol. I, and David S. Muzzey, *The American Adventure*, Vol. I.

The roots of the American war for independence are to be sought partly in the experiences of the colonists and partly in the policies followed by the British government in their administration. In the early years of their development the English settlers had not suffered much from government interference, and all through the colonial period they enjoyed far greater freedom in the management of their affairs than did the French and Spanish colonists. Virginia established its own assembly in 1619, and Massachusetts became almost an independent commonwealth. Schemes of self-government developed, which were later used as the basis for the constitutions of the several states when the colonies gained their independence. By the end of the Seven Years' War (1763) the colonists numbered over two millions. Their rapidly increasing wealth and strength, their free life in a new land, the confidence they had gained in their successful conflict with the French—all combined to render interference of the home government intolerable to them.

While the British government permitted the colonists to make laws, lay taxes, and manage their domestic concerns with a large degree of freedom, it nevertheless undertook to regulate their commerce with the outside world. Like Spain and France, England tried to keep the benefits of colonial commerce and industry to herself by enacting a variety of trade and navigation acts. These measures provided that all products grown or manufactured in Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into England or her colonies only in English ships. Thus if a Dutch merchant vessel laden with cloves, cinnamon, teas, and silks from the Far East anchored in the harbor of New York, the inhabitants could not lawfully buy of the ship's master, no matter how much lower his prices were than those offered by English shippers. Furthermore, another act provided that no commodity of European production or manufacture should be imported into any of the colonies without being shipped through England and carried in ships built in England or the colonies. So if a colonial merchant wished to buy French wines or Dutch watches, he would have to order through English merchants. Again, if a colonist desired to sell to a European merchant such products as the law permitted him to sell to foreigners, he had to export them in English ships and even send them by way of England. Certain articles in which the colonists were interested, such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, and indigo, could be sold only in England. Other things they were forbidden to export at all, or even to produce. For instance, though they possessed the finest furs in abundance, they could not export any caps or hats to England or to any foreign country. The colonists had built up a lucrative lumber and provision trade with the French West Indies, from which they imported large quantities of rum, sugar, and molasses; but in order to keep this trade within British dominions, the importation of these commodities was forbidden.

While the colonists were restricted in their trade and industry by this legislation, they derived many benefits from it. The law restricting the carrying trade to English ships, for example, gave American shipbuilders and sailors a wonderful opportunity to develop their enterprise. The Americans enjoyed also certain special privileges in English markets which were not offered to the merchants of foreign countries, and they were paid bounties by the British government to encourage the growth of certain produce. Furthermore, the laws limiting colonial trade were not strictly enforced. Business men of high standing ventured to neglect them altogether and engaged in illegal trade which, from the standpoint of the mother country, constituted "smuggling." Taking all things into consideration, there is much justification for the view of many modern scholars who hold that the colonists gained more than they lost by the policies of the British government.

The accession of George III in 1760 was the signal for a new policy in American affairs. He called to the ministry men who had decided opinions about the government of the colonies and were determined to enforce the trade laws which had been so neglected. Within a short time acts were passed by Parliament to accomplish this purpose. Moreover, after the close of the successful Seven Years' War, and the conquest of Canada and the Ohio valley, arrangements had to be made to protect the new territories and to meet the expenses incident to the great enlargement of the British Empire. The home government naturally argued that the prosperous colonists ought to help pay the debt incurred in the late war and contribute toward the maintenance of a small body of troops for guarding the new possessions.

This led to the passage of the Stamp Act, which taxed the colonists by requiring them to pay the English government for the stamp that had to be used on leases, deeds, and other legal documents in order to make them binding. The Stamp Act stirred up the leaders among the colonists, like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, who declared that they had already borne the brunt of the recent war and that Parliament had no right to tax them since they were not represented directly in that body. Such representation, they said, was impossible, because England was so far away. Therefore, so ran their argument, the American colonists could be taxed only by their own assemblies. Whatever may have been the merits of their arguments, representatives of nine colonies met in New York in 1765 and denounced the Stamp Act as indicating "a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists."

The unpopular stamp tax was repealed, in spite of the opposition offered by members of the Tory party in Parliament, who thought that the colonists should be punished rather than conciliated. Many of the Whigs were very friendly to them, and a proposal was made that the colonists tax themselves to help the British treasury; but Benjamin Franklin, then in England, sadly admitted that they would not do so. Parliament then decided to raise a certain amount by duties on glass, paper, and tea, and a board was established to secure a stricter enforcement of the old and hitherto largely neglected navigation laws and other restrictions. The protests of the colonists had their effect, however, on the English statesmen and led Parliament to remove all the duties except that on tea. This was retained owing to the active lobbying of the East India Company, whose interests were at stake.

The effort to make the Americans pay a very moderate duty on tea and to force upon the Boston markets the Company's tea at a very low price produced trouble in 1773. Those who had supplies of "smuggled" tea to dispose of and those who had paid the small duty which had been imposed were in danger of being undersold, and hence they raised a new cry of illegal taxation. A band of men in Boston boarded a tea ship in the harbor and threw the cargo into the water. This so-called Boston Tea Party aggravated the discord between the colonies and the mother country.

Even after this event a considerable body of Parliament opposed coercing the colonists. Burke, who was perhaps the ablest member of the House of Commons, urged the ministry to leave the Americans free to tax themselves, but George III, and the Tory party in Parliament, could not forgive the colonists for their opposition. They believed that the trouble was largely confined to New England and could easily be overcome. In 1774 acts were passed prohibiting the landing and shipping of goods at Boston; and the colony of Massachusetts was deprived of its former right to choose its judges and the members of the upper house of its legislature, who were thereafter to be selected by the king.

But these measures, instead of bringing Massachusetts to terms, so aroused the apprehension of the colonists in general that a congress of representatives from all the colonies except

Georgia was held at Philadelphia in 1774 to see what could be done. This congress decided that all trade with Great Britain should cease until the grievances of the colonies had been redressed. The following year the Americans encountered the British troops at Lexington and made a brave stand against them in the battle of Bunker Hill. The second congress decided to prepare for war and raised an army, which was put under the command of George Washington, a Virginia planter who had won distinction in the earlier French and Indian War.

Even now attempts were made to compromise, but they came to nothing. Hitherto only a few people had openly advocated separation from the mother country. After the armed conflict formally opened, the party in favor of independence grew rapidly, and on July 4, 1776, the congress declared that "these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." This measure evoked great enthusiasm from the patriots and brought consternation to the Tories, or loyal supporters of the king.

The Declaration of Independence naturally excited great interest in France. The outcome of the Seven Years' War had been most lamentable for that country, and any trouble which came to her old enemy, England, could not fail to be a source of satisfaction to the French. The United States therefore regarded France as a natural ally and immediately sent Benjamin Franklin to Versailles in the hope of obtaining the aid of the new French king, Louis XVI. The king's ministers were uncertain as to whether the colonies could long maintain their resistance against the overwhelming strength of the mother country. It was only after the Americans had defeated Burgoyne at Saratoga that France, in 1778, concluded a treaty with the United States in which the independence of the new republic was recognized. This was equivalent to declaring war upon England. The French government aided the colonies with loans; and enthusiasm for the Americans was so great in France that a number of the younger nobles, the most conspicuous of whom was the Marquis of Lafayette, crossed the Atlantic to fight as volunteers in the American army.

For various reasons, including incompetence, English military operations were not carried on with much vigor. Nevertheless the Americans found it no easy task to win the war. In spite of the skill and heroic self-sacrifice of Washington, they lost more battles than they gained. It is extremely doubtful whether they would have succeeded in bringing the war to a favorable close, by forcing the English general, Cornwallis, to capitulate at Yorktown (1781), had it not been for the aid of the French fleet.

The chief result of the war was the recognition by England of the independence of the United States, whose territory was to extend to the Mississippi River. To the west of the Mississippi the vast territory of Louisiana still remained in the hands of Spain, as well as Florida, which England had held since 1763 but now gave back. Spain and Portugal were able to hold their American possessions a generation longer than the English, but in the end practically all of the Western Hemisphere, with the exception of Canada, completely freed itself from the authority of the European powers. Cuba, one of the very last vestiges of Spanish control in the West, gained its independence with the aid of the United States in 1898.

While casting off British rule, the Americans established governments of their own. Rhode Island and Connecticut slightly changed the charters they had received from the British king and went on their way as free states. In each of the other states a new written constitution was adopted. A loose union was then formed under the Articles of Confederation, proclaimed in 1781. Finding the Articles unsatisfactory in many ways, the Americans drafted a new plan of union, the Constitution of the United States, which went into effect in 1789 with the inauguration of Washington as president.

The example of a people forming a government without kings and hereditary aristocracies was highly instructive to the masses of Europe. French noblemen, like Lafayette, who had served in the American army, took back with them marvelous stories of the great popular experiment. The state constitutions were translated into French and widely circulated in Europe. The Declaration of Independence was a clarion call to the oppressed of the earth. Frenchmen who opposed the absolutism of the Bourbons, and Englishmen who demanded for all men the right to vote for members of the House of Commons, took courage from the American achievement. Far-sighted diplomats knew that European countries must henceforth reckon with the new republic beyond the seas. Thus, by its spirit, its system of government, and its wealth, the United States gradually became a great force in the arena of world affairs.

CHAPTER VII

HOLD-OVERS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES

Conditions of the Country People—Serfdom

The great events in America caused considerable reverberation in Europe. A new nation had been established without kings, feudal lords, an official religion, a press censorship, or a servile peasantry. This was a challenge to the whole system of government and economy in Europe, which had come down through the ages, with some modifications, and was still cherished by nearly all important people, high and low, except a few critics here and there. Europe was, however, trembling on the verge of a revolution itself, one more far-reaching in its effects than the upheaval that had shaken England a century before. In the spring of 1789, just about the time George Washington was inaugurated president under the new Constitution, the French king called together the estates of his realm for the first time since 1614, and unwittingly set in motion new forces that overturned thrones, disestablished churches, demolished age-long laws and customs, and changed the fortunes of classes and nations from Madrid to St. Petersburg. That was not all. The French Revolution let loose a flood of novel ideas about liberty, equality, and fraternity which have swept around the world and still enter into all discussions of human affairs. To understand the full effect of this new transformation, we must examine carefully the old order of things in Europe as they stood on the eve of the great disturbance.

If a peasant who lived on a manor in the times of the Crusades had been permitted to return to earth and travel about Europe at the close of the Seven Years' War, he would have found much to remind him of the conditions under which, seven centuries earlier, his ancestors had extracted a scanty living from the soil. On the other hand, an American farmer of today would find great difficulty in understanding the situation of a Prussian peasant at the opening of the nineteenth century. We must therefore glance at the manorial system of agriculture inherited from the Middle Ages, which, in the eighteenth century, still existed in most of the countries of Europe.

The modern farmer who either owns his land or leases it from the owner for a certain sum annually and then cultivates it in any way he pleases, with the aid of such men as he may hire to help him, is, in fact, a rather novel being in the world's history. In the past those who have tilled the soil have commonly been slaves, or practically slaves, who worked on large estates belonging to others. They neither owned nor rented the land in the modern sense of the terms; yet they often had a certain claim upon it, and, so long as they fulfilled their obligations, could not lawfully be deprived of it.

A system of great estates prevailed under the Roman Empire, and the land had been extensively cultivated by armies of slaves. Later, however, the slaves disappeared, or merged into a curious intermediate class neither free nor slave, the so-called serfs, which included practically all those who tilled the soil in the Middle Ages. Indeed, a free farmer who had no means of defending himself would have stood but a poor chance amidst the violence and disorder which prevailed during the barbarian invasions and the feudal period. Consequently all through the Middle Ages the great estates still continued to exist, peopled by serfs who were protected to a certain degree by the lord of the manor.

The lord, who lived in a castle or solidly built house, reserved for himself a goodly number of fields. The rest of the estate was divided up among the serfs, who were not ordinarily deprived of their holdings so long as they served their lord and paid him the customary dues. These holdings passed down from father to son; and in case the manor changed hands, the peasants went with it, just as did the wretched hovels in which they lived and the trees and brooks. For the serf was not at liberty to leave the manor, and in case of flight he might be pursued like a fugitive slave. He was, in short, bound to the land.

The serfs were required to till those fields which the lord reserved for himself and to gather his crops. They might not marry without the lord's permission, and their wives and children were required to render such assistance as was necessary in the manor house. We have many exact statements of what the serfs owed the lord upon whose estate they were fixed. To take a single instance from an English village in 1279: William Modi, a serf, holds from Sir Baldwin a cottage and twelve acres of land. For this he must, among other things, work for the lord two days a week for the greater part of the year and, during August and September, must see that at least two acres of Sir Baldwin's grain are harvested each day. He must put his cart at the lord's disposal on certain occasions and mow in his field the whole of one day. "And he owes at Christmas four hens and a cock and forty eggs, and on St. Peter's day he shall give five ducks. And about Christmas time he shall thresh in the barn of his lord sixteen bushels of barley and make malt of this at his house and dry it, and then carry it to the mill to be ground, and then from the mill to the kitchen of his lord."

All the men were, moreover, expected to be present at the "court" of the lord, where the business of the manor was transacted under the supervision of his representative. Here disputes were settled, and fines were imposed for disorder or for violating the customs of the manor. These fines were a somewhat important source of income to the lord, who found this privilege of administering justice a valuable one. While the services and dues varied on different manors, those enumerated above give a very fair idea of the general conditions which prevailed for centuries throughout western Europe.

The serf was ordinarily a bad farmer and workman. He cultivated the soil in a very crude manner, and his crops were accordingly scanty and inferior. Obviously serfdom could exist only as long as land was plentiful. Serfdom would therefore naturally tend to disappear when the population so increased that the carelessly cultivated fields no longer supplied the food necessary for the growing numbers.

Serfdom began to die out first in France and England. As time went on, neither the lord nor the serf was satisfied with the primitive arrangements which had answered well enough in the time of Charlemagne. The serfs, on the one hand, began to obtain money by the sale of their products in the markets of neighboring towns. They soon found it more profitable to pay the lord a certain sum instead of working for him; for they could then turn their whole attention to their own holdings. The landowners, on the other hand, found it to their advantage to accept money in place of the services of their tenants. With this money they could not only hire laborers to cultivate their own fields but also buy the luxuries which were brought to their notice as commerce increased. So it came about that the lords gradually renounced their control over the peasants, and the serf was no longer easily distinguishable from the freeman who paid a regular rent for his land.[1]

The gradual extinction of serfdom in western Europe appears to have begun as early as the twelfth century, but proceeded at very different rates in the various countries. In France the old type of serf had largely disappeared by the fourteenth century, and in England a hundred years later. In Prussia, Austria, Poland, Russia, Italy, and Spain, on the contrary, the great mass of the country people were still bound to the soil in the eighteenth century.

Even in France there remained many aggravating traces of the old system. The peasant was, it is true, no longer bound to a particular manor; he could buy or sell his land at will, could marry without consulting the lord, and could go and come as he pleased. Many bought their land outright, whereas others disposed of their holdings and settled in town. But the lord might still require all those on his manor to grind their grain at his mill, bake their bread in his oven, and press their grapes in his wine press. The peasant might have to pay a toll to cross a bridge or ferry which was under the lord's control, or a certain sum for driving his flock past the lord's mansion. Many of the old arrangements still forced the peasant occupying a particular plot of land to turn over to the lord a certain portion of his crops and, if he sold his land, to pay the lord a part of the money he received for it.

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[1] A serf might gain his liberty by fleeing to a town. In England, if he remained undiscovered by his lord for a year and a day, he became a freeman.

In England in the eighteenth century the prominent features of serfdom had disappeared more completely than in France. The services in labor due to the lord had long been commuted into money payments, and the peasant was thus transformed into a renter or owner of his holding. He still took off his hat to the squire of his village and was liable to be severely punished by his lord, who was usually a justice of the peace, if he was caught shooting a hare on the game preserves. Moreover, many traces of feudal dues and restrictions remained in their old form until the nineteenth century, and the subserviency of the agricultural laborers to the landed proprietors was still strongly marked. As late as 1809 the town of Manchester had to get the consent of the lord of the manor before it could incorporate a waterworks company; and in 1839 the town of Leeds had to pay thirteen thousand pounds to its former lord in order to extinguish the old obligation of grinding corn at his mill.

In central, southern, and eastern Europe the medieval system still prevailed,—the peasant lived and died upon the same manor and worked for his lord in the same way that his ancestors had worked a thousand years before. Everywhere the same crude agricultural instruments were still used, and most of the implements and tools were roughly made in the village itself. The wooden plows commonly found even on English farms were constructed on the model of the old Roman plow; wheat was cut with a sickle, grass with an unwieldy scythe, and the wretched cart wheels were supplied only with wooden rims.

The houses occupied by the country people differed greatly from Sicily to Pomerania, and from Ireland to Poland; but, in general, they were small, with little light or ventilation, and often they were nothing but wretched hovels with dirt floors and neglected thatch roofs. The pigs and the cows were frequently better housed than the people, with whom they associated upon very familiar terms since the barn and the house were commonly in the same building. The drinking-water was bad, and there was no attempt to secure proper drainage. Fortunately everyone was out of doors a great deal of the time, for the women as well as the men usually worked in the fields, cultivating the soil and helping to gather in the crops.

Country life in the eighteenth century was obviously very arduous and unattractive for the most part. The peasant had no newspapers to tell him of the world outside his manor, nor could he have read them had he had them. Even in England not one peasant in five thousand, it is said, could read; and in France the local tax-collectors were too uneducated to make out their own reports. Farther east conditions must have been still more cheerless; for a Hungarian peasant complains that he owes four days to his lord, spends the fifth and sixth hunting and fishing for him, while the seventh belongs to God.

The Towns and the Guilds

Even in the towns there was much to remind one of the Middle Ages. The narrow, crooked streets, darkened by the overhanging buildings and scarcely lighted at all by night; the rough cobblestones; the disgusting odors even in the best quarters,—all offered a marked contrast to the European cities of today, which have grown tremendously in the last hundred years in size, beauty, and comfort.

In 1760 London had half a million inhabitants, less than a tenth of its present population. There were, of course, no street cars or omnibuses, to say nothing of the thousands of automobiles which now thread their way in and out through the press of traffic. A few hundred hackney coaches and sedan chairs served to carry those who had no private conveyances and could not, or would not, walk. The ill-lighted streets were guarded at night by watchmen who went about with lanterns but afforded so little protection against roughs and robbers that gentlemen were compelled to carry arms when passing through the streets after nightfall.

Paris was somewhat larger than London and had outgrown its medieval walls. The police were more efficient there, and the highway robberies which disgraced London and its suburbs were almost unknown. The celebrated parkway known as the "Elysian Fields," and some of the boulevards, now such a distinguished feature of Paris, were already laid out; but, in general, the streets were still narrow, and there were none of the fine, broad avenues which now radiate from numerous centers. There were few sewers to carry off the water which, when it rained, flowed through the middle of the streets. The filth and the bad smells of former times still remained, and the people relied upon easily polluted wells or the dirty river Seine for their water supply.

In Germany very few of the towns had spread beyond their medieval walls. They had, for the most part, lost their former prosperity, which was still attested by the fine houses of the merchants and of the once flourishing guilds. Berlin had a population of about two hundred thousand, and Vienna slightly more. The latter city, now one of the most beautiful in the world, then employed from thirty to a hundred street-cleaners and boasted that the street lamps were lighted every night; whereas many towns contented themselves with dirty streets, lighted only during the winter months, and then merely when the moon was not scheduled to shine.

Even the famous cities of Italy,—Milan, Genoa, Florence, Rome,—notwithstanding their beautiful palaces and public buildings, were, with the exception of water-bound Venice, crowded into the limited compass of the town wall, and their streets were narrow and crooked.

Another contrast between the towns of the eighteenth century and those of today lay in the absence of the great wholesale warehouses, the vast factories with their tall chimneys, and the attractive department stores which may now be found in every city from Dublin to Budapest. Commerce and industry were in general conducted upon a very small scale, except at the great ports like London, Antwerp, or Hamburg, where goods coming from and going to the colonies were brought together.

The growth of industry under the influence of the various machines which were being invented during the latter part of the eighteenth century will be described later. It is clear, however, that before the introduction of railroads, steamships, and machine-equipped factories, all business operations must have been carried on in what would seem to us a slow and primitive fashion.

A great part of the manufacturing still took place in little shops where the articles, when completed, were offered for sale. Generally those who owned the several shops which carried on a particular trade, such as tailoring, shoemaking, baking, tanning, bookbinding, hair-cutting, or the making of candles, knives, hats, artificial flowers, swords, or wigs, were organized into a guild (or union) the main object of which was to prevent all other citizens from making or selling the articles in which the members of the guild dealt. The number of master workmen who might open a shop of their own was often limited by the guild, as well as the number of apprentices each master could train. The period of apprenticeship was long, sometimes seven or even nine years, on the ground that it took years to learn the trade properly, but really because the guild wished to maintain its monopoly by keeping down the number who could become masters. When the apprenticeship was over, the workman became a "journeyman," but might perhaps never become a master workman and open a shop of his own.

This guild system had originated in the Middle Ages and was consequently hundreds of years old. In England the term of seven years was required for apprenticeship in all the staple trades, although the rule was by no means universally enforced. In Sheffield no master cutler could have more than one apprentice at a time; the master weavers of Norfolk and Norwich were limited to two apprentices each; and no master hatter in England could have more than two.

In France the guilds were more powerful than in England, since they had been supported and encouraged by Colbert, who believed that they kept up the standard of French products. In Germany the organization was much stricter and more widespread than either in England or France. Old regulations concerning apprenticeship and the conduct of the various trades were still enforced. No master could have more than one apprentice, manage more than one workshop, or sell goods that he had not himself produced.

Everywhere a workman had to stick to his trade: if a cobbler should venture to make a pair of new boots, or a baker should roast a piece of meat in his oven, he might be expelled from the guild unless he made amends. In Paris a hatter, who had greatly increased his trade by making hats of wool mixed with silk, had his stock destroyed by the guild authorities on the ground that the rules only permitted hats to be made of wool and said nothing of silk. The trimming-makers had an edict passed forbidding anyone to make buttons that were cast, or turned, or made of horn.

The guilds not only protected themselves against workmen who opened shops without their permission, but each particular trade was in more or less constant disagreement with the other trades as to what each might make. The goldsmiths were the natural enemies of all who used gold in their respective operations, such as the makers of clocks and watches, the money-changers, and those who set precious stones. Those who dealt in natural flowers were not allowed to encroach upon those who made artificial ones. One who baked bread must not make pies or cakes. The tailor who mended clothes must not permit himself to make new garments.

The guilds differed from the modern trade unions in several important respects. In the first place, it was only the master workmen, the owners of the shops, tools, or machines, who belonged to them. The apprentices and journeymen—that is, the ordinary workmen—were excluded and had no influence whatever upon the policy of the organization. In the second place, the government enforced the decisions of the guilds. For example, in Paris, if it was learned that a journeyman goldbeater was working for himself, a representative of the guild betook himself to the offender's house, accompanied by a town officer, and seized his tools and materials, after which the unfortunate man might be sent to the galleys for three years or perhaps get off with a heavy fine, imprisonment, and the loss of all chances of ever becoming a master. Lastly, the guilds were confined to the old-established industries which were still carried on, as they had been during the Middle Ages, on a small scale in the master's house.

In spite, however, of the seeming strength of the guilds, they were really giving way before the entirely new conditions which had arisen. Many economists disapproved of them on the ground that they hampered industry and prevented progress by their outworn restrictions. In many towns the regulations were evaded or had broken down altogether, so that enterprising workmen and dealers carried on their business as they pleased. Then, as we have said, it was only the old industries that were included in the guild system. The newer manufactures of silk and cotton goods, porcelain, fine glassware, etc., which had been recently introduced into Europe, were under the control of individuals or companies who were independent of the old guilds and relied upon monopolies and privileges granted by the rulers, who, in France at least, were glad to foster new industries.

The Nobility

Not only had the medieval manors and the medieval guilds maintained themselves down into the eighteenth century, but the successors of the feudal lords continued to exist as a conspicuous and powerful class which enjoyed various privileges and distinctions denied to the ordinary citizen, although they were, of course, shorn of the great power that the more important dukes and counts had enjoyed in the Middle Ages, when they ruled over vast tracts, could summon their vassals to assist them in their constant wars with their neighbors, and dared defy even the authority of the king himself.

It is impossible to recount here how the English, French, and Spanish kings gradually subjugated the turbulent barons and brought the great fiefs directly under royal control. Suffice it to say that the monarchs met with such success that in the eighteenth century the nobles no longer held aloof but eagerly sought the king's court. Those whose predecessors had once been veritable sovereigns within their own domains, had declared war even against the king, coined money, made laws for their subjects, and meted out justice in their castle halls had, by the eighteenth century, deserted their war horses and laid aside their long swords; in their velvet coats and high-heeled shoes they were contented with the privilege of helping the king to dress in the morning and attending him at dinner. The battlemented castle, once the stronghold of independent chieftains, was transformed into a tasteful country residence where, if the king honored the owner with a visit, the host was no longer tempted, as his ancestors had been, to shower arrows and stones upon the royal intruder.

The French noble, unlike the English, was not fond of the country but lived with the court at Versailles whenever he could afford to do so, and often when he could not. He liked the excitement of the court, and it was there that he could best advance his own and his friends' interest by obtaining lucrative offices in the army or Church or in the king's palace. By their prolonged absence from their estates the nobles lost the esteem of their tenants, while their stewards aroused the hatred of the peasants by strictly collecting all the ancient dues so that the lord might enjoy the gayeties at Versailles.

The unpopularity of the French nobility was further increased by their exemption from some of the heavy taxes, on the ground that they were still supposed to shed their blood in fighting for their king, instead of paying him money like the unsoldierly burghers and peasants. They enjoyed, moreover, the preference when the king had desirable positions to grant. Besides, they claimed a certain social superiority, as they were excluded by their traditions of birth from engaging in any ordinary trade or industry, although they might enter some professions, such as medicine, law, the Church, or the army, or even participate in maritime trade without derogating from their rank. In short, the French nobility, including from one hundred and thirty thousand to one hundred and forty thousand persons, constituted a privileged class, although they no longer performed any of the high functions which had been exercised by their predecessors.

To make matters worse, very few of the nobles really belonged to old feudal families. For the most part they had been ennobled by the king for some supposed service, or had bought an office, or a judgeship in the higher courts, to which noble rank was attached. Naturally this circumstance served to rob them of much of the respect that their hereditary dignity and titles might otherwise have gained for them.

In England the feudal castles had disappeared earlier even than in France, and the English law did not grant to anyone, however long and distinguished his lineage, special rights or privileges not enjoyed by every freeman. Nevertheless, there was a distinct noble class in England. The monarch had formerly been accustomed to summon his counts and some of his barons to take council with him, and in this way the peerage developed; this consisted of those whose title permitted them to sit in the House of Lords and to transmit this honorable prerogative to their eldest sons. But the peers paid the same taxes as did every other subject and were punished in the same manner if they were convicted of an offense. Moreover, only the eldest surviving son of a noble father inherited his rank, while on the Continent all the sons became nobles. In this way the number of the English nobility was greatly restricted, and their social distinction roused little antagonism.

In Germany, however, the nobles continued to occupy very much the same position which their ancestors held in the Middle Ages. There had been no king to do for all Germany what the French kings had done for France; no mighty man had risen strong enough to batter down castle walls and bend all barons, great and small, to his will. The result was that there were in Germany in the eighteenth century hundreds of nobles dwelling in strong old castles and ruling with a high hand domains that were sometimes no larger than an American township. They levied taxes, held courts, coined money, and maintained standing armies of perhaps a handful of soldiers.

The European Monarchical Governments

In the eighteenth century nearly all the countries of Europe were monarchies. The exceptions were the "free cities" of Germany, the half-monarchical United Netherlands, Switzerland, and the tiny republics of San Marino in Italy and Andorra in the Pyrenees. Save in England and the Scandinavian countries, the king or duke or other titled sovereign was despotic, granting the people no share in the government and often rendering them miserable by ill-advised wars and oppressive taxes. He commonly maintained a very expensive court and gave away to unworthy courtiers much of the money which he had wrung from his people. He could imprison his subjects in the most unjust manner. Nevertheless, he usually enjoyed the loyalty of his subjects, who were generally ready to attribute his bad acts to evil councilors.

In the eighteenth century France was still the despotism that Louis XIV had made it. Louis XVI once described it very well in the following words: "The sovereign authority resides exclusively in my person. To me solely belongs the power of making the laws, and without dependence or coöperation. The entire public order emanates from me, and I am its supreme protector. My people are one with me. The rights and interests of the nation are necessarily identical with mine and rest solely in my hands." In short, the king still ruled "by the grace of God," as Louis XIV had done. He needed to render account to no man for his governmental acts; he was responsible to God alone. The following illustrations will make clear the extent of the king's power.

In the first place, it was he who levied each year the heaviest of the taxes, the hated *taille*, from which the privileged classes were exempted. This tax brought in about one sixth of the whole revenue of the State. The amount collected was kept secret, and no report was made to the nation of what was done with it or, for that matter, with any other part of the king's income. Indeed, no distinction was made between the king's private funds and the public treasury, whereas in England the monarch was given a stated allowance. The king of France could issue as many drafts payable to bearer as he wished; the royal officials must pay all such orders and ask no questions. Louis XV is said to have spent no less than seventy million dollars in this irresponsible fashion in a single year.

But the king not only controlled his subjects' purses; he had a terrible authority over their persons as well. He could issue orders for the arrest and arbitrary imprisonment of anyone he pleased. Without trial or formality of any sort a person might be cast into a dungeon for an indefinite period, until the king happened to remember him again or was reminded of him by the poor man's friends. These notorious orders of arrest were called *lettres de cachet,* that is, sealed letters. They were not difficult to obtain for anyone who had influence with the king or his favorites, and they furnished a particularly easy and efficacious way of disposing of an enemy. These arbitrary orders lead one to appreciate the importance of the provision of Magna Carta which runs: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned except by the lawful judgment of his peers and in accordance with the law of the land." Some of the most eminent men of the time were shut up by the king's order, often on account of books or pamphlets written by them which displeased the king or those about him. The distinguished statesman, Mirabeau, when a young man, was imprisoned several times through *lettres de cachet* obtained by his father as a means of checking his reckless dissipation.

Yet, notwithstanding the seemingly unlimited powers of the French king, and in spite of the fact that France had no written constitution and no legislative body to which the nation sent representatives, the monarch was by no means absolutely free to do just as he pleased. He had not the time or inclination to carry on personally the government of twenty-five million subjects, and he necessarily, and willingly, left much of the work to his ministers and the numerous public officials, who were bound to obey the laws and regulations established for their control and guidance.

Next to the king's council the most influential governmental bodies were the higher courts of law, the *parlements.* These resembled the English Parliament in almost nothing but name. The French *parlements*—the most important of which was at Paris, while a dozen more were situated in the various provinces—did not, however, confine themselves solely to the business of trying lawsuits. They claimed, and quite properly, that when the king decided to make a new law he must send it to them to be registered; for how, otherwise, could they adjust their decisions to it? Now, although they acknowledged that the right to make the laws belonged to the monarch, they nevertheless often sent a "protest" to the king instead of registering an edict which they disapproved. They would urge that the ministers had abused His Majesty's confidence. They would also take pains to have their protest printed and sold on the streets at a penny or two a copy, in order that people should get the idea that the *parlement* was defending the nation against the oppressive measures of the king's ministers.

When the king received one of these protests, two alternatives were open to him. He might recall the distasteful decree altogether, or modify it so as to suit the court; or he could summon the *parlement* before him and, in a solemn session (called a *lit de justice*), command it with his own mouth to register the law in its records. The *parlement* would then reluctantly obey; but as the Revolution approached, it began to claim that a decree registered against its will was not valid.

Struggles between the *parlements* and the king's ministers were very frequent in the eighteenth century and prepared the way for the Revolution. First, they brought important questions to the attention of the people; for there were no newspapers and no parliamentary or congressional debates to enable the public to understand the policy of the government. Second, the *parlements* not only frankly criticized the proposed measures of the king and his ministers, but they familiarized the nation with the idea that the king was not really at liberty to alter what they called the "fundamental laws" of the State. By this they meant that there was an unwritten constitution which limited the king's power and of which they were the guardians. In this way they promoted the growing discontent with a government which was carried on in secret, and which left the nation at the mercy of the men in whom the king might for the moment repose confidence.

It is a great mistake to suppose that public opinion did not exercise a powerful check upon the king, even under the autocratic old régime. It was, as one of Louis XVI's ministers declared, "an invisible power which, without treasury, guards, or an army, ruled Paris and the court—yea, the very palace of the king." The latter half of the eighteenth century was a period of outspoken and acrid criticism of the whole existing social and governmental system. Reformers, among whom many of the king's ministers were counted, loudly and eloquently discussed the numerous abuses and the autocratic character of the government, which gradually came to seem just as bad to the people of that day as it does to us now.

Although there were no daily newspapers to discuss public questions, large numbers of pamphlets were written and circulated by individuals whenever there was an important crisis, and they answered much the same purpose as the editorials in a modern newspaper. We shall see in the next chapter how French philosophers and reformers, like Voltaire, Diderot, and Montesquieu, had been encouraged by the freedom of speech which prevailed in England, and how industriously they had sown the seeds of discontent in their own country. In popular works, in poems and stories and plays, and, above all, in the *Encyclopedia*, they explained new scientific discoveries, attacked old beliefs and misapprehensions, and encouraged progress. Only the most ignorant were able to escape their influence altogether.

Sometimes the pamphlets and books treated the government, the clergy, or the Catholic religion with such open contempt that either the king, or the clergy, or the courts felt it necessary to prevent their circulation. The *parlement* of Paris now and then ordered some offensive writing, such as Diderot's *Philosophic Thoughts*, Voltaire's *Handy Philosophic Diction-*

ary, certain of Rousseau's works, pamphlets defending the Jesuits, etc., to be burned by the common hangman. The authors, if they could be discovered, were in some cases imprisoned, and the printers and publishers fined or banished; but in general the courts satisfied themselves with suppressing the books and pamphlets which they disapproved. As a rule the attempted suppression only advertised the attacks upon existing abuses, which followed one another in rapid succession. The efforts of the government and the clergy to check free discussion seemed an outrage to the more thoughtful among the citizens, and so rather promoted than prevented the consideration of the weaknesses of the Church and of the king's government.

The Roman Catholic Church

The eighteenth century had inherited from the Middle Ages not only the nobility but the clergy, who, even in Protestant countries, were set off by peculiar rights and privileges from the nation at large. They were far more powerful and better organized than the nobility and exercised a potent influence in the State. The clergy owed their authority to the Church, which for many centuries had been the great central institution of Europe. The medieval Church serves to explain as many of the problems which have faced statesmen in modern times as even the feudal and manorial systems. We must therefore look back for a moment to a time—let us say five hundred years before the period with which we are dealing—when all western Europe was still loyal to its head, the Pope, when the Church was still the soul of almost every great enterprise, and the State had not yet gained the necessary strength to wrest from it gradually many of its prerogatives and a part of its wealth.

In the first place, everyone, in the Middle Ages, was required to belong to the Church, somewhat in the same way that we today all belong as a matter of course to the State. It is true that one was not born into the Church as we are into the State, but he was ordinarily baptized into it before he had any opinion in the matter. All western Europe formed a single religious association, from which it was a crime to revolt. To refuse allegiance to the Church or to question its authority or teachings was reputed treason against God, the most terrible of all crimes. When the clergy declared a person guilty of heresy (as a rejection of the Church's doctrines was called), the king's officials were by law required to execute him if he refused to recant. Doubt and disbelief were regarded not merely as sinful, but as a criminal revolt against an institution which practically everyone esteemed more essential to order and civilization than was even the king's authority.

The Church did not rely for its support, as churches usually must today, upon the voluntary contributions of its members, but enjoyed the revenue from vast domains which kings, nobles, and other landholders had from time to time given to the churches and monasteries. Practically none of this land was ever sold or given up, and consequently the Church's income continued to increase from generation to generation as new gifts were made. This accumulation of property in the hands of those who could not part with it has been a source of much trouble between the clergy and the various European governments. In addition to the income from its lands and from a considerable variety of fees and contributions, the Church had the right, like the State, to impose a regular tax called the *tithe*. All who were subject to this were forced to pay it whether they cared anything about religion or not, just as we are all compelled to pay taxes imposed by the government under which we live, even if we should prefer an entirely different system.

Like the State the Church had, moreover, an elaborate system of law and its own courts, in which its officials tried many cases which are now settled in the civil tribunals. One may get some idea of the business of the ecclesiastical courts from the fact that the Church claimed the right to try all cases in which a clergyman was involved, or anyone connected with the Church or under its special protection, such as monks, students, crusaders, widows, orphans, and the helpless in general. Then, all cases where questions of religion were raised, such as the sacraments of the Church, or its prohibitions, came ordinarily before its court, as, for example, those concerning marriage, wills, sworn contracts, usury, blasphemy, sorcery, heresy, and so forth. The Church had its prisons, too, to which it might sentence offenders to lifelong detention.

The Church not only performed the functions of a state, making laws for its members, taxing them, and trying and punishing them if they broke its laws; it had also the organization of a state. Unlike the Protestant ministers of today, all churchmen and all religious associations of medieval Europe were under one supreme head, the Roman pontiff, who made laws for all and who controlled every Church officer, bishop, or priest, wherever he might be, whether in Italy, Spain, Germany, or Ireland. The Pope's control was facilitated by the circumstance that the Church had one official language—Latin—in which all communications were written and its services everywhere conducted.

The medieval Church may, therefore, properly be called a great international monarchy embracing all the peoples of western Europe regardless of their race or the character of their civil government. The Pope was its all-powerful and absolute ruler in the same sense that Louis XIV was legally the absolute ruler of the French state. The Pope concentrated in his person, according to the laws of the Church, its entire spiritual and temporal authority. He was the supreme lawgiver. No council of the Church, no matter how large and representative, could make laws against his will; for its decrees, to be valid, required his sanction. He could set aside, or abrogate, any law of the Church, however ancient, so long as it was not supposed to be ordained by the Bible or by nature. He might, for various reasons, make exceptions to all merely human law. He was not only the supreme lawgiver but the supreme judge as well. Anyone in any part of Europe could appeal to him at any stage in almost any ecclesiastical case.

As supreme head of the Church the Pope naturally claimed the right under certain circumstances to annul the decrees of all other earthly powers. Ordinarily the Church allowed kings and princes to make laws and rule their peoples, so far as the interests of this world were concerned, as they pleased; but the Pope felt in duty bound—since he was answerable for the eternal welfare of every Christian—to restrain a sinful and perverse prince and to declare unrighteous laws null and void. Should all else fail, he claimed the right to free a nation which was being led to disaster in this world and to perdition in the next from its allegiance to a wicked monarch.

The influence which the Church and its head exercised over the civil government in the Middle Ages was due largely to the absence of any orderly states in the modern sense of the term. There were only weak kings and refractory feudal lords, to whom disorder was the very breath of life. There were few, if any, strong, efficient rulers who could count upon the support of a large body of prosperous and loyal subjects. So long as this feudal anarchy continued, the Church endeavored to supply the deficiencies of the turbulent and ignorant princes by striving to maintain order, administer justice, protect the weak, and encourage learning.

So soon, however, as the modern State began to develop, difficulties arose. The clergy naturally clung to the powers and privileges which they had long enjoyed, and which they believed to be rightly theirs. On the other hand, the State, as soon as it felt itself able to manage its own affairs, protect its subjects, and provide for their worldly interests, was less and less inclined to tolerate the interference of the clergy and of their head, the Pope.

Educated laymen were becoming more and more common,—above all, lawyers trained in the Roman law,—and the king was no longer obliged to rely mainly upon the assistance of the clergy in conducting his government. It was natural that he should look with disfavor upon their privileges, which put them upon a different footing from the great mass of his subjects, and upon their wealth, which he would deem excessive and dangerous to his power. This situation raised the fundamental problem of the proper relation of Church and State, upon which Europe has been working ever since the fourteenth century and has not yet completely solved.

Among the many difficulties and contentions which were constantly arising between the clergy and the various European governments were the following:

1. Should the king or the Pope enjoy the privilege of selecting the important Church officials—the archbishops and bishops and the abbots of the great and rich monasteries? Naturally both king and Pope were eager to place their own friends and supporters in these influential positions. Moreover, the Pope came to claim a considerable contribution from those he appointed, and the king grudged him the money.

2. How far might the king venture to tax the lands and the other property of the clergy which he, or his predecessors, and the feudal lords had donated for the support of the monasteries and churches? Was this vast amount of property to be permitted to increase indefinitely and yet to contribute nothing to the maintenance of the civil government? The clergy commonly argued that their possessions were dedicated to the service of God and that they needed all their revenue in order to support themselves with proper dignity, conduct the religious services, keep up the churches and monasteries, aid the poor and afflicted, and carry on the schools, since the State left them to bear all these burdens. The law of the Church permitted the clergy to make voluntary contributions to the king when there was urgent necessity and the resources of the

laity proved inadequate, but the Pope maintained that except in the most critical cases his consent must be obtained for such grants upon the part of the clergy.

3. There was inevitable jealousy on the part of the king and his judges in respect to the cases which the clergy had drawn into their own courts, and the exemption from trial before the regular courts which they claimed. Still graver disadvantages were to be ascribed to the misuse of the right of appeal to the Pope's great central court at Rome, whither cases were carried upon every pretense. The head of the Church maintained that no one might prevent cases from being freely brought before him, and he did not hesitate to reverse the decisions of the royal courts. The result was that matters which should have been adjusted in London or Paris, where the facts were known and the witnesses were readily assembled, were frequently carried to a distant city where the best-intentioned Pope could hardly expect to see justice done.

4. Lastly, there was the most fundamental problem of all; namely, the extent to which the Pope, as the universally recognized religious head of the Church, was justified in interfering with the temporal, or worldly, concerns of a particular state. Unfortunately almost every matter could be viewed from a religious as well as from a worldly standpoint. A contract might relate to purely secular affairs; but if it was solemnized by an oath, it received a religious sanction which seemed to bring the question of its violation within the scope of the ecclesiastical courts. Marriage was held to be a sacrament, a holy act, and was not legitimate unless performed by the priest, but dowries and rights of inheritance seemed to be matters for adjustment by the State officials. Every crime or misdemeanor was, in the last analysis, a *sin*; so there seemed no limit to the questions which the Pope and clergy might claim the right to consider. The Pope's powers were consequently very great and very vague, and there was a wide range of difference even among devout Catholics in regard to their extent.

It may be said, in general, that the Pope has always laid claim to all the authority which any of his predecessors have at any time attributed to the Roman see. He does not, however, exercise it in its plenitude, sometimes because he is unable to enforce his will, sometimes because he judges it best, in the interest of the Church, to make exceptions and concessions in special agreements with various Catholic rulers. He does not thereby surrender, however, any of the imposing prerogatives which he believes that God has vested in him as the successor of Saint Peter, the chief of the apostles, to whom the right of loosing and binding upon earth and in heaven was granted by Christ himself.

The Popes have, through the centuries, been forced to accept many insults and some personal violence from princes who, although they believed the Pope to be the divinely appointed head of the Church, nevertheless protested against his interference in secular matters. The German emperors fought with him over the question of patronage, which was a vital matter to them; Philip the Fair of France, about the year 1300, engaged in a bitter controversy with Boniface VIII over the king's right to tax the property of the French clergy. Fifty years later the English Parliament forbade any representative of the Pope bearing a papal appointment to an English benefice to enter the kingdom. No one was to appeal to the Pope in such matters; and to act under the Pope's authority, except with the king's special permission, was declared a crime punishable with death.

Yet the gradual reduction of the powers of the clergy was due not so much to violent altercations with the papacy as to peaceful arrangements; for example, those by which the clergy undertook to make "free gifts" to the king of France, or the Pope agreed to share his patronage with the Emperor, allowing him to fill the benefices which fell vacant every other month beginning with January. In 1516 the Pope agreed to permit the French kings to nominate archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and pledged himself to appoint the king's candidates, if suitable men, on the understanding that he should receive a contribution, called the *annates*, from each benefice which was so filled.

As to the important controversy over lawsuits, the king had always stoutly maintained his right to try all cases involving land, since that appeared to be a purely worldly matter. Then the king's lawyers claimed many other cases on the ground that their religious aspects were merely accidental, and thus a great part of the matrimonial cases and of those concerning contracts and wills were brought before the king's tribunals. The "benefit of clergy," as their right to be tried by their own courts was called, was also steadily reduced in one way or another. In England many new laws were passed whose violation was made felony "without benefit of clergy." In France the same end was reached rather more indirectly. Moreover, the French and medieval English kings regarded as law only such of the papal decrees as they had ratified, and they permitted no lands to be given to the Church without their permission.

After several great Church congresses, known as general councils, had vainly attempted in the fifteenth century to remedy the abuses that had grown up in the Church and to limit the general powers of the Pope, a considerable portion of northern Europe finally revolted from the papacy altogether, namely, northern Germany, the Scandinavian countries, England, Scotland, the Dutch Netherlands, and parts of Switzerland. The Protestant rulers of these countries refused longer to recognize the Pope except as an Italian prince. They took matters boldly into their own hands, adopted new doctrines (which they usually imposed upon their subjects), confiscated the property of the monasteries, and scattered the monks and nuns. They brought all the property of the Church under their control and used such part of it as they saw fit to support the particular form of Christianity which they professed. Nevertheless, even in Protestant lands many vestiges of the old system still remained in the eighteenth century; and England, as we shall see, was by no means an exception.

After the Protestant revolt, representatives of the clergy from those countries which still remained Catholic—France, Italy, Spain, Austria, and southern Germany—assembled at Trent, where prolonged sessions were held from 1545 to 1563 to consider once more the reform of the Church. This Council of Trent is memorable in the history of Europe. Its decrees, far more numerous and detailed than those of any previous council, provided a new and solid basis for the doctrines and law of the Roman Catholic Church. The old doctrines were ratified and the Protestant innovations declared accursed. Although certain abuses were corrected, all attempts to limit the power of the Pope failed, since his delegates really guided the deliberation of the council. Some of the Catholic princes were disappointed in the results, and the French courts refused to sanction the council's decrees.

The Jesuits and Ultramontanism

Among those who, during the final sessions of the Council of Trent, sturdily opposed every attempt to reduce in any way the exalted powers of the Pope, was the head of a new religious society which was becoming the most powerful organization in Europe—the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, as they are commonly called. This most faithful of all the Pope's allies was founded by a Spaniard named Ignatius Loyola. He conceived of a new association which, unlike the older monastic orders, should aim not so much at the salvation of its own members through fasts and chants and spiritual meditation as to promote the glory of God by serving the Church and its head, the Roman pontiff.

In 1538 Loyola summoned his followers to Rome, and there they worked out the principles of their order. The Pope then incorporated these in a bull in which he gave his sanction to the new organization. The society was to be under the absolute control of a *general,* who was to be chosen for life by the great assembly of the order. Loyola had been a soldier, and he laid great and constant stress upon the source of all efficient military discipline, namely, absolute and unquestioning obedience. This he declared to be the mother of all virtue and happiness. Not only were the members to obey the Pope as Christ's representative on earth, and undertake without hesitation any journey, no matter how distant or perilous, which he might command, but each was to obey his superiors in the society as if he were receiving directions from Christ in person. He must have no will or preference of his own, but must be as the staff which supports and aids its bearer in any way in which he sees fit to use it. This military organization and incomparable discipline were the great secret of the later influence of the Jesuits.

The object of the society was to cultivate piety and the love of God, especially through example. The members were to pledge themselves to lead a pure life of poverty and devotion. Their humility was to show itself in face and attitude, so that their very appearance should attract to the service of God those with whom they came in contact. The methods adopted by the society for reaching its ends are of the utmost importance. A great number of its members were priests, who went about preaching, hearing confessions, and encouraging devotional exercises. But the Jesuits were teachers as well as preachers and confessors. They clearly perceived the advantage of bringing young people under their influence, and they became the schoolmasters of Catholic Europe. So successful were their methods of instruction that even Protestants sometimes sent their children to them.

It was originally proposed that the number of persons admitted to the order should not exceed sixty; but this limit was speedily removed, and before the death of Loyola over a thousand persons had joined the society. Under his successor the number was trebled, and it went on increasing for two centuries. The activities of the Jesuits were many and important.

The founder of the order had been attracted to missionary work from the first, and the Jesuits rapidly spread not only throughout Europe but over the whole world. Francis Xavier, one of Loyola's original little band, went to Hindustan, the Moluccas, and Japan. Brazil, Florida, Mexico, and Peru were soon fields of active missionary work at a time when Protestants did not dream as yet of carrying Christianity to the heathen. We owe to the reports of Jesuits like Marquette much of our knowledge of conditions in America when white men first began to explore Canada and the Mississippi Valley; for the followers of Loyola boldly penetrated into regions unknown to Europeans, and settled among the natives with the purpose of bringing the Gospel to them.

Dedicated as they were to the cause of serving the Pope, the Jesuits early directed their energies against Protestantism. They sent their members into Germany and the Netherlands, and even made strenuous efforts to reclaim England. Their success was most apparent in southern Germany and Austria, where they became the confessors and confidential advisers of the rulers. They not only succeeded in checking the progress of Protestantism but were able to reconquer for the Pope some districts in which the old faith had been abandoned.

The Jesuits were naturally abhorred in Protestant countries, where they were popularly believed to be absolutely unscrupulous in working for their ends.[1] Even in Catholic countries there were many thoughtful persons who disapproved of their tendency to exalt the papal prerogatives at the cost of the rights of the bishops and of the king. Thus the Jesuits came to be regarded as the chief defenders of what became known in France, Germany, and Austria as *ultramontanism*.

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[1] Protestants realized that the new order was their most powerful and dangerous enemy. Their apprehensions produced a bitter hatred which blinded them to the high purposes of the founders of the order and led them to attribute an evil motive to every act of the Jesuits. The Jesuits' air of humility the Protestants declared to be a mere cloak of hypocrisy under which they carried on their intrigues. The Jesuits' readiness to adjust themselves to circumstances, and the variety of the tasks that they undertook, seemed to their enemies a willingness to resort to any means in order to reach their ends. They were supposed to justify the most deceitful and immoral measures on the ground that

The ultramontane, or "beyond-the-mountain," party was so called by its enemies because it looked across the Alps into Italy for the source of authority, and attributed to the bishop of Rome all the powers over churches and governments throughout Christendom which he had asserted during the Middle Ages. The doctrines of the Jesuits were opposed in France by the so-called Gallican, or patriotic, national party, which maintained that the authority of the Pope was supreme only in religious matters, and that even in the field of religion it was subordinate to the decisions of a general council of Christendom.

In 1682 the old trouble between the French king and the Pope in regard to filling certain benefices had once more arisen, and Louis XIV summoned an assembly of the French clergy. They approved a statement drawn up by the famous Bossuet and known as the Declaration of Gallican Liberties of 1682. This aimed to define in a general way the limits of the spiritual and temporal powers as they were interpreted in France. The first article declared that "Saint Peter and his successors, vicars of Jesus Christ, and even the Church as a whole, had been granted authority from God only in spiritual matters and those which have to do with salvation, and not

the result would be "for the greater glory of God." The very obedience on which the Jesuits laid so much stress was viewed by the hostile Protestant as one of their worst offenses; for he believed that the members of the order were the blind tools of their superiors, and that they would not hesitate even to commit a crime if so ordered. Doubtless there have been many Jesuits who have not lived up to the principles of their society; and as time went on, the order fell away from its standards, as earlier ones had done. It was, as we shall see, abolished by the Pope in 1773, but was restored in 1814, and now has some seventeen thousand members and is growing steadily.

in temporal or civil affairs; that accordingly the kings and princes are, by God's command, subject (as princes) to no ecclesiastical authority in temporal matters; they may not be deposed directly or indirectly by the Church, and their subjects may not be released from their obedience to them or freed from their oath of fidelity."[1]

The Declaration of Gallican Liberties helped later to spread and consolidate the opposition to the extreme papal claims and the doctrines of the Jesuits. A German scholar, Hontheim, associated with the archbishop of Trèves, after a careful investigation of the development of the papal power, wrote an elaborate Latin treatise *On the Present State of the Church and the Legitimate Powers of the Roman Pontiff*. This he published in 1763, under the assumed name of Justinus Febronius, with the lively hope that the Pope would accept his views. He brought forward evidence to show that the Church was not properly a monarchy, and that all the bishops had originally enjoyed the same powers as the bishop of Rome, who, he declared, owed his exaltation mainly to certain forged documents—namely, the pseudo-Isidorian decretals—which some unknown person had invented in the ninth century. The Church had, it is true, made the Pope its head in spiritual matters, but he remained subordinate to a general council. In short, Febronius defended the Gallican liberties and advocated the general adoption in Catholic countries of the policy pursued by France.

His book was immediately condemned by the Pope, who declared that to undermine the papacy, which was the very foundation of the Church, was to destroy the Church itself. Nevertheless, the work was translated into German, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, and became a sort of handbook for the princes who were aiming to limit the activities of the clergy and their head.[1] It served to emphasize once more the contrast between the ultramontane theory and that of those Catholics who wished to have the various national churches retain a certain independence of the central papal government.

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[1] Other articles added that a general council was superior to the Pope and that only such decrees of the Pope should be observed as had been accepted everywhere or had been sanctioned by the French government and by the French national church

IMPORTANCE OF THE CLERGY

In spite of the changes which had overtaken the Roman Catholic Church since the Middle Ages, it still retained its ancient external appearance in the eighteenth century—its gorgeous ceremonial, its wealth, its influence over the lives of the people, its intolerance of those who ventured to differ from the conceptions of Christianity which it believed to be its duty to impose upon all. The ecclesiastical courts still tried many cases, in spite of the widening jurisdiction of the royal judges. The Church could fine and imprison those whom it convicted of blasphemy, contempt of religion, or heresy. The clergy managed the schools and saw to it that the children were brought up in the orthodox faith. Hospitals and other charitable institutions were under their control. They registered all births and deaths, and only the marriages which they sanctified were regarded by the State as legal. Monasteries still existed in great numbers and owned vast tracts of land. A map of Paris made in 1789 shows no less than sixty-eight monasteries and seventy-three nunneries within the walls. The clergy still forced the laity to pay the tithe, as in the Middle Ages, and still enjoyed exemption from the direct taxes.

Both the Catholic and Protestant churches were very intolerant, and in this they were usually supported by the government, which was ready to punish or persecute those who refused to conform to the State religion, whatever it might be, or ventured to speak or write against its doctrines. There was none of that freedom, so general now, which permits a man to worship or not as he pleases, and even to denounce religion in any or all its forms without danger of imprisonment, loss of citizenship, or death.

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[1] See next chapter.

In France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Protestants had lost all civil rights. According to a decree of 1724, those who assembled for any form of worship other than the Roman Catholic were condemned to lose their property; the men were to be sent to the galleys and the women imprisoned for life. The preachers who convoked such assemblies or performed Protestant ceremonies were punishable with death; yet but few executions took place, for happily the old enthusiasm for persecution was abating. None the less, all who did not accept the Catholic teachings were practically outlawed, for the priests would neither recognize the marriages nor register the births and deaths over which they were not called to preside. This made it impossible for Protestants to marry legally and have legitimate children, or to inherit or devise property. A royal proclamation in 1712 forbade physicians to visit such sick people as refused to call in a Catholic confessor, and the kings still pledged themselves in their coronation oaths to extirpate heretics.

Books and pamphlets were carefully examined in order to see whether they contained any attacks upon orthodox Catholic beliefs or might in any way serve to undermine the authority of the Church or of the king. The Pope had long maintained a commission (which still exists) to examine new books, and to publish from time to time a list, called the "Index," of all those which the Church condemned and forbade the faithful to read. The king of France, as late as 1757, issued a declaration establishing the death penalty for those who wrote, printed, or distributed any work which appeared to be an attack upon religion. The teachings of the professors in the university were watched. A clergyman who ventured to compare the healing of the sick by Christ to the cures ascribed to the ancient Greek god of medicine, Æsculapius, was arrested (about 1750) by order of the king's judges at Paris and forced to leave the country. A considerable number of the most enlightened books issued in France in the eighteenth century were condemned either by the clergy or the king's courts, and were burned by the common hangman or suppressed. Not infrequently the authors, if they could be discovered, were imprisoned.

This did not check speculation, however, and books attacking the old ideas and suggesting reforms in Church and State constantly appeared and were freely circulated. The writers took care not to place their names, or that of the publisher, upon the title-page, and many such books were printed at Geneva or in Holland, where great freedom prevailed.

In Spain, Austria, and Italy, however, and especially in the Papal States, the clergy, particularly the Jesuits, were more powerful and enjoyed more privileges than in France. In Spain the censorship of the press and the Inquisition constituted a double bulwark against change until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In Germany the position of the Church varied greatly. The southern states were Catholic, while Prussia and the northern rulers were Protestant. Many of the archbishops, bishops, and abbots ruled as princes over their own lands and made the best arrangements they could with the Pope.

PECULIARITIES OF THE OLD ORDER IN ENGLAND

As we have indicated above, there was scarcely a feature of civilization on the Continent that was not emphasized by more or less startling contrasts in England. English serfdom had completely disappeared by the opening of the seventeenth century, and the tillers of the soil were no longer bound to it. If they were not vagrants they could go into the towns freely or migrate across the sea. English town life was in process of radical changes; for the steam engine had been invented, in 1769, and the factory system of industry was spreading rapidly all through the closing decades of the eighteenth century. The English Church still had many prerogatives, but toleration had been granted by law to Protestant dissenters, and neglect to enforce old laws had given to all denominations a fair degree of freedom. Thanks to the revolutions of the previous century, the English monarchy was quite unlike the despotisms of France, Spain, Prussia, and Russia; for the crown was in nearly all matters restricted by Parliament, which represented the landed proprietors and the merchants of the realm. The printing-press, released, as we have seen, from government control in 1695, flourished in England as nowhere else in the world.

During the middle years of the eighteenth century there appeared in England a remarkable group of mechanical geniuses who produced a series of inventions that were in time to bring the greatest revolution in world affairs which ever occurred,—one whose course has not yet run. They emancipated man from his old limitations by devising iron and steel arms, hands, and fingers to do all kinds of work. They began harnessing the vast and mysterious powers of nature. In 1767 James Hargreaves invented a spinning-jenny which spun eight threads at once instead of a single thread. The next year Richard Arkwright took out a patent for spinning still more threads by means of rollers; in 1779 Samuel Crompton made a combination of the two devices; and within a few years machines were made that would spin two hundred threads at the same time. While these men were inventing supple steel fingers, another genius, James Watt, was perfecting the crude steam engine contrived long before his time. In 1769 Watt took out his first patent, and until his death, fifty years later, he continued to make improvement after improvement in the use of steam power. The engine was attached to the new spinning-machines, and great factories began to rise all over the north of England. As the years passed, the flood of inventions increased until every phase of industry was revolutionized.

The effects of these inventions on the life and labor of the people were more widespread and deeper than any of the military or political changes that had taken place during the preceding centuries. The handicrafts of the old artisans were destroyed; in time huge factories were established by capitalists; and as the hand workers could not compete with the swiftly running machines or the tireless steam engine, they were obliged to abandon their old tools and shops and become employees of the factory owners. Around the factories great cities began to appear, with their tenements, warehouses, and stores. Whereas in the Middle Ages most of the people lived in the open country, there now began a drift to the cities which still goes on; four fifths of the people of England today live in towns. The introduction of machinery took women and children out of the homes and transferred them to nearly all branches of industry and trade. With the multiplication of the means of making goods, there came an ever-greater demand for foreign markets, and so a new driving force was given to the expansion of English trade into every part of the world. Finally two new classes began to take part in public affairs. The manufacturers associated themselves with the merchants, who in connection with the landlords had long governed England; while the working people formed trade unions to take the place of guilds and, like the other classes, began to demand legislation from the government.

Of all these forces we shall have more to say later. They got under way in England about the middle of the eighteenth century; they spread to France within a few decades; they transformed Germany, Japan, and the United States in the nineteenth century; they are operating upon a world stage in our own time. By 1790, however, the inventions were already making a profound impress on the industrial life of England and marked it off rather sharply from the medieval system in vogue on the Continent.

Unlike the Church in France, the English Church rejected utterly the supremacy of the Pope and many articles of the Catholic faith, but it enjoyed a position of preëminence in some respects similar. Although Protestant dissenters, as we have seen, had been granted liberty of worship by the Toleration Act of 1689, many privileges were still monopolized by the adherents of the Anglican Church. They alone could hold public offices, take degrees at the universities, or teach in the universities. The bishops and archbishops of the Anglican Church had seats in the House of Lords and occupied a prominent place at the council table of the king. Church courts still existed and could punish laymen for not attending church, for blasphemy, and for certain immoral acts. As late as 1812 a young woman was imprisoned for two years by a Church court because she had failed to perform the penance it had imposed and had no money to pay fees charged at the trial. Ecclesiastical tribunals still tried matrimonial cases and suits involving wills and bequests. As to the Catholics, their position was very much like that of Protestants in Spain or France. Strictly speaking, they were forbidden to enter England or to reside there. They could not hold office or be elected to Parliament. The celebration of the Mass was forbidden, and Catholic priests were laid under heavy penalties. In practice, however, the law was not strictly enforced, and many Catholics lived in England quite undisturbed by the government or the Church.

In one vital respect the English Church differed from the French Church. It had to face an ever-growing body of Protestant sects which denied certain of its beliefs and practices. All through the eighteenth century the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers (the chief denominations that flourished in the previous century) extended their membership and influence—not only in England but in America. About the middle of the century the dissenting elements were strengthened by the appearance of a new group, the Methodists. The origin of this denomination may be traced to a religious society formed by John Wesley among his fellow students at Oxford. Their piety and the regularity of their habits gained for them the nickname of "Methodists." After leaving Oxford, Wesley spent some time in the colony of Georgia. On his return to England in 1738 he came to believe in the sudden and complete forgiveness of sins known as "conversion," which he later made the basis of his teaching. He thus describes his own experience: As he entered a meeting in London in 1738 he found the preacher reading Luther's preface to "The Epistle to the Romans." "About a quarter before nine," Wesley reports, "while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ and in Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

This memorable evening marked a turning point in the life of Wesley. He soon began a series of great revival meetings in London and other large towns. He journeyed up and down the land, aided in his preaching by his brother Charles and by the impassioned Whitefield. Only gradually did the Methodists separate themselves from the Church of England, of which they at first considered themselves members. In 1784 the numerous American Methodists were formally organized into the Methodist Episcopal Church, and early in the nineteenth century they became an independent organization in England.

The British Government in the Eighteenth Century

The government of England in the eighteenth century differed in many respects from that which prevailed across the Channel. Frederick the Great and Louis XV could fix the amount of the taxes and decide who should pay them without asking the consent, or even the advice, of any of their subjects. They could borrow all the money that the bankers would lend them and spend it as they pleased, without giving any account of it. The English king, on the contrary, could impose no taxes and borrow no money on the national credit without the sanction of Parliament; and a definite sum was assigned to him as an allowance with which to keep up his royal establishment, defray his personal expenses, and pay the salaries of important government officials.

The Continental despots made any change they wished in the laws by a simple edict. In England the king could neither issue a new law nor suspend an old one without the consent of Parliament. Even the right which he had formerly enjoyed to refuse to ratify the bills passed by Parliament fell into disuse and was exercised for the last time by Queen Anne, in 1707.

On the Continent the monarch could remove judges who made decisions which did not please him. But in England, since 1701, the judges have held their positions during good behavior, unless removed on request of both Houses of Parliament. The English king could not arbitrarily arrest his subjects or call cases which were being tried in the regular courts before his own council, to be decided by himself personally. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 provided that anyone who was arrested should be informed of the reason and should be speedily tried by a regular tribunal and dealt with according to the law of the land. In France there were none of these restrictions placed upon the king, who could arrest his subjects on *lettres de cachet* and imprison them indefinitely without assigning a reason, and could interfere in any suit and decide it as he chose.

The English Parliament, which had originated in the thirteenth century, was by no means unique in the Middle Ages. For example, we find the king of Aragon summoning an assembly of nobles, clergy, and "rich men" as early as the year 1162. In 1255 the representatives of the cities appeared in the diet of the Holy Roman Empire along with the various princes and prelates. In France, about 1300, the Estates-General had come to be made up of representatives of the three classes of the realm,—nobles, clergy, and the "third estate," or townspeople. But all these bodies, and others of the same kind, gradually lost their importance, with the sole exception of the English Parliament. It, on the contrary, by the revolutions of the seventeenth century, had achieved a practical supremacy over the crown.

Remarkable as was the English Parliament in the eighteenth century, in its organization and its power to control the king, it nevertheless represented only a small part of the nation. In the Middle Ages, when the towns were still small and the country population was fairly evenly scattered, the House of Commons fairly represented the property owners throughout England. But as time went on, no effort was made to readjust the apportionment to meet the changes which gradually took place. Many towns dwindled away, some disappeared altogether, and the lords upon whose lands they had been situated came to control the choice of those members of the House of Commons who represented these so-called "rotten boroughs." On the other hand, great towns like Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds grew up, which had no representatives. As a result the great majority of the English people had no more share in the government than the subjects of Louis XV. In 1768 there were only one hundred and sixty thousand voters, although the whole population of Great Britain amounted to some eight millions; that is to say, about one in every ten adult males had a voice in the government. Moreover, no poor man could sit in Parliament, since all members were required to hold considerable land.

Despite the small number who could actually participate in the choice of representatives, political questions were hotly discussed among the upper classes, who, as we have seen, were divided into two well-defined parties called Tories and Whigs.[1] After the death of Anne many of the Tories favored calling to the throne the son of James II (popularly called "the Old Pretender"), whereupon the Whigs succeeded in discrediting their rivals by denouncing them as Jacobites[1] and traitors. They made the new Hanoverian king, George I,[2] believe that he owed everything to the Whigs; and for a period of nearly fifty years, under George I and George II, they were able to control Parliament. George I himself spoke no English, was ignorant of English politics, and was much more interested in Hanover than he was in his new kingdom. He did not attend the meetings of his ministers, as his predecessors had done, and turned over the management of affairs to the Whig leaders. They found a skillful "boss" and a judicious statesman in Sir Robert Wapole, who maintained his own power and that of his party (1721–1742) by avoiding war and by preventing religious dissensions at home. He used the king's funds to buy the votes that were necessary to maintain the Whig majority in the House of Commons and for getting his measures through that body. He was England's first "prime minister."

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[1] Not until after 1832 did the Tories come to be called "Conservatives" and the Whigs "Liberals." For a fuller description of the parliamentary system and its reform, see Chapter XIII.

The existence of two well-defined political parties standing for widely different policies forced the king to choose all his ministers from either one or the other. The more prominent among his advisers came gradually to form a little group which resigned together if Parliament refused to accept the measures they advocated. So the English rulers from the time of William III were generally compelled to select their ministers from the party which had a majority in Parliament; otherwise their plans would be pretty sure to be frustrated. In this way "cabinet government" originated, that is, government by a small group of the heads of departments (like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Commissioner of the Admiralty, etc.) who belonged to the party which has a majority in Parliament, or at least in the House of Commons, and who resign together when the House votes down any important measure which they propose.

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[1] This name, applied to the supporters of James, is derived from the Latin form of his name, *Jacobus*.

[2] See page 140.

Walpole secured a cabinet which he was able to control and declared that it, and not the king, was really responsible for the whole conduct of the government while its members remained in office. Furthermore, he frankly confessed that he owed his power not to the king but to the House of Commons. In a debate there he said: "I have lived long enough to know that the safety of a minister lies in having the approbation of this House. Formerly, ministers neglected this and fell; I have always made it my first study to obtain it and therefore I hope to stand." On another occasion he said, "When I speak here as a minister I speak as possessing my powers from His Majesty, but as being answerable to this house for the exercise of those powers." And so it came about that Parliament acquired the right not only to grant taxes and make laws but actually to force the king to turn over the conduct of the government to ministers who enjoyed its approval.

Nevertheless, after Walpole's fall in 1742 cabinet government did not flourish for a generation or so, especially under George III, who came to the throne in 1760; for he proposed to follow his mother's advice, "George, be king." Indeed, many thoughtful men felt that Walpole had been what we should call nowadays a corrupt boss, and accordingly they encouraged the king to keep the government in his own hands. During the war with the American colonies George III was practically his own prime minister and freely resorted to what he called "golden pills" to cure those who opposed him and to hold together a majority in the House of Commons.

George III, in spite of his exalted notion of his royal prerogatives, could not revive any general enthusiasm for absolute monarchy. Indeed, during the latter half of the eighteenth century the people at large began to pay especial attention to political questions, to draw up petitions,[1] and to hold monster meetings in which they demanded that all adult males, rich and poor alike, should be permitted to vote for members of the House of Commons.

The newspapers, which had become common in England as the eighteenth century advanced, freely discussed politics in a way absolutely unknown on the Continent. John Wilkes, the editor of the *North Briton,* who held that the members of Parliament were merely delegates of the people and were, like the ministers, accountable to them, ventured in 1763 to describe George III's speech at the opening of Parliament as "the most abandoned instance of political effrontery." This enraged the king and his ministers, who, while they could not shut up the obnoxious journalist as Louis XV would have done, had him prosecuted for libel in a regular court. Though Wilkes was found guilty of the charge, his cause was so popular that riots broke out in his favor. He stood for Parliament and was elected twice by a large majority, but was expelled both times and not allowed to take his seat until the excitement had died away.

The real victory was therefore with Wilkes, and except in times of danger the government did not seriously interfere with political criticism. There was accordingly an increasing number of writers to point out to the people the defects in the English system. They urged that every man should have the right to participate in the government by casting his vote, and that the constitution should be written and so made clear and unmistakable. Political clubs were founded which entered into correspondence with political societies in France; newspapers and pamphlets poured from the press in enormous quantities, and political reform found champions in the House of Commons. Even so influential a politician as the younger Pitt, who was prime minister from 1783 to 1801, introduced bills into the House of Commons for remedying some inequalities in representation. But the violence and disorder which accompanied the French Revolution involved England in a long and tedious war and discredited reform with Englishmen who had formerly favored change, to say nothing of the Tories, who regarded with horror any proposal to modify the venerated English constitution (see pages 344 ff.).

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[1] Dr. Johnson declared that every politician who lost his office got signatures to a petition attacking the policies of the ministers who had dismissed him. "One man signs because he hates the papists, another because he has vowed destruction to the turnpikes; one because it will vex his parson, another because he owes his landlord nothing; one because he is rich, another because he is poor; one to show that he is not afraid, and another to show that he can write."

It is clear that England possessed the elements of a modern free government; for her king was master of neither the persons nor the purses of his subjects, nor could he issue arbitrary laws. Political affairs were discussed in newspapers and petitions, so that weighty matters of government could not be decided secretly in the king's closet, without the knowledge of his subjects. Nevertheless, it would be far from correct to regard the English system as democratic. The mass of the people had no political rights whatever; a hereditary House of Lords could block any measure introduced in the House of Commons; and the House of Commons itself represented not the nation but a small minority of landowners and traders. Government offices were monopolized by members of the Established Church, and the poor were oppressed by cruel criminal laws administered by officials chosen by the king. Workingmen were prohibited from forming associations to promote their interests. It was more than a century after the accession of George III before the English peasant could go to the ballot box and vote for members of Parliament.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRENCH OBJECTORS AND THEIR ROYAL CONVERTS

The Spirit of Reform

We have seen in a previous chapter how English thinkers began to question many old beliefs about the ways of God and the supposed activities of devils, about governments and kings and their right to discourage or punish those who expressed new views. In general these English critics wrote with force and clearness and were easily read by any educated person. They set an example which was eagerly followed by the thinkers across the Channel. In the eighteenth century a considerable number of excellent writers appeared in France who made it their chief pleasure slyly or openly to make sport, so far as they dared, of the revered beliefs of their time, point out their absurdity and harmfulness, and invite their fellow subjects to throw them off. These detractors of the ancient and venerable convictions and ways of mankind were wont to talk a great deal of how things appeared to "philosophers," by which they meant those of their own skeptical group. So it is common to refer to them as the French *philosophes*. They did not engage in deep metaphysical meditations but appealed to common sense, and were denounced, naturally, as just superficial freethinkers by the obscurer and heavier-minded of their day and of the nineteenth century.

There were plenty of subjects for ridicule and condemnation. We have recalled how many medieval institutions had persisted in the eighteenth century in spite of the considerable changes which had taken place in conditions and ideas during the previous five hundred years. Serfdom, the guilds, the feudal dues, the despotic kings, the nobility and clergy with their peculiar privileges, the monastic orders, the confused and cruel laws—these were a part of the heritage which Europe had received from what was coming to be regarded as a dark and barbarous period. More and more people began to be keenly alive to the deficiencies of the past, and to look to the future for better things,—even to dream of progress beyond the happiest times of which they had any record. They came to feel that the chief obstacles to progress were the outworn institutions, the ignorance and prejudices of their forefathers, and that if they could only be freed from this incubus it would be easy to create new and enlightened laws and institutions to suit their needs.

This attitude of mind seems natural enough in our time, but two centuries ago it was distinctly new. Mankind has in general shown an unreasoning respect and veneration for the past. Until the opening of the eighteenth century the former times were commonly held to have been better than the present; for the evils of the past were little known, whereas those of the present were, as always, only too apparent. Men looked backward rather than forward. They aspired to fight as well, or be as saintly, or write as good books, or paint as beautiful pictures as the great men of old. That they might excel the achievements of their predecessors did not occur to them. Knowledge was sought not by studying the world about them but in some ancient authority. In Aristotle's vast range of works on various branches of science, students in the Middle Ages felt that they had a mass of authentic information which it should be the main business of the universities to explain and impart rather than to increase or correct by new investigations. Men's ideals centered in the past, and improvement seemed to them to consist in reviving, so far as possible, the "good old days."[1]

[1] It may be noted that the men of the Renaissance, in renewing interest in the literature of Greece, carried men's minds back to the writers and heroes of a distant past and so obscured the importance of the world about them. The

It was mainly to the patient men of science that the Western world owed its first hopes of future improvement. It is they who have shown that the ancient writers were mistaken about many serious matters and that they had at best a very crude and imperfect notion of the world. They are gradually weaning men from their old blind respect for the past and, by their discoveries, have pointed the way to indefinite advance, so that now we expect constant change and improvement in every field of industry and science and are scarcely astonished at the most marvelous inventions. We shall see how the respect for new discoveries led to the publication of the great *Encyclopedia* by a group of the *Philosophes* and how in various ways most of them did what they could to encourage criticism of prevailing ideas and conditions.

VOLTAIRE, THE PRINCE OF *PHILOSOPHES*

In the year 1726 there landed in England a young and gifted Frenchman who was to become the great prophet of reform in all lands. Voltaire, who was then thirty-two years old, had already deserted the older religious beliefs and was consequently ready to follow enthusiastically the more radical of the English thinkers, who discussed matters with an openness which filled him with astonishment. He became an ardent admirer of the teachings of Newton, whose stately funeral he attended shortly after his arrival. He regarded the discoverer of universal gravitation as greater than an Alexander or a Cæsar, and did all he could to popularize Newton's work in France. "It is to him who masters our minds by the force of truth, not to those who enslave men by violence; it is to him who understands the universe, not to those who disfigure it, that we owe our reverence."

Protestants did not claim to create a new theology but to return once more to the old ways and teachings which had prevailed in the early Church. Both of these movements, therefore, illustrate the conservative tendency of mankind and the natural respect for the past.

Voltaire was deeply impressed by the Quakers—their simple life and their hatred of war. He was delighted with the English philosophers, especially with John Locke[1] (died in 1704); he thought Pope's "Essay on Man" the finest moral poem ever composed; he admired the English liberty of speech and writing; he respected the general esteem for the merchant class. In France, he said, "the merchant so constantly hears his business spoken of with disdain that he is fool enough to blush for it; yet I am not sure that the merchant who enriches his country, gives orders from his countinghouse at Surat or Cairo, and contributes to the happiness of the globe is not more useful to a state than the thickly bepowdered lord who knows exactly what time the king rises and what time he goes to bed, and gives himself mighty airs of greatness while he plays the part of a slave in the minister's anteroom."

Voltaire proceeded to enlighten his countrymen by a volume of essays in which he set forth his impressions of England; but the high court of justice (the *parlement*) of Paris condemned these *Philosophical Letters on the English* to be publicly burned, as scandalous and contrary alike to good manners and to the respect due to the principalities and powers. In this way the court furnished one more illustration of the need of such men as Voltaire, who was to become, during the remainder of a long life, the chief advocate throughout Europe of unremitting reliance upon reason and of confidence in enlightenment and progress. And since a great part of the institutions of his day were not based upon reason but upon mere tradition, and were often quite opposed to common sense, "the touch of reason was fatal to the whole structure, which instantly began to crumble." His keen eye was continually discovering some new absurdity in the existing order, which, with incomparable wit and literary skill, he would expose to his eager readers. He was interested in almost everything; he wrote histories, dramas, philosophic treatises, romances, epics, and innumerable letters to his innumerable admirers. The vast range of his writings enabled him to bring his bold questionings to the attention of all sorts and conditions of men—not only to the general reader but even to the careless playgoer.

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[1] Locke rejected the notion that man is born with certain divinely implanted ideas, and maintained that we owe all we know to the sensations and impressions which come to us from without. Locke was a man of extraordinary modesty, good sense, and caution, and he and his gifted successor, Bishop Berkeley, did much to found modern psychology by helping to rid the world of certain meaningless abstractions and encouraging the careful study of our own mental processes to which so much attention is now being given. Berkeley's *New Theory of Vision* is a clear account of the gradual way in which we learn to see. He shows that a blind man, if suddenly given sight, would make little or nothing of the confused colors and shapes which would first strike his eye. He would learn only from prolonged experience that one set of colors and contours meant a man and another a horse or a table, no matter how readily he might recognize the several objects by touch.

While Voltaire was successfully inculcating free criticism in general, he led a relentless attack upon the most venerable, probably the most powerful, institution in Europe, the Roman Catholic Church. The absolute power of the king did not trouble him; but the Church, with what appeared to him to be its deep-seated opposition to a free exercise of reason and its hostility to reform, seemed fatally to block all human progress. He was wont to close his letters with the exhortation "Crush the infamous thing." The Church, as it fully realized, had never encountered a more deadly enemy. Not only was Voltaire supremely skillful in his varied methods of attack, but there were thousands of both the thoughtful and the thoughtless ready to applaud him; for not only was he always brilliant and entertaining in his diatribes, but many of his readers had reached the same conclusions, although they might not be able to express their thoughts so persuasively as he.[1]

Voltaire was scandalized not merely by what he regarded as the gloomy superstition of the Church, its cruel intolerance, and the hateful conflicts over seemingly unimportant matters of belief, but by the pernicious control which, he held, it exercised over the government. In his famous *Handy Philosophic Dictionary*, a little volume of witty essays on a variety of themes which he published anonymously in 1764, he maintains that no law of the Church should have the least force unless expressly sanctioned by the government; that all ecclesiastics should be subject to the government, should pay taxes like everyone else, and should have no power to deprive a citizen of the least of his rights on the ground that he is a sinner, "since the priest—himself a sinner—should pray for other sinners, not judge them." Marriage should be entirely under the control of the civil government, and the shameful custom, as he calls it, of paying a part of the clergy's revenue to a "foreign priest," namely, the Pope, should no longer be maintained. But the *parlement* of Paris condemned the book to be burned, on the ground that it defended license and incredulity; that it attacked all that was sacred in religious teachings, mysteries, and authority; and that the writer gloried in sinking to the level of the brutes and dragging others down into his own degradation.

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[1] Voltaire repudiated the beliefs of the Protestant churches as well as of the Roman Church. He was, however, no atheist, as his enemies—and they have been many and bitter—have so often asserted. He believed in God, and at his country home near Geneva he dedicated a temple to him. Like many of his contemporaries he was a deist, and held that God revealed himself in nature and in our own hearts, rather than in Bible or Church.

Were there space at command, a great many good things, as well as plenty of bad ones, might be told of this extraordinary man. He was often superficial in his judgments, and sometimes jumped to unwarranted conclusions. He saw only the evil in the Church and seemed incapable of understanding all that it had meant for mankind during the bygone ages. He attributed to evil motives teachings which were accepted by the best and loftiest of men. He bitterly ridiculed even the holiest and purest aspirations, along with the alleged deceptions of the Jesuits and the quarrels of the theologians.

He could, and did, however, fight bravely against wrong and oppression. The abuses which he attacked were in large part abolished by the Revolution. It is unfair to notice only Voltaire's mistakes and exaggerations, as so many writers, both Catholic and Protestant, have done; for he certainly did more than anyone else to prepare the way for the great and permanent reform of the Church, as a political and social institution, in 1789–1790. "When the right sense of historical proportion is more fully developed in men's minds," John Morley writes, "the name of Voltaire will stand out like the names of the great decisive movements in the European advance, like the Revival of Learning or the Reformation. The existence, character, and career of this extraordinary person constituted in themselves a new and prodigious era."

DIDEROT AND THE *ENCYCLOPEDIA*

Voltaire had many admirers and powerful allies. Among these none were more important than Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and the scholars whom Diderot induced to coöperate with him in preparing articles for a new *Encyclopedia* which should serve to spread among a wide range of intelligent readers a knowledge of scientific advance and arouse enthusiasm for reform and progress. An encyclopedia was by no means a new thing. Diderot's plan had been suggested by a proposal to publish a French translation of Chambers's *Cyclopædia*.[1] Before his first volume appeared, a vast *Universal Dictionary* had been completed in Germany in sixty-four volumes. Few people, however, outside of that country could read German in those days, whereas the well-written and popular articles of Diderot and his helpers, ranging from "abacus," "abbey," and "abdication" to "Zoroaster," "Zurich," and "zymology," were in a language that many people all over Europe could understand.

Diderot was one of the broadest, most alert and genial, of the French philosophers. Like Voltaire he had learned English and had become acquainted with the writings of Bacon, Locke, and some of the more skeptical later writers. Under their influence he prepared a little volume of *Philosophic Thoughts*, in which he urged people to dare to think for themselves, since no one should believe that he is honoring God by refusing to use his reason. He asserted that what has never been questioned has never been proved,—we must doubt before we have a right to believe. Consequently skepticism, which is only legitimate doubt, leads us on to truth. "It is as hazardous to believe too much as to believe too little." The *parlement* of Paris ordered this book burned, and Diderot was later imprisoned for a time on account of his *Letter on the Blind for the Use of those who See*, in which he questioned some of the proofs usually assigned for the existence of God.

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[1] This was first published by an English Quaker in 1727, and new editions of it still continue to appear from time to time.

Diderot chose for his main collaborator, in preparing the *Encyclopedia*, D'Alembert, perhaps the most distinguished mathematician of his age, who was well qualified by his exactness and his special knowledge of the various fields of mathematical investigation to supplement Diderot's efforts. He lived in poverty and independence and refused invitations which came to him from Frederick the Great and later from Catherine of Russia to leave his humble surroundings for a life at court.

The editors endeavored to rouse as little opposition as possible. They respected current prejudices and gave space to ideas and opinions with which they were not personally in sympathy. They furnished material, however, for refuting what they believed to be mistaken notions, and Diderot declared that "time will enable people to distinguish what we have thought from what we have said." But no sooner did the first two volumes appear in 1752 than the king's ministers, to please the clergy, suppressed them, as containing principles hostile to royal authority and religion, although they did not forbid the continuation of the work. The attitude of the clergy led Diderot to exclaim angrily: "I know nothing so indecent as these vague declamations of the theologians against reason. To hear them, one would suppose that men could only enter into the bosom of Christianity as a herd of cattle enters a stable; and that we must renounce our common sense if we are either to embrace our religion or to remain in it."

As volume after volume appeared the subcribers increased; but so did the opposition. The Encyclopedists were declared to be a band bent upon the destruction of religion and the undermining of society; the government again interfered, withdrew the license to publish the work, and prohibited the sale of the seven volumes that were already out. D'Alembert was disheartened, and resolved to give up any attempt to carry the work further, although they had only just reached the letter *H*. He wrote to Voltaire: "I am worn out with the affronts and vexations of every kind that this work draws down upon us. The hateful and even infamous satires which they print against us and which are not only tolerated but protected, authorized, applauded, nay, actually commanded, by those in power; the sermons, or rather the alarm bells, that are rung out against us at Versailles in the king's presence . . . all these reasons and some others drive me to give up this accursed work once for all." Voltaire naturally encouraged the editors to persevere. "We are on the eve of a great revolution in the human mind," he argued, "and it is you to whom we are most of all indebted." He urged Diderot to leave France and seek a country where he could complete his work in peace; but this he refused to do, for he knew that was just what his enemies desired.

Seven years later he was able to deliver the remaining ten volumes to the subscribers in spite of the government's prohibition. Still later eleven volumes of beautiful plates illustrating the various arts—such as weaving, printing, engraving, mining, dyeing, cabinet-making, and surgery—were added. In spite of the clergy's denunciation of the completed enterprise the government refused to interfere any further.

As one looks through these fine volumes, which may now and then be found in our larger libraries, he is struck with the light which they must have shed upon thousands of matters, great and small—from a lady's headdress to the constitution of the universe. The peaceful arts received especial attention. Great care was exercised to secure writers for the *Encyclopedia* who really knew the details of the various trades; an inspector of glass works dealt with his particular subject, and the article on brewing was assigned to an intelligent brewer.

The *Encyclopedia* attacked temperately, but effectively, religious intolerance, the bad taxes, the slave trade, and the atrocities of the criminal law; it encouraged men to turn their minds to natural science, with all its beneficent possibilities, and this helped to discourage the old interest in theology and in barren metaphysics. The article "Legislator," written by Diderot, says: "All the men of all lands have become necessary to one another for the exchange of the fruits of industry and the products of the soil. Commerce is a new bond among men. Every nation has an interest in these days in the preservation by every other nation of its wealth, its industry, its banks, its luxury, its agriculture. The ruin of Leipzig, of Lisbon, of Lima, has led to bankruptcies on all the exchanges of Europe and has affected the fortunes of many millions of persons."

Of course, the *Encyclopedia* contained many mistakes and could not fail to reflect the bitter controversies and dogmatism of the time; yet the English statesman John Morley is doubtless right when he says, in his enthusiastic account of Diderot and his companions, that "it was this band of writers, organized by a harassed man of letters, and not the nobles swarming around Louis XV, nor the churchmen singing masses, who first grasped the great principle of modern society, the honor that is owed to productive industry. They were vehement for the glories of peace and passionate against the brazen glories of war."

MONTESQUIEU'S THEORY OF GOVERNMENT

Neither Voltaire nor Diderot had attacked the kings and their despotic system of government. Montesquieu, however, while expressing great loyalty to French institutions, opened the eyes of his fellow citizens to the disadvantages and abuses of their government by his enthusiastic eulogy of the limited monarchy of England. In his celebrated work *The Spirit of Laws, or the Relation which Laws should bear to the Constitution of each Country, its Customs, Climate, Religion, Commerce, etc.* (1748), he proves from history that governments are not arbitrary arrangements, but that they are the natural products of special conditions and should meet the needs of a particular people at a particular period. England, he thought, had developed an especially happy system.

Montesquieu maintained that the freedom which Englishmen enjoyed was due to the fact that the three powers of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—were not, as in France, in the same hands. Parliament made the laws, the king executed them, and the courts, independent of both, saw that they were observed. He believed that the English would lose their liberties as soon as these powers fell under the control of one person or body of persons. This principle of the "separation of powers" is now recognized in many modern governments, notably in that of the United States.

Through Montesquieu's very readable book many thoughtful people became familiar for the first time with the English Parliament, its division into the House of Commons and the House of Lords, its annual budget which prevented the king from arbitrarily taxing his people, and the habeas corpus proceedings which stood in the way of his unjustly imprisoning his subjects, as the king of France could do. And there can be no doubt that English methods of government have exercised the most profound influence in bringing about the gradual reduction of the absolute powers of the monarchs upon the Continent.

Rousseau's Denunciation of Civilization

Next to Voltaire, the writer who did most to cultivate discontent with existing conditions was Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). Unlike Voltaire, Diderot, and D'Alembert he believed that people thought too much, not too little; that we should trust to our hearts rather than to our heads, and may safely rely upon our natural feelings and sentiments to guide us. He declared that Europe was overcivilized, and summoned men to return to nature and simplicity. His first work was a prize essay written in 1750, in which he sought to prove that the development of the arts and sciences had demoralized mankind, inasmuch as they had produced luxury, insincerity, and arrogance. He extolled the rude vigor of Sparta and denounced the refined and degenerate life of the Athenians.

Later Rousseau wrote a book on education, called *Émile*, which is still famous. In this he protests against the efforts made by teachers to improve upon nature; for, he maintains, "all things are good as their Author made them, but everything degenerates in the hands of man. . . . To form this rare creature, man, what have we to do? Much, doubtless, but chiefly to prevent anything from being done. . . . All our wisdom consists in servile prejudices; all our customs are but anxiety and restraint. Civilized man is born, lives, dies in a state of slavery. At his birth he is sewed in swaddling clothes; at his death he is nailed in a coffin; as long as he preserves the human form he is fettered by our institutions."

Rousseau's plea for the simple life went to the heart of many a person who was weary of complications and artificiality. Others were attracted by his firm belief in the "natural" equality of mankind and the right of every man to have a voice in the government. In his celebrated little treatise *The Social Contract* (1762) he takes up the question By what right does one man rule over others? The book opens with the words "Man is born free and yet is now everywhere in chains. One man believes himself the master of others and yet is, after all, more of a slave than they. How did this change come about? I do not know. What can render it legitimate? I believe that I can answer that question." It is, Rousseau declares, the will of the people that renders government legitimate. The real sovereign is the people. Although they may appoint a single person, such as a king, to manage the government for them, they should make the laws, since it is they who must obey them. We shall find that the first French constitution accepted Rousseau's doctrine and defined law as "the expression of the general will,"—not the will of a king reigning by the grace of God.

Beccaria attacks the Criminal Law

Among all the books advocating urgent reforms which appeared in the eighteenth century, none accomplished more than a little volume by the Italian economist and jurist, Beccaria (1735–1794), which exposed with great clearness and vigor the atrocities of the criminal law. The trials (even in England) were scandalously unfair and the punishments incredibly cruel. In France the accused was not ordinarily allowed any counsel and was required to give evidence against himself. Indeed, it was common enough to use torture to force a confession from him. Witnesses were examined secretly and separately and their evidence recorded before they faced the accused. Informers were rewarded, and the flimsiest evidence was considered sufficient in the case of atrocious crimes. After a criminal had been convicted he might be tortured by the rack, thumbscrews, applying fire to different parts of his body, or in other ways, to induce him to reveal the names of his accomplices. The death penalty was established for a great variety of offenses besides murder,—for example, heresy, counterfeiting, highway robbery, and even sacrilege. In England there were, according to the great jurist Blackstone, a hundred and sixty offenses punishable with death, including cutting down trees in an orchard and stealing a sum of over five shillings in a shop, or more than twelvepence from a person's pocket. Yet in spite of the long list of capital offenses the trials in England were far more reasonable than on the Continent; for they were public and conducted before a jury, and no torture was used.

Beccaria advocated public trials in which the accused should be confronted by those who gave evidence against him. Secret accusations should no longer be considered. Like Voltaire, Montesquieu, and many others, he denounced the practice of torturing a suspected person with a view to compelling him by bodily anguish to confess himself guilty of crimes of which he might be quite innocent. As for punishment, he advocated the entire abolition of the death penalty, on the ground that it did not deter the evildoer as life imprisonment at hard labor would, and that in its various hideous forms—such as beheading, hanging, mutilation, breaking on the wheel—it was a source of demoralization to the spectators. Punishments should be less harsh, but more certain and more carefully proportioned to the danger of the offense to society. Nobles and magistrates convicted of crime should be treated exactly like offenders of the lowest class. Confiscation of property should be abolished, since it brought suffering to the innocent members of the criminal's family. It was better, he urged, to prevent crimes than to punish them; and this could be done by making the laws very clear and the punishments for their violation very certain,—above all, by spreading enlightenment through better education.

The Development of Political Economy

About the middle of the eighteenth century a new social science was born, namely, political economy. Scholars began to investigate in the spirit of natural science the sources of a nation's wealth, the manner in which commodities were produced and distributed, the laws determining demand and supply, the function of money and credit, and their influence upon industry and commerce. Previous to the seventeenth century these matters had seemed unworthy of scientific discussion. Few suspected that there was anything like law underlying the varying amount of wheat that could be bought for a shilling, or the rate of interest that a bank could charge. The ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome had despised the tiller of the soil, the shopkeeper, and the artisan, for these indispensable members of society at that period were commonly slaves. The contempt for manual labor had decreased in the Middle Ages; but the learned men who studied theology, or pondered over Aristotle's teachings in regard to "form" and "essence," rarely thought of considering the effect of the growth of population upon serfdom, or of an export duty upon commerce, any more than they tried to determine why the housewife's milk soured more readily in warm weather than in cold, or why a field left fallow regained its fertility.[1]

Although ignorant of economic laws, the governments had come gradually to regulate more and more both commerce and industry. We have seen how each country tried to keep all the trade for its own merchants by issuing elaborate regulations and restrictions, and how the king's officers enforced the monopoly of the guilds. Indeed, the French government, under Colbert's influence, fell into the habit of regulating well-nigh everything. In order that the goods which were produced in France might find a ready sale abroad, the government fixed the quality and width of the cloth which might be manufactured and the character of the dyes which should be used. The king's ministers kept a constant eye upon the dealers in grain and breadstuffs, forbidding the storing up of these products or their sale outside a market. In this way they had hoped to prevent speculators from accumulating grain in order to sell it at a high rate in times of scarcity.

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[1] The medieval philosophers and theologians discussed, it is true, the question whether it was right or not to charge interest for money lent, and what might be a "just price." But both matters were considered as ethical or theological problems rather than in their economic aspects.

In short, at the opening of the eighteenth century, statesmen, merchants, and such scholars as gave any attention to the subject believed that the wealth of a country could be greatly increased by means of government regulation and encouragement, just as in the United States today it is held by the majority of citizens that the government is able to increase prosperity and to improve the conditions of the wage-earners by imposing high duties upon imported articles. It was also commonly believed that a country, to be really prosperous, must export more than it imported, so that foreign nations would each year owe it a cash balance which would have to be paid in gold or silver and in this way increase its stock of precious metals. Those who advocated using the powers of government to encourage and protect shipping, to develop colonies, and to regulate manufactures (see page 73) are known as "mercantilists."

About the year 1700, however, certain writers in France and England reached the conclusion that the government did little or no good by interfering with economic "laws" which it did not understand and whose workings it did not reckon with. They argued that the government restrictions often produced the worst possible results; that industry would advance far more rapidly if manufacturers were free to adopt new inventions instead of being confined by the government's restrictions to old and discredited methods; that, in France, the government's frantic efforts to prevent famines by making all sorts of rules in regard to selling grain only increased the distress, since even the most powerful king could not violate with impunity an economic law. So the new economists rejected the formerly popular mercantile policy. They accused the mercantilists of identifying gold and silver with wealth, and maintained that a country might be prosperous without a favorable cash balance. In short, the new school advocated "free trade." A French economist urged his king to adopt the motto *Laissez faire* (Let things alone) if he would see his realms prosper.

The leading economist of France in the eighteenth century was Turgot, who, as head of the government for a brief period, made, as we shall see, an unsuccessful effort to remedy the existing abuses.[1] He argued that it would be quite sufficient if "the government should always protect the natural liberty of the buyer to buy and of the seller to sell. For, the buyer being always the master to buy or not to buy, it is certain that he will select among the sellers the man who will give him at the best bargain the goods that suit him best. It is not less certain that every seller, it being his chief interest to merit preference over his competitors, will sell in general the best goods and at the lowest price at which he can make a profit in order to attract customers. The merchant or manufacturer who cheats will be quickly discredited and lose his custom without the interference of government."

The first great systematic work upon political economy was published by a Scotch philosopher, Adam Smith, in 1776. His *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* became the basis of all further progress in the science. He attacked the doctrines of the mercantilists and the various expedients which they had favored,—import duties, bounties, restrictions upon exporting grain, etc.,—all of which he believed "retard instead of accelerating the progress of society toward real wealth and greatness; and diminish instead of increasing the real value of the annual produce of its labor and land." In general he agreed with Turgot that the State should content itself with protecting traders and business men and seeing that justice was done; but he sympathized with the English navigation laws, although they obviously hampered commerce, and was not as thoroughgoing a free trader as many of the later English economists.

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[1] See pages 284 ff.

While the economists in France and England by no means agreed in details, they were at one in believing that it was useless and harmful to interfere with what they held to be the economic laws. They sought to bring the light of reason to bear, for example, upon the various bungling and iniquitous old methods of taxation then in vogue, and many of them advocated a single tax which should fall directly upon the landowner. They wrote treatises on practical questions, scattered pamphlets broadcast, and even conducted a magazine or two in the hope of bringing home to the people at large the economic evils of the time.

It is clear from what has been said that the eighteenth century was a period of unexampled advance in general enlightenment. New knowledge spread abroad by the Encyclopedists, the economists, and writers on government—Turgot, Adam Smith, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Beccaria, and many others of lesser fame—led people to see the vices of the existing system and gave them at the same time new hope of bettering themselves by abandoning the mistaken beliefs and the imperfect methods of their predecessors. The spirit of reform penetrated even into king's palaces, and we must now turn to the actual attempts to improve affairs made by the more enlightened rulers of Europe.

Benevolent Despots take up Reform

Far-sighted rulers aware that changes were inevitably coming, sought to forestall them and prevent serious disturbances by introducing reforms under their own guidance. It so happened in the eighteenth century that there were several remarkably intelligent monarchs,—Frederick II of Prussia, Catherine the Great of Russia, Emperor Joseph II and his brother Leopold (grand duke of Tuscany), and Charles III of Spain. These rulers read the works of the reformers and planned numerous ways in which they might remedy the evil conditions in their realms by removing old restrictions that hampered the farmer and merchant, by making new and clearer laws, by depriving the clergy of wealth and power that seemed to them excessive, and by encouraging manufactures and promoting commerce.

These monarchs are commonly known as the "enlightened" or "benevolent" despots. They were, no doubt, more enlightened than the older kings; at least they all read books and associated with learned men. But they were not more benevolent than Charlemagne, or Canute, or Saint Louis, or Henry IV, all of whom, as well as many other European monarchs of earlier centuries, had believed it their duty to consider the welfare of their people. On the other hand, the monarchs of the eighteenth century were certainly despots in the full sense of the word. They held that the powers of the State were vested in them exclusively, and had no idea of permitting their subjects any share in the government.

One of the most striking and practical of the reforming rulers was Frederick the Great, who maintained that the king was merely the first servant of the State. He believed that the ruler owed the State an account of the uses to which he put the taxes raised for its support and defense. He allowed the people no part in the government, it is true, but he worked very hard himself. He rose early and was busy all day. He was his own prime minister and the real head of all branches of the government, watching over the army and leading it in battle, attending to foreign affairs, guarding the finances, overseeing the courts, journeying up and down the land investigating the conduct of his officials and examining into the condition of his people.

After the exhausting wars by which he had succeeded in rounding out his realms, Frederick bent his energies toward reviving his wasted country. He did not approve of serfdom, and even declared that "the fact that the peasant belongs to the land and is the serf of the lord is revolting to mankind."

Nevertheless he did not attempt to abolish the system. Indeed, he sanctioned the old division of his subjects into three classes —nobles, burghers, and peasants. Not only was everyone bound to remain in the class in which he happened to be born, but no noble was permitted to acquire burgher or peasant land; no burgher, noble or peasant land; and no peasant, noble or burgher land.

While retaining these old restrictions the king endeavored to improve the methods of farming and increased the amount of agricultural land by draining the swamps. From two great marshes he recovered four hundred thousand acres upon which he had several hundred villages built. These he peopled with foreigners, for he was intent upon increasing the population by immigration. Manufactures were also fostered, and Prussia began to develop some important industries.

In religious matters Frederick was extremely tolerant; he held that his subjects should be allowed to worship God freely in any way they pleased. His kingdom had long been Protestant, but there were many Catholics in parts of his scattered dominions. He welcomed Huguenots and Jesuits with equal cordiality and admitted Catholics as well as Protestants to his service. "I stand neutral between Rome and Geneva," he once said; "he who wrongs his brother of a different faith shall be punished; were I to declare for one or the other creed I should excite party spirit and persecution; my aim, on the contrary, is to show the adherents of the different churches that they are all fellow citizens."[1]

Frederick found the laws of his kingdom (like those of the other European countries) in a very confused condition,— cumbersome, contradictory, and the cause of innumerable delays and constant injustice. He determined to have a new code drawn up which should establish one clear system of law for all his territories. He died before it was completed, but it was issued by his successor. It declared that the object of all government is the welfare of the people; proclaimed the right of every man to pursue his own interests so long as he did not injure anyone else; and even maintained that it is the duty of the State to care for the poor and those who are out of work. On the other hand, it vested all the power in the king, gave to the people no part in the government, sanctioned serfdom and the old division of the people into classes, and empowered the king to check at any moment freedom of speech and the publication of books and periodicals which were distasteful to him. Frederick's code is, in short, a picture of the benevolent despot who proclaims his anxiety to reform all abuses and help everybody, but who really clings to the old institutions and refuses to permit his subjects to express any opinion in regard to what should be done.

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[1] Frederick agreed with Voltaire in his contempt for theological disputes. A clergyman of Valangin was expelled from his pulpit by his congregation because he questioned eternal punishment; when he petitioned Frederick to reinstate him, the king replied, "If my loving subjects of Valangin choose to be eternally damned, it is not for me to interfere."

In spite of his long wars and his constant attention to the duties of government, Frederick found time, as we have seen, for reading and writing books, for music and art. He built near Berlin a palace which he called *Sans Souci*, where, "carefree" (as the name may be translated), he could collect his library, dine with the learned and witty men whom he had chosen for his companions, and play the flute. Voltaire lived with him for a time, and after his departure the king and the philosopher kept up an intimate correspondence until Voltaire's death.

Catherine II of Russia showed herself almost as interested in the philosophers and reformers as did Frederick. She invited Diderot to spend a month with her and was disappointed that D'Alembert would not consent to become the tutor of the grand duke Paul, the heir to the throne. She subscribed for the *Encyclopedia*, and bought Diderot's library when he got into trouble, permitting him to continue to use the books as long as he wished. In her frequent letters to Voltaire she explained to him her various plans for reforms which she was fond of discussing.

She read both Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* and Beccaria's *Crimes and Punishments*; and under their influence she summoned to Moscow in 1766 a great assembly which represented all the various peoples under her scepter—Russians, Tartars, Kalmucks, Cossacks, and Laplanders—as well as the different classes, namely, nobles, townspeople, and peasants. She submitted to this assembly a draft of a new code of laws for Russia which she had based upon the Western writers, especially Montesquieu and Beccaria. In this she declared that "the nation is not made for the ruler but the ruler for the nation"; "liberty is the right to do anything that is not forbidden by law"; "better that ten guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer unjust punishment." Intolerance, religious persecution, and the use of torture were condemned. When war broke out with Turkey the assembly was dismissed without finishing a task which it was, in any case, ill qualified to accomplish on account of its size and its mixed character.

There was some talk of abolishing serfdom in Russia; but Catherine increased rather than decreased the number of serfs, and she made their lot harder than it had been before by forbidding them to complain of the treatment they received at the hands of their masters. She appropriated the vast property of the churches and monasteries, using the revenue to support the clergy and monks; and such surplus as remained she devoted to schools and hospitals.

Joseph II's Sweeping Changes

It is clear that although Frederick and Catherine expressed great admiration for the reformers, they did not actually effect any sweeping changes in the laws or the social order. Emperor Joseph II, who, after the death of his mother, Maria Theresa, in 1780, became ruler of the Austrian dominions, had, however, the courage of his convictions. He proposed to transform the scattered and heterogeneous territories over which he ruled into a well-organized state in which disorder, confusion, prejudice, fanaticism, and intellectual bondage should disappear and all his subjects be put in possession of their "natural" rights. Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Bohemians, and Belgians were all to use the German language in official communications. The old irregular territorial divisions were abolished and his realms were divided into thirteen new provinces. All the ancient privileges enjoyed by the towns and the local assemblies were done away with and replaced by a uniform system of government in which his own officials enjoyed the control.

Joseph visited France and was personally acquainted with D'Alembert, Rousseau, and Turgot. He also read with approval the work of Febronius[1] attacking the power of the Pope. So it is no wonder that, although he still claimed to be a good Catholic, he undertook a radical reform of the Church. He was heartily opposed to the monks. "The principles of monasticism," he declared, "are in flat contradiction to human reason; monks are the most useless and dangerous subjects that a country can possess." He particularly objected to those orders whose members devoted themselves to religious contemplation, which he regarded as worse than a waste of time; he consequently abolished some six hundred of their monasteries and used their property for charitable purposes and to establish schools. He appointed the bishops without consulting the Pope and forbade the sending of money to Rome. Marriage was declared to be merely a civil contract and so was taken out of the control of the priests. Lutherans, Calvinists, and other heretics were allowed to worship in their own way. Only "enlightened" professors—that is, those who sympathized with Joseph's views—were to teach in the theological schools. The Emperor's object was, in a word, to free the Austrian

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[1] See page 240.

Church from the papal control and bring it under his own. Pope Pius VI became so anxious in regard to the situation that in 1782 he actually traveled to Vienna in order to expostulate with Joseph personally. But the Emperor was firm; he forbade anyone to confer with the Pope without his permission and even walled up all but one door of the palace where the Pontiff was entertained and had it carefully guarded lest His Holiness should gain the ear of the people.

Joseph II sought to complete his work by attacking the surviving features of feudalism and encouraging the development of manufactures. He freed the serfs in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Hungary, transforming the peasants into tenants; elsewhere he reduced the services due from them to the lord. He taxed nobles and clergy without regard to their claims to exemption and supplanted the confused and uncertain laws by a uniform system which is the basis of Austrian law today. He introduced a protective tariff and caused a large number of factories to be built. His preference for home industries he illustrated by giving away to the hospitals all the foreign wines in his cellars; and his spirit of economy, by forbidding the use of gold and silver for candlesticks, and prohibiting the burial of the dead in coffins for the reason that this was a waste of wood which might be better employed.

Naturally Joseph met opposition on every hand. The clergy abhorred him as an oppressor, and all who were forced to sacrifice their old privileges did what they could to frustrate his reforms, however salutary they might be. The Netherlands, which he proposed to transform into an Austrian province, finally followed the example of the American colonies and declared themselves independent in 1790. The same year Joseph died, a sadly disappointed man, having been forced to give up almost all that he had hoped to accomplish.

Joseph was followed by his brother Leopold, who, although he had introduced important reforms in the grand duchy of

Tuscany (over which he had ruled), deemed it wise to restore the Austrian dominions, so far as possible, to the condition in which they had been when Joseph began his reckless improvements. In this way he brought back the Netherlands to the Austrian fold and reassured those who had been terrified by the prospect of change.

Charles III's Reforms in Spain (1759–1788)

In Italy, Don Carlos, the first Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies, had, like Leopold, striven to improve his very backward kingdom; and when, in 1759, he became king of Spain as Charles III, he adopted the career of a reformer in earnest. He began, however, like his fellow monarchs, by excluding the nation from all share in the government. He ignored the national assembly, or *Cortes*, and placed the control of all branches of government in the hands of his own ministers and officials.

Like the other benevolent despots Charles III endeavored to increase the wealth of his kingdom by encouraging industry. Domestic manufactures were protected against foreign competition by a tariff. An agricultural college and trade schools were established, and highways, bridges, and canals were constructed. Formerly all ships coming from the American colonies had been required to land their goods either at Seville or one or two other ports. Now all the Spanish ports were thrown open to colonial commerce.

Scientific and economic questions were discussed in the newspapers and periodicals. The schools were taken out of the hands of the clergy. Modern science and philosophy were introduced into the universities of Alcalá and Valencia; but that at Salamanca refused to make any change, on the ground that Aristotle was still satisfactory to all.

In no respect were Charles's reforms more striking than in his method of dealing with the Church. There were within his realm sixty-six thousand priests, and three thousand monasteries with eighty-five thousand monks. The lands of the monasteries and churches amounted to about one fifth of the entire area of Spain. The king strictly limited the right of the Church to acquire more property and subjected its lands to taxation. Although Charles III, like Joseph, regarded himself as a devout Catholic, he adhered to the principles advocated by Febronius, whose book had been translated into Spanish. He forbade any papal bull or decree to be executed before it had received his approbation; and when the Pope expostulated with him, he replied that he was responsible to God alone for his acts as king.

Spain had long been proud of its vigilance in defending the purity of its religion. The Inquisition, which was an ancient Church court originally established by the Pope in the middle of the thirteenth century for the discovery and punishment of heretics, had been revived by the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1483, with a view to purging their kingdoms of the religious errors of the numerous Jews and Moors, and it had developed into a great national institution. Thousands and thousands were convicted by this tribunal of holding false beliefs, uttering blasphemies, or practicing forbidden arts like sorcery or magic, and were condemned to be burned, whipped, imprisoned, or sent to the galleys.[1] While the Inquisition was no longer so active in the eighteenth century as it had once been, no less than fourteen thousand persons are said to have been convicted by it of more or less grave offenses during the reign of the Bourbon king Philip V, and nearly eight hundred of these were burned alive. Charles III thought that the Inquisition contributed materially to the maintenance of public morals by condemning wrong teachings and books which were indecent or which attacked the government or religion. He did not, therefore, abolish it, but there were only four persons sent to the stake during his reign.

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[1] In order to impress the people with the horror of heresy and the majesty of the Inquisition, the sentencing of those guilty of heresy was made a gorgeous public ceremony held in a great square "for the glory of God and the exaltation of our holy Catholic faith." Everything was arranged to terrify and to humiliate the victims. For example, those who were to be burned wore miters and yellow cloaks adorned with flames. These *autos-da-fé*, or "acts of faith," were regarded as a pious and fitting form of celebrating the advent of a new monarch. The last great public *auto-da-fé* was held in Madrid in 1680 to celebrate the marriage of Charles II. The first French king, Philip V, refused to be present at a similar performance proposed for him, and it was given up. Thereafter the *autos-da-fé* were held in churches and became less and less important.

The Suppression of the Jesuits

On one matter most of the Catholic monarchs were in hearty agreement: they were all opposed to the Jesuits, who had become increasingly unpopular during the eighteenth century. They had aroused the hostility of the kings by exalting the power of the Pope, and they had excited the enmity of the merchant class by their success in carrying on trade with India and the New World. The first country to expel the Jesuits was Portugal, where they were accused of stirring up disorder and plotting the death of the king. In 1759 large numbers of them were loaded onto ships and sent to the papal dominions, while others were imprisoned. The property of the order was confiscated.

In France the quarrel between the Jesuits and the Jansenists—a party which clung to the Gallican liberties[1]—had been long and bitter. About the middle of the eighteenth century an association was formed by the enemies of the Jesuits for the express purpose of publishing pamphlets denouncing them and their teachings and rousing public opinion against them. Matters were brought to a crisis by the failure of a great Jesuit commercial house in Martinique. Its creditors declared the whole order responsible for the losses involved, and the case reached the *parlement* of Paris, the chief French court. When the lawyer representing the Jesuits argued that their property should be protected on the ground that it was used to train youths in piety and learning, he was greeted with jeers from the crowd in the court room. The *parlement* decided against the Jesuits, ordered an investigation of their alleged pernicious teachings, and in 1762 dissolved the society on account of the perversity of their conduct and doctrines. Louis XV reluctantly ratified this measure two years later; and the Jesuits, to the number of four thousand, ceased to form an order in France, although they were permitted to remain in the country as individuals.

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[1] See page 240. The Jansenists derived their name from a theologian, Cornelius Jansen, who wrote a long Latin treatise upon the teachings of Saint Augustine. This contained certain doctrines resembling those of Calvin, although Jansen believed himself a devout Catholic and submitted all that he said to the judgment of the Pope. The Jesuits attacked the work when it appeared in 1640, and the Pope forbade the reading of the *Augustinus*. Nevertheless a party adhered to the teachings of Jansen, and one of their number, the famous Pascal, attacked the Jesuits in his *Provincial Letters*, which is regarded as a French classic. After interminable discussions the Pope, urged on by the Jesuits, issued in 1713 the important bull "Unigenitus," in which he condemned one hundred and one propositions of a work entitled *Moral Reflections*, by Quesnel, a prominent Jansenist. This led to forty years of disturbance, for the Pope or-

Three years later Charles III of Spain followed the example set by Portugal and France and abolished the order in Spain without giving any reasons. He directed that the Jesuits be taken to the seacoast and shipped to the papal dominions. After the king of the Two Sicilies and the duke of Parma had likewise suppressed the order in their realms, all the various

dered those to be cast out of the Church who refused to accept the "Unigenitus." A part of the clergy accepted the bull; but others refused to do so and were supported in their opposition by the king's courts, as many of the judges were Jansenists, or, at any rate, hated the Jesuits on account of their ultramontane views. Finally, in 1752, a priest refused to perform the last sacraments in the case of a man accused of Jansenism. Other priests who had accepted the bull declined to perform the funeral services for those who rejected it, and bodies remained unburied, to the scandal and disgust of the community. This long struggle within the French Church, which did not come to an end until 1756, prepared the way for the abolition in France of the Jesuits, and helped to discredit religion in the minds of those who read the writings of Voltaire, Diderot, and the other philosophers.

Bourbon rulers combined to induce the Pope to complete their work by putting an end to the Society of Jesus throughout Christendom. This he most reluctantly consented to do. In 1773 Clement XIV issued the bull "Dominus ac Redemptor," in which he confessed that the order no longer performed the services for which it had been founded, that it roused innumerable complaints by mixing in politics, and that its continued existence was an obstacle in the way of a good understanding between the Pope and the House of Bourbon. He accordingly abolished the society, permitting its members to enter other orders or to become ordinary priests. At the time when the attack on the Jesuits began, the society numbered 22,589 members and maintained nearly eight hundred colleges and seminaries and two hundred and seventy mission stations, not to mention its commercial enterprises.

It has become clear, as we have reviewed the activities of the various benevolent despots, that all of them were chiefly intent upon increasing their own power,—they were more despotic than they were benevolent. They opposed the interference of the Pope and brought the clergy under their own control. In some cases they took a portion of the property of the churches and monasteries. They tried to improve the laws and do away with the existing contradictions and obscurities. They endeavored to "centralize" the administration and to place all the power in the hands of their own officials instead of leaving it with the nobles or the old local assemblies. They encouraged agriculture, commerce, and industries in various ways. All these measures were undertaken primarily with a view to strengthening the autocratic power of the ruler and augmenting the revenue and the military strength of his government; for none of these energetic monarchs showed any willingness to admit the people to a share in the government, and only Joseph II ventured to attempt, unsuccessfully, to free the serfs from bondage to the soil.

Louis XVI as a Benevolent Despot

Strange as it may seem, the writings of the French philosophers had far more influence on Catherine of Russia and Joseph of Austria than upon their own sovereign, Louis XV. During his long reign from 1715 to 1774 Louis did more to add to the burdens of his people than to lighten their load. His unsuccessful wars, which had ended with the loss of all his American possessions and the victory of his enemies in India, had brought France to the verge of bankruptcy; indeed, in his last years his ministers repudiated a portion of the government's obligations. The taxes were already so oppressive as to arouse universal discontent, and yet the government was running behind seventy million dollars a year. The monarch's personal conduct was scandalous, and he permitted his mistresses and courtiers to meddle in public affairs and plunder the royal treasury for themselves and their favorites. When at last he was carried off by smallpox, everyone hailed, with hopes of better times, the accession of his grandson and successor, Louis XVI.

The new king was but twenty years old, ill educated, indolent, unsociable, and very fond of hunting and of pottering about in a workshop, where he spent his happiest hours. He was a well-meaning young man, with none of his grandfather's vices, who tried now and then to attend to the disagreeable business of government, and would gladly have made his people happy if that had not required more energy than he possessed. He had none of the restless interest in public affairs that we found in Frederick the Great, Catherine II, or his brother-in-law, Joseph II; he was never tempted to rise at five o'clock in the morning in order to read State papers.

His wife was the beautiful Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa. The marriage had been arranged in 1770 with a view to maintaining the alliance which had been concluded between France and Austria in 1756. The queen was only nineteen years old when she came to the throne, light-hearted and on pleasure bent. She disliked the formal etiquette of the court at Versailles and shocked people by her thoughtless pranks. She rather despised her heavy husband, who did not care to share in the amusements which pleased her best. She did not hesitate to interfere in the government when she wished to help one of her favorites or to make trouble for someone she disliked.

At first Louis XVI took his duties very seriously. It seemed for a time that he might find a place among the benevolent despots who were then ruling in Europe. He almost immediately placed the ablest of all the French economists, Turgot, in the most important of the government offices, that of controller-general. Turgot was an experienced government official as well as a scholar. For thirteen years he had been the king's representative in Limoges, one of the least prosperous portions of France. There he had had ample opportunity to see the vices of the prevailing system of taxation. He had made every effort to induce the government to improve its methods, and had tried to familiarize the people with the principles of political economy. Consequently, when he was put in charge of the nation's finances, it seemed as if he and the conscientious young king might find some remedy for the recognized abuses.

The first and most natural measure was economy, for only in that way could the government be saved from bankruptcy and the burden of taxation be lightened. Turgot felt that the vast amount spent in maintaining the luxury of the royal court at Versailles should be reduced. The establishments of the king, the queen, and the princes of the blood royal cost the State annually toward twelve million dollars. Then the French king had long been accustomed to grant "pensions" in a reckless manner to his favorites, and this required nearly twelve million dollars more.

Any attempt, however, to reduce this amount would arouse the immediate opposition of the courtiers, and it was the courtiers who really governed France. They had every opportunity to influence the king's mind against a man whose economies they disliked. They were constantly about the monarch from the moment when he awoke in the morning until he went to bed at night; therefore they had an obvious advantage over the controller-general, who saw him only in business hours.

Immediately upon coming into power Turgot removed a great part of the restrictions on the grain trade. He prefaced the edict with a very frank denunciation of the government's traditional policy of preventing persons from buying and selling their grain when and where they wished. He showed that this did not obviate famines, as the government hoped that it might, and that it caused great loss and hardship. If the government would only let matters alone, the grain would, he argued, go to those provinces where it was most needed; for there it would bring the best price. Turgot seized this and every similar opportunity to impress important economic theories upon the minds of the people.

Early in 1776 Turgot brought forward two edicts which could not fail to rouse much opposition. The first of these abolished the guilds, which he declared exercised "a vast tyranny over trade and industry." In almost all the towns the various trades of the baker, tailor, barber, sword-maker, hatter, cooper, and all the rest, were each in the hands of a small number of masters who formed a union to keep everyone else out, and who made such rules as they pleased about the way in which the work should be conducted. Sometimes only the sons of masters or those who married masters' widows would be permitted to carry on a trade. Employers could not select the workmen they wished. "Often," Turgot declared, "one cannot get the simplest job done without having it go through the hands of several workmen of different guilds and without suffering the delays, tricks, and exactions which the pretensions of the various guilds encourage." The king, therefore, ordered that "it shall be free to all persons of whatever quality or condition they may be, even to all foreigners, to exercise in all our kingdom, and particularly in our good city of Paris, whatever profession or industry may seem good to them." All the guilds were abolished, in spite of those who declared that industry would be ruined as soon as everybody was free to open a shop and offer his goods to the public.

At the same time Turgot proposed an even more important reform. The government had been accustomed to build and repair the public roads, forcing the peasants to bring out their horses and carts and to work for a certain time every year without remuneration. This was, of course, a form of taxation and was known as the *corvée*. Turgot held that the peasants should not be required to bear this burden, and proposed to substitute for it a tax to be paid by the landholders. Both the clergy and nobility hotly opposed this reform on the ground that their privileges exempted them from the *corvée*, regarded as an ignoble exaction which should fall only upon a peasant. Turgot confessed that his main aim was to begin a great reform of the vicious system of taxation which exempted the privileged classes from the *corvée*, the *taille*, and other contributions which should be borne by everybody according to his capacity.

THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Turgot compelled the *parlement* of Paris to register these edicts; but he had become very unpopular, for each one of his reforms injured a particular class who thereafter became his enemies. The nobles disliked him for substituting the land tax, which fell upon them, for the *corvée*, which only the peasants had borne. The clergy believed him a wicked philosopher; for it was known that he had urged the pious Louis XVI, when he took his coronation oath, to omit the pledge to extirpate heresy from his realms. The tradespeople hated him for doing away with the guilds.

An Italian economist, when he heard of Turgot's appointment, wrote to a friend in France: "So Turgot is controller-general! He will not remain in office long enough to carry out his plans. He will punish some scoundrels; he will bluster about and lose his temper; he will be anxious to do good, but will run against obstacles and rogues at every turn. Public credit will fall; he will be detested; it will be said that he is not fitted for his task. Enthusiasm will cool; he will retire or be sent off, and we shall have a new proof of the mistake of filling a position like his in a monarchy like yours with an upright man and a philosopher."

The Italian could not have made a more accurate statement of the case had he waited until after the dismissal of Turgot, which took place in May, 1776, much to the satisfaction of the court. The king, although upright and well-intentioned, was not fond of the governmental duties to which Turgot was always calling his attention. It was much easier to let things go along in the old way; for reforms not only required much extra work, but also forced him to refuse the customary favors to those around him. It was perhaps not unnatural that the discontent of his young queen or of an intimate companion should outweigh the woes of the distant peasant.

Although the privileged classes, especially the courtiers who had the king's ear and the conservative lawyers in the *parlements*, prevented Turgot from carrying out the extensive reforms that he had in mind, and even induced the king to restore the guilds and to continue the *corvée*, Turgot's administration nevertheless forwarded the French Revolution. In the preambles to his edicts he carefully explained the nature of the abuses which the king was trying to remedy and so strove to enlist the sympathy of the public. He proposed that the king should form local assemblies to help him in the government, as otherwise too much power was left in the hands of the king's officials. In short, while Turgot was quite satisfied to have a benevolent despot in France so long as the king allowed himself to be led along the path of reform by a wise philosopher and economist, he was anxious to encourage public interest in the policy of the government, and believed it essential to have the people's representatives help in assessing the taxes and in managing local affairs.

Necker, who, after a brief interval, succeeded Turgot, also contributed to the progress of the coming Revolution in two ways. First, he borrowed vast sums of money in order to carry on the war which France, as the ally of the United States, had undertaken against England. This greatly embarrassed the treasury later and helped to produce the financial crisis which was the immediate cause of the Revolution. Second, he gave the nation its first opportunity of learning what was done with the public funds by presenting to the king (February, 1781) a *report* on the financial condition of the kingdom which was publicly printed and eagerly read. There the people could see for the first time how much the *taille* and the salt tax actually took from them, and how much the king spent on himself and his favorites.

Necker was soon followed by Calonne, who may be said to have precipitated the momentous reform which constitutes the French Revolution. He was very popular at first with king and courtiers, for he spent the public funds far more recklessly than his predecessors. But naturally he soon found himself in a position where he could obtain no more money. The *parlements* would consent to no more loans in a period of peace, and the taxes were as high as it was deemed possible to make them. At last Calonne, finding himself desperately put to it, informed the astonished king that the State was on the verge of bankruptcy, and that to prevent this disaster a radical reformation of "the whole public order" was necessary. This report of Calonne's may be taken as the beginning of the French Revolution, for it was the first of the series of events that led to the calling of a representative assembly which abolished the old régime and gave France a written constitution.

CHAPTER IX

FRENCHMEN WRITE OUT A NEW PROGRAM FOR MANKIND

The Estates-General Convene in 1789

Calonne claimed that it was necessary, in order to avoid ruin, "to reform everything vicious in the State." He proposed, therefore, to reduce the *taille,* reduce the salt tax, do away with the interior customs lines, correct the abuses of the guilds, etc. But the chief reform, and by far the most difficult one, was to force the privileged classes to surrender their important exemptions from taxation. He hoped that if certain concessions were made to them, they might be brought to consent to a land tax which should be levied on the nobility and clergy as well as on the third estate. So he proposed to the king that he should summon an assembly of persons prominent in Church and State, called Notables, to ratify certain changes which would increase the prosperity of the country and bring money enough into the treasury to meet the necessary expenses.

The summoning of the Notables late in 1786 was really a revolution in itself. It was a confession on the part of the king that he found himself in a predicament from which he could not escape without the aid of his subjects. The Notables whom he selected—bishops, archbishops, dukes, judges, high government officials—were practically all members of the privileged classes; but they still represented the nation, after a fashion, as distinguished from the king's immediate circle of courtiers.

In his opening address Calonne gave the Notables an idea of the sad financial condition of the country. The government was running behind some forty million dollars a year. He could not continue to borrow, and economy, however strict, would not suffice to cover the deficit. "What, then," he asked, "remains to fill this frightful void and enable us to raise the revenue to the desired level? *The abuses!* Yes, gentlemen, the abuses offer a source of wealth which the State should appropriate, and which should serve to reëstablish order in the finances. . . . Those abuses which must now be destroyed for the welfare of the people are the most important and the best guarded of all, the very ones which have the deepest roots and the most spreading branches. For example, those which weigh on the laboring classes, the pecuniary privileges, exceptions to the law which should be common to all, and many an unjust exemption which can only relieve certain taxpayers by embittering the conditions of others; the general want of uniformity in the assessment of the taxes and the enormous difference which exists between the contributions of different provinces and of the subjects of the same sovereign; the severity and arbitrariness in the collection of the *taille*; the apprehension, embarrassment, and almost dishonor associated with the trade in breadstuffs; the interior customhouses and barriers which make the various parts of the kingdom like foreign countries to one another . . ."—all these evils, which public-spirited citizens had long deprecated, Calonne proposed to abolish forthwith.

The Notables, however, had no confidence in Calonne; most of them were determined not to give up their privileges, and they refused to ratify his program of reform. The king thereupon dismissed Calonne and soon sent the Notables home too (May, 1787). He then attempted to carry through some of the more pressing financial reforms in the ordinary way, by drawing up edicts and by sending them to the *parlements* to be registered.

The *parlement* of Paris resolved, as usual, to make the king's ministry trouble and gain popularity for itself. This time it resorted to a truly extraordinary measure. It not only refused to register two new taxes which the king desired, but asserted that "*only the nation assembled in the Estates-General can give the consent necessary to the establishment of a permanent tax.*" "Only the nation," the *parlement* continued, "after it has learned the true state of the finances, is able to destroy the great abuses and open up important resources." This declaration was followed in a few days by the respectful request that the king assemble the Estates-General of his kingdom.

The refusal of the *parlement* to register the new taxes led to one of the old struggles between it and the king's ministers. A compromise was arranged in the autumn of 1787; the *parlement* agreed to register a great loan, and the king pledged himself to assemble the Estates-General within five years. During the early months of 1788 a flood of pamphlets appeared, criticizing the system of taxation and the unjust privileges and exemptions enjoyed by a few citizens to the detriment of the great mass of the nation.

Suddenly the *parlement* of Paris learned that the king's ministers were planning to put an end to its troublesome habit of opposing their measures. They proposed to remodel the whole judicial system and take from the *parlement* the right to register new decrees and consequently the right to protest. This, the *parlement* loudly proclaimed, was in reality a blow at the nation itself. The ministers were attacking it simply because it had acknowledged its lack of power to grant new taxes and had requested the king to assemble the representatives of the nation. The ministers, it claimed, were bent upon establishing an out-and-out despotism in which there should no longer be any check whatever on the arbitrary power of the king.

The *parlement* had long been wont to refer to certain "fundamental laws" as forming a sort of unwritten constitution limiting the powers of the king. In May, 1788, it ventured to proclaim publicly (1) the right of the nation to grant all taxes voluntarily through their representatives in the Estates-General; (2) the right of the provinces which had been annexed to France to retain all the liberties which the king had guaranteed to them when they came under his rule, and the right of the local *parlement* in each of these provinces to examine every edict of the king and refuse to register it if it did not conform to the constitutional laws of the province or violated its rights; (3) the right of the judges to retain their offices no matter how anxious the king might be to dismiss them; (4) the right of every citizen, if arrested, to be brought immediately before a competent court and to be tried by the regular judges only.

This was a very poor and inadequate sketch of a constitution, but it was a definite protest against allowing the king to become an absolute and uncontrolled despot. According to the new edicts against which the *parlement* of Paris protested, tyrannical ministers might freely make new laws for the whole realm and completely ignore the special privileges which the king had pledged himself to maintain when Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, Brittany, Béarn, Navarre, and other important provinces had originally been added to his kingdom. The cause of the *parlements* seemed the cause of the nation, and their protest contributed to the excitement and indignation which spread throughout France and continued until the whole system of government was completely reformed.

When the king's commissioners tried to proclaim the edicts which robbed the *parlements* of their right to register new laws, mobs collected and insulted them. At Rennes, in Brittany, they were besieged by the townspeople and had to be protected by soldiers. At Toulouse a mob tore up the pavement to build barricades and prepared to resist the entry of the commissioners. At Bordeaux the new laws were proclaimed under the protection of bayonets. Everywhere there were protests, usually accompanied by disorder.

The most interesting events took place at Grenoble, where the *parlement* of Dauphiny was accustomed to meet. It declared that, if the king persisted in his plan, he would break all the bonds which bound that province to France and that Dauphiny would consider itself entirely freed from the oath of fidelity to him. When the king's officers arrived to punish the *parlement* for its audacious utterances, they found the city ready to defend it. An assembly was convened at the neighboring Vizille, where representatives of the nobility, clergy, and third estate came together. They denounced the policy of the king's ministers, demanded the speedy convocation of the Estates-General, and reiterated the right of the nation to grant all taxes and to be protected from arbitrary punishment. They claimed that they were vindicating the rights of the nation at large, and that they were ready, if necessary, to sacrifice any of their special privileges in the interest of the whole kingdom.

This demonstration on the part of Dauphiny, and similar outbreaks in the other provinces, forced the king to dismiss the unpopular ministry and to recall Necker, who had followed Turgot as controller-general and in whom everybody had great confidence. Necker restored the *parlements* to their old power, and, as the treasury was absolutely empty, there seemed nothing to do but to call together the representatives of the people. Necker therefore announced that the Estates-General would convene early the next year.[1]

It was now discovered that no one knew much about this body of which everyone was talking, for it had not met since 1614. The king accordingly issued a general invitation to scholars to find out all they could about the customs observed in the former meetings of the Estates. The public naturally became very much interested in a matter which touched them so closely, and there were plenty of readers for the pamphlets which now began to appear in greater numbers than ever before.

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[1] The *parlements* immediately lost all their importance. They had helped to precipitate the reform, but they did not sympathize with any change which would deprive the privileged classes, to which their members belonged, of their ancient exemptions. They therefore forfeited their popularity when in September, 1788, they declared that the Estates-General should meet in its old way, which would have enabled the privileged classes to stop any distasteful reforms.

The old Estates-General had been organized in a way appropriate enough to the feudal conditions under which it originated. Each of the three estates of the realm—clergy, nobility, and third estate—sent an equal number of representatives, who were expected to consider not the interests of the nation but the special interests of the particular social class to which they respectively belonged. Accordingly the deputies of the three estates did not sit together or vote as a single body. The members of each group first came to an agreement among themselves and then cast a single vote for the whole order. The Estates-General thus had three houses, instead of two like the English Parliament and the Congress of the United States, which had just been established.

It was natural that this system should seem preposterous to the average Frenchman in 1788. If the Estates should be convoked according to the ancient forms, the two privileged classes would together be in a position to outvote the representatives allotted to the other twenty-five million inhabitants of France. It seemed impossible that any important reforms could be adopted in an assembly where those who had every selfish reason for opposing the most necessary changes were given two votes out of three. Necker, whom the king had recalled in the hope that he might succeed in adjusting the finances, agreed that the third estate might have as many deputies as both the other orders put together,—namely, six hundred,—but he would not consent to having the three orders sit and vote together, as the nation at large desired.

Of the innumerable pamphlets which now appeared, the most famous was that written by Sieyès, called "What is the Third Estate?" He claimed that the "aristocrats," or the privileged classes, ought to be simply neglected, since the deputies of the third estate would represent practically the whole nation, namely, some twenty-five million or more individuals of whom less than two hundred thousand, as he estimated, were nobles and priests. "It is impossible," he says, "to answer the question What place should the privileged orders be assigned in the social body; for it is like asking, Where, in the human body, does the malign ulcer belong which torments and weakens the unhappy victim?"

Besides the great question as to whether the deputies should vote by head or by order, the pamphlets discussed what reforms the Estates should undertake. We have, however, a still more interesting and important expression of public opinion in France at this time in the *cahiers*, or lists of grievances and suggestions for reform, which, in pursuance of an old custom, the king asked the nation to prepare. Each village and town throughout France had an opportunity to tell quite frankly exactly what it suffered from the existing system, and what reforms it desired that the Estates-General should bring about. These *cahiers* were the "last will and testament" of the old régime, and they constitute a unique historical document of unparalleled completeness and authenticity. No one can read the *cahiers* without seeing that the nation was ready for the great transformation which, within a year, was to destroy a great part of the social and political system under which the French had lived for centuries.

Almost all the *cahiers* agreed that the prevailing disorder and the vast and ill-defined powers of the king and his ministers were perhaps the fundamental evils. One of them says, "Since arbitrary power has been the source of all the evils which afflict the State, our first desire is the establishment of a really national constitution, which shall define the rights of all and provide the laws to maintain them." No one dreamed at this time of displacing the king or of taking the government out of his hands. The people wished only to change an absolute monarchy into a limited, or constitutional, one. All that seemed necessary was to make sure that the things which the government might *not* do should be solemnly and irrevocably determined and put upon record, and that the Estates-General should meet periodically to grant the taxes, give the king advice in national crises, and expostulate, if necessary, against any violations of the proposed charter of liberties.

The king expressed the wish that he might reach all his subjects, no matter how remote or humble they might be. He consequently permitted everyone whose name appeared upon the list of taxpayers to vote, either directly or indirectly, for deputies. As he and his predecessors had always been careful to have everyone pay taxes who had any property whatever, this was practically equivalent to modern universal manhood suffrage—at least in the country districts.

The village priests were all allowed to vote directly for deputies of their order. Since they hated the rich prelates who spent their time at the court at Versailles, they naturally elected as many as they could of their own rank. The result was that two thirds of the representatives of the clergy in the Estates-General were simple parish priests who were in sympathy with the people and more commonly sided with the third estate than with the bishops and abbots, who were bent upon defending the old privileges and blocking reform.

The Estates become a National Assembly

With the ideas expressed in the *cahiers* in mind, the Estates assembled at Versailles and held their first session on May 5, 1789. The king had ordered the deputies to wear the same costumes that had been worn at the last meeting of the Estates in 1614; but no royal edict could call back the spirit of earlier centuries. The representatives of the third estate refused to organize themselves in the old way as a separate order. They sent invitation after invitation to the deputies of the clergy and nobility, requesting them to join the people's representatives and deliberate in common on the great interests of the nation. Some of the more liberal of the nobles—Lafayette, for example—and a large minority of the clergy wished to meet with the deputies of the third estate.[1] But they were outvoted; and finally the deputies of the third estate (under the influence of Sieyès), losing patience, declared themselves on June 17 a "National Assembly." They argued that, since they represented at least 96 per cent of the entire nation, the deputies of the privileged orders might be neglected altogether. This usurpation of power on the part of the third estate transformed the old feudal Estates, voting by orders, into the first modern national representative assembly on the continent of Europe.

Under the influence of his courtiers the king tried to restore the old system by arranging a solemn joint session of the three orders, at which he presided in person. He presented a long program of excellent reforms, and then bade the Estates sit apart, according to the former custom. But it was like bidding water to run uphill. Three days before, when the commons had found themselves excluded from their regular place of meeting on account of the preparations for the royal session, they had betaken themselves to a neighboring building called the Tennis Court. Here, on June 20, they took the famous "Tennis Court" oath never to separate "until the constitution of the kingdom should be established and placed upon a firm foundation." Their purpose to resist all schemes to frustrate a general reform was strengthened by the support of over half of the deputies of the clergy, who joined them the day before the royal session.

Consequently, when the king finished his address and commanded the three orders to disperse immediately so as to resume their separate sessions, most of the bishops, some of the parish priests, and a great part of the nobility obeyed; the rest sat still, uncertain what they should do. When the master of ceremonies ordered them to comply with the king's commands, Count Mirabeau, who was to prove himself the most distinguished statesman among the deputies, told him bluntly that they would not leave their places except at the point of the bayonet. The weak king almost immediately gave in, and a few days later he ordered all the deputies of the privileged orders who had not done so already to join the commons.

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[1] The nobles, of whom a few sympathized with the third estate, rejected the proposed union by a vote of 188 to 47. The vote of the clergy, made up largely of parish priests, stood 133 to 114; so ten more ayes, in their case, would have turned the scale.

This was a momentous victory for the nation. The representatives of the privileged classes had been forced to unite with the third estate, to deliberate with them, and to vote "by head." Moreover, the National Assembly had pledged itself never to separate until it had regenerated the kingdom and had given France a constitution. It was no longer simply to vote taxes and to help the king's treasury out of its perennial difficulties.

The National Assembly now began in earnest the great task of preparing a constitution for France. It was, however, soon interrupted. The little group of noblemen and prelates who spent much of their time in the king's palace formed what was known as the court party. They were not numerous but could influence the king as no other group in the nation could do. They naturally opposed reform: they wished neither to give up their own privileges nor to have the king come under the control of the National Assembly, for that would mean that he would no longer be able to give them the pensions and lucrative positions which they now readily obtained. This court "ring" enjoyed the hearty support of the queen, Marie Antoinette, and of the king's younger brother, the count of Artois, both of whom regarded the deputies of the third estate as insolent and dangerous agitators who proposed to rob the monarch of the powers which had been conferred upon him by God himself. The queen and her friends had got rid of Turgot and Calonne, who had endeavored to change the old order; why should they not disperse the Estates-General, which was escaping from the control of the clergy and nobility?

The king agreed to the court party's plans. He summoned the Swiss and German troops in the employ of France and sent a company of them into Paris in order that they might suppress any violence on the part of the townspeople should he decide to send the arrogant deputies home. He was also induced to dismiss Necker, who enjoyed a popularity that he had, in reality, done little to merit.

When the people of Paris saw the troops gathering and heard of the dismissal of Necker, they became excited. Camille Desmoulins, a brilliant young journalist, rushed into the garden of the Palais Royal, where crowds of people were discussing the situation, and, leaping upon a table, announced that the Swiss and German soldiers would soon be slaughtering all the "patriots." He urged the people to arm and defend both themselves and the National Assembly from the attacks of the court party, which wished to betray the nation. All night the mob surged about the streets, seeking arms in the shops of the gunsmiths and breaking into bakeries and taverns to satisfy their hunger and thirst.

This was but the prelude to the great day of July 14, when crowds of people assembled to renew the search for arms and to perform, mayhap, some deed of patriotism. One of the lawless bands made its way to the ancient fortress of the Bastille, which stood in a poorer quarter of the city. Here the mob expected to discover arms, but the governor of the fortress, Delaunay, naturally refused to supply the crowd with weapons. He had, moreover, mounted cannons on the parapets, which made the inhabitants of the region very nervous. The people hated the castle, which they imagined to be full of dark dungeons and instruments of torture. It appeared to them a symbol of tyranny, for it had long been used as a place of confinement for those whom the king imprisoned by his arbitrary orders, the *lettres de cachet*. While there seemed no hope of taking the fortress, whose walls, ten feet thick, towered high above them, the attempt was made. Negotiations with the governor were opened, and during these a part of the crowd pressed across a drawbridge into the court. Here, for some reason that has never been explained, the troops in the castle fired upon the people and killed nearly a hundred of them. Meanwhile the mob on the outside continued an ineffectual but desperate attack until Delaunay was forced by the garrison to surrender on condition that they should be allowed to retire unmolested. The drawbridge was then let down, and the crowd rushed into the gloomy pile. They found only seven prisoners, whom they freed with great enthusiasm. But the milder element in the crowd was unable to restrain its violent and cruel members, who proposed to avenge the slaughter of their companions in the courtyard of the Bastille. Consequently the Swiss soldiers, who formed the garrison, were killed, and their heads, with that of Delaunay, were paraded about the streets on pikes.

The attack on the Bastille was an instance of mob excitement, but was speedily exalted into one of the most impressive and dramatic events in modern history, and its anniversary is still celebrated in France as the chief national holiday. On that day the people of Paris were assumed to have arisen in their might to protect themselves against the plots of the courtiers, who wished to maintain the old despotic system. They attacked an ancient monument of despotism, forced the king's officer in charge of it to capitulate, and then destroyed the walls of the fortress, of which nothing now remains except a line of white stones to mark its former site. The events of the fourteenth of July, 1789, have been "disfigured and transfigured by legends"; but they opened a new era of freedom, as they reduced the danger of a return to the ancien régime. It is true that the court party continued to make trouble, but its opposition served to hasten rather than to impede changes. Some of the leaders of the group, among them the king's younger brother, the count of Artois (who was destined to become king as Charles X), left France immediately after the fall of the Bastille and began actively urging foreign monarchs to intervene and protect Louis XVI from the reformers.

It had become clear that the king could not maintain order in Paris. The shopkeepers and other members of the middle classes were compelled to protect themselves against the wild crowds made up of men who were bent on extreme measures, reënforced by the disorderly elements of the capital and by half-starving men who had drifted to Paris on account of a famine which prevailed in the provinces. In the hope of preventing attacks on individuals and the sacking of shops, a "national guard" was organized, made up of volunteers from the well-to-do citizens. General Lafayette, one of the most liberal-minded of the nobles, was put in command. This deprived the king of every excuse for calling in his regular troops to insure order in Paris, and put the military power into the hands of the *bourgeoisie*, as the French call the class made up of the more prosperous business men.

The government of Paris was reorganized, and a mayor, chosen from among the members of the National Assembly, was put at the head of the new *commune*, as the municipal government was called. The other cities of France also began with one accord, after the dismissal of Necker and the fall of the Bastille, to promote the Revolution by displacing or supplementing their former governments by committees of their citizens. These improvised communes, or city governments, established national guards, as Paris had done, and thus maintained order. The news that the king had approved of the changes at Paris confirmed the citizens of other cities in the conviction that they had done right in taking the control into their own hands. We shall hear a good deal of the commune, or municipal government, of Paris later, as it played a very important rôle in the Reign of Terror.

By the end of the month of July the commotion reached the country districts. A curious panic swept over the land, which the peasants long remembered as "the great fear." A mysterious rumor arose that the "brigands" were coming! The terrified people did what they could to prepare for the danger, although they had no clear idea of what it was; neighboring communities combined with one another for mutual protection. When the panic was over, and people saw that there were no brigands after all, they turned their attention to an enemy by no means imaginary, that is, the old régime. The peasants assembled on the village common, or in the parish church, and voted to pay the feudal dues no longer. The next step was to burn the châteaux, or castles of the nobles, and thus to destroy the records of the peasants' obligations to their feudal lords.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN PROCLAIMED

During the early days of August, 1789, the news reached the National Assembly that the peasants were burning the castles of their lords and refusing to pay tithes, taxes, rents, or feudal dues. The Assembly, which had been in session for about three months, now realized that sweeping reforms could not be much longer delayed. Consequently during the celebrated night session of August 4–5, amid great excitement, the members of the privileged orders, led by the viscount of Noailles, a relative of Lafayette who had fought with him in America, vied with one another in surrendering their ancient privileges.[1]

The exclusive right of the nobility to hunt and to maintain their huge pigeon houses was abolished, and the peasant was permitted to kill game which he found on his land. The tithes of the Church were done away with. Exemptions from the payment of taxes were abolished forever. It was decreed that "taxes shall be collected from all citizens and from all property in the same manner and in the same form," and that "all citizens, without distinction of birth, are eligible to any office or dignity." Moreover, inasmuch as a national constitution would be of more advantage to the provinces than the privileges which some of these enjoyed, and (so the decree continues) "inasmuch as the surrender of such privileges is essential to the intimate union of all parts of the realm, it is decreed that all the peculiar privileges, pecuniary or otherwise, of the provinces, principalities, districts, cantons, cities, and communes are once for all abolished and are absorbed into the law common to all Frenchmen."

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[1] Of course, the nobles and clergy had very little prospect of retaining their privileges even if they did not give them up voluntarily. This was bitterly emphasized by Marat in his newspaper, *The Friend of the People*. "Let us not be duped! If these sacrifices of privileges were due to benevolence, it must be confessed that the voice of benevolence has been raised rather late in the day. When the lurid flames of their burning châteaux have illuminated France, these

This decree thus proclaimed the equality and uniformity for which the French people had so long sighed. The injustice of the former system of taxation could never be reintroduced. All France was to have the same laws, and its citizens were henceforth to be treated in the same way by the State, whether they lived in Brittany or Dauphiny, in the Pyrenees or on the Rhine. A few months later the Assembly went a step farther in consolidating and unifying France. It wiped out the old provinces altogether by dividing the whole country into districts of convenient size, called *départements*. These were much more numerous than the ancient divisions, and were named after rivers and mountains. This obliterated from the map all reminiscences of the feudal disunion.

Many of the *cahiers* had suggested that the Estates should draw up a clear statement of the rights of the individual citizen. It was urged that the recurrence of abuses and the insid-

people have been good enough to give up the privilege of keeping in fetters men who had already gained their liberty by force of arms. When they see the punishment that awaits robbers, extortioners, and tyrants like themselves, they generously abandon the feudal dues and agree to stop bleeding the wretched people who can barely keep body and soul together."

ious encroachments of despotism might in this way be forever prevented. The National Assembly consequently determined to prepare such a declaration in order to gratify and reassure the people and to form a basis for the new constitution.

This Declaration of the Rights of Man (completed August 26) is one of the most notable documents in the history of Europe. It not only aroused general enthusiasm when it was first published, but it appeared over and over again, in a modified form, in the succeeding French constitutions down to 1848, and has been the model for similar declarations in many of the other Continental states. It was a dignified repudiation of the abuses described in the preceding chapter. Behind each article there was some crying evil of long standing against which the people wished to be forever protected—*lettres de cachet*, religious persecution, censorship of the press, and despotism in general.

The Declaration sets forth that "men are born and remain equal in rights. Social distinctions can only be founded upon the general good." "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate, personally or through his representative, in its formation. It must be the same for all." "No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law." "No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law." "The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, being responsible, however, for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law." "All citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representative, as to the necessity for contributions to the public treasury, to grant these freely, to know to what uses they are put, and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection, and the duration of the taxes." "Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration." Well might the Assembly claim, in an address to the people, that "the rights of man had been misconceived and insulted for centuries," and boast that they were "reëstablished for all humanity in this declaration, which shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors."

The king hesitated to ratify the Declaration of the Rights of Man; and, about the first of October, rumors became current that, under the influence of the courtiers, he was calling together troops and preparing for another attempt to put an end to the Revolution, similar to that which the attack on the Bastille had frustrated. A regiment arrived from Flanders and was entertained at a banquet given by the king's guard at Versailles. The queen was present, and it was reported in Paris that the officers, in their enthusiasm for her, had trampled under foot the new national colors—the red, white, and blue—which had been adopted after the fall of the Bastille. These events, along with the scarcity of food due to the poor crops of the year, aroused the excitable Paris populace to fever heat.

On October 5 several thousand women and a number of armed men marched out to Versailles to ask bread of the king, in whom they had great confidence personally, however suspicious they might be of his friends and advisers. Lafayette marched after the crowd with the national guard, but did not prevent some of the people from invading the king's palace the next morning and nearly murdering the queen, who had become very unpopular. She was believed to be still an Austrian at heart and to be in league with the counter-revolutionary party.

The people declared that the king must accompany them to Paris, and he was obliged to consent. Far from being disloyal, they assumed that the presence of the royal family would insure plenty and prosperity. So they gayly escorted the "baker and the baker's wife and the baker's boy," as they jocularly termed the king and queen and the little dauphin, to the

Palace of the Tuileries, where the king took up his residence, practically a prisoner, as it proved. The National Assembly soon followed him and resumed its sittings in a riding-school near the Tuileries.

This transfer of the king and the Assembly to the capital was a fateful event in the development of the Revolution. The work of reform was by no means completed, and now the disorderly element of Paris could at any time invade the galleries and interrupt those deputies who proposed measures that did not meet with their approval. Marat's newspaper, *The Friend of the People*, assured the poor of the city that they were the real "patriots." Before long they came to hate the well-to-do middle class (the *bourgeoisie*) almost as heartily as they hated the nobles, and they were ready to follow any leader who talked to them about "liberty" and who vaguely denounced "traitors." Under these circumstances the populace might at any time get control of Paris, and Paris of the National Assembly. And so it fell out, as we shall see.

No one was more impressed by the danger than Mirabeau, whose keen insight cannot fail to fill every student of the French Revolution with admiration. After the transfer of the royal family to Paris, Mirabeau became a sort of unofficial adviser to the king, who, however, never acted upon the advice, as both he and the queen abhorred the great orator and statesman on account of his views and his immorality. So it did no good when Mirabeau pointed out to Louis that both he and the Assembly were really prisoners in Paris, which was constantly subject to the most serious disturbances. "Its inhabitants when excited are irresistible. Winter is approaching, and food may be wanting. Bankruptcy may be declared. What will Paris be three months hence?—assuredly a poorhouse, perhaps a theater of horrors. Is it to such a place that the head of the nation should intrust his existence and our only hope?" The king, he urged, should openly retire to Rouen and summon the Assembly to him there, where reforms could be completed without interruption or coercion. Above all things, the king must not go eastward, else he would be suspected of joining the runaway nobles who were hanging about the boundaries. Yet, as we shall see, when the king finally decided to escape from Paris eighteen months later, this was precisely what he did.

But for some time there was no considerable disorder. The deputies worked away on the constitution, and on February 4, 1790, the king visited the National Assembly and solemnly pledged himself and the queen to accept the new form of government. This provided that the sovereign should rule both by the grace of God and by the constitutional law of the State; but the nation was to be superior to the law, and the law to the king. The king was to be the chief executive and to be permitted to veto bills passed by the Assembly, unless they were passed by three successive Assemblies, in which case they would become law without his ratification. This was called the suspensive veto and was supposed to be modeled upon that granted to the president of the United States.

The constitution naturally provided that the laws should be made and the taxes granted by a representative body that should meet regularly. This was to consist, like the National Assembly, of one house, instead of two as in the English Parliament. Many had favored the system of two houses; but the nobility and clergy, who would have composed the upper house on the English analogy, were still viewed with suspicion as likely to wish to restore the privileges of which they had just been deprived. Only those citizens who paid a tax equal to three days' labor were permitted to vote for deputies to the Legislative Assembly. The poorer people had, consequently, no voice in the government in spite of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which assured equal rights to all. This and other restrictions tended to keep the power in the hands of the middle class.

Remodeling of the Ancient Church

Of the other reforms of the National Assembly, the most important related to the Church, which, as has been explained, continued up to the time of the Revolution to be very rich and powerful, and to retain many of its medieval prerogatives and privileges. Its higher officials, the bishops and abbots, received very large revenues, and often one prelate held a number of rich benefices, the duties of which he utterly neglected while he amused himself at Versailles. The parish priests, on the other hand, who really performed the manifold and important functions of the Church, were scarcely able to live on their incomes. This unjust apportionment of the vast revenue of the Church naturally suggested the idea that, if the State confiscated the ecclesiastical possessions, it could see that those who did the work were properly paid for it, and might, at the same time, secure a handsome sum which would help the government out of its financial troubles. Those who sympathized with Voltaire's views were naturally delighted to see their old enemy deprived of its independence and made subservient to the State, and even many good Catholics hoped that the new system would be an improvement upon the old.

The tithes had been abolished in August, together with the feudal dues. This measure deprived the Church of perhaps thirty million dollars a year. On November 2, 1789, a decree was passed providing that "all the ecclesiastical possessions are at the disposal of the nation upon condition that it provides properly for the expenses of maintaining religious services, for the support of those who conduct them, and for the succor of the poor." This decree deprived the bishops and priests of their benefices and made them dependent on salaries paid by the State. The monasteries and convents were also, when called upon, to give up their property to meet the needs of the State.[1]

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[1] The medieval monastic orders, feeble and often degenerate, still continued to exist in France at the opening of the Revolution — Benedictines, Carthusians,

The National Assembly a little later ordered inventories to be made of the lands and buildings and various sources of revenue which the bishops, priests, and monks had so long enjoyed, and then the Church property was offered for sale. Meanwhile, to supply an empty treasury, the Assembly determined to issue a paper currency for which the newly acquired lands would serve as security. Of these *assignats*, as this paper money was called, we hear a great deal during the revolutionary period. They soon began to depreciate, and ultimately a great part of the forty billions of francs issued during the next seven years was repudiated.

After depriving the Church of its property the Assembly deemed it necessary to reorganize it completely, and drew up the so-called Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The one hundred and thirty-four ancient bishoprics, some of which dated back to the Roman Empire, were reduced to eighty-three, so as to correspond with the new "departments" into which France had just been divided. Each of these became the diocese of

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Cistercians, Franciscans, Dominicans. The State still recognized the solemn vows of poverty taken by the monks and viewed them as incapable of holding any property or receiving any bequests. Moreover, it regarded it as its duty to arrest a runaway monk and restore him to his monastery. The National Assembly, shortly after declaring the property of the monasteries at the disposal of the nation, refused (February 13, 1790) longer legally to recognize perpetual monastic vows, and abolished all the orders which required them. The monks and nuns were to be free to leave their monasteries and were, in that case, to receive a pension from the government of from seven hundred to twelve hundred francs. Those, however, who preferred to remain were to be grouped in such houses as the government assigned them. In a year or so a good many of the monks appear to have deserted their old life, but very few of the nuns. Those who remained were naturally the most conservative of all; they opposed the Revolution and sided with the nonjuring clergy. This made them very unpopular with the Legislative Assembly, which in August, 1792, ordered all the monasteries to be vacated and turned over to the government for its use. At the same time it abolished all the other religious communities and associations, such as the Oratorians and the Sisters of Charity, which, without requiring any solemn vows, had devoted themselves to teaching or to charitable works. Many of these religious *congregations*, as the French call them, were revived during the course of the nineteenth century and became the cause of a considerable amount of agitation.

a bishop, who was no longer to be appointed by the king and confirmed by the Pope[1] but was looked upon as a government official, to be elected, like other government officials, by the people, and paid a regular salary. The priests too were to be chosen by the people instead of by the bishop or lord of the manor, as formerly; and their salaries were to be substantially increased. In Paris they were to have six thousand francs, in smaller places less, but never an amount below twelve hundred francs; even in the smallest villages they received over twice the minimum paid under the old régime. Lastly, it was provided that clergymen, upon accepting office, must all take an oath, like other government officials, to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to "maintain with all their might the constitution decreed by the Assembly."

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy proved a serious mistake. Although the half-feudalized Church had sadly needed reform, the worst of its abuses might have been remedied without overturning the whole system, which was hallowed in the minds of most of the French people by age and religious veneration. The arbitrary suppression of fifty-one bishoprics; the election of the bishops by the ordinary voters, who included Protestants, Jews, and unbelievers; the neglect of the Pope's rights,—all shocked and alienated thousands of those who had hitherto enthusiastically applauded the reforms which the Assembly had effected. The king gave his assent to the Civil Constitution, but with the fearful apprehension that he might be losing his soul by so doing. From that time on he became an enemy of the Revolution on religious grounds.

The bishops, with very few exceptions, opposed the changes and did all that they could to prevent the reforms from being carried out. Accordingly (November 27, 1790) the irritated

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[1] See pages 234 f. The decrees that abolished the feudal system (August 11, 1789) had already prohibited all remittances to the Pope in the shape of *annates* or other payments. The bishoprics were grouped into ten districts, each of which was presided over by a "metropolitan," who corresponded to the former archbishop.

Assembly ordered all the bishops and priests to take the oath to the Constitution (which, of course, included the new laws in regard to the Church) within a week. Those who refused were to be regarded as having resigned; and if any of them still continued to perform their functions, they were to be treated as "disturbers of the peace."

Only four of the bishops consented to take the required oath and but a third of the lower clergy, although they were much better off under the new system. Forty-six thousand of the parish priests refused to sacrifice their religious scruples. Before long the Pope condemned the Civil Constitution and forbade the clergy to take the oath. As time went on, the "nonjuring" clergy were dealt with more and more harshly by the government. The Revolution ceased to stand for liberty, order, and the abolition of medieval customs, and came to mean—in the minds of many besides those who had lost their former privileges—irreligion, violence, and a new kind of oppression more cruel than the old.

A year after the fall of the Bastille a great festival was held in Paris to celebrate the glorious anniversary, which has been commemorated on the fourteenth of July ever since. Delegates were sent to Paris from all parts of France to express the sympathy of the country at large. This occasion made a deep impression upon all, as well it might. It was more than a year later, however, before the National Assembly at last finished its work and dissolved, to give place to the Legislative Assembly for which the constitution provided.

Thus the National Assembly spent but a little more than two years upon its tremendous task of modernizing France. No body of men has ever accomplished so much in so short a period. The English Parliament, during an existence of five hundred years, had done far less to reform England; and no monarch, with the possible exception of the unhappy Joseph II, has ever even attempted to make such deep and far-reaching changes as were achieved by the first French Assembly.

Discrediting of Monarchy

Despite the marvelous success of the Assembly, as measured by the extent and decisiveness of its reforms, it had made many and dangerous enemies. The king and queen and the courtiers were in correspondence with the king of Prussia and the Emperor, with a hope of inducing them to intervene to check the Revolution. The runaway nobles were ready to call in foreign forces to restore the old system, and many of the clergy now looked upon the Revolution as hostile to religion. Moreover, the populace in Paris and in other large towns had been aroused against the Assembly by their radical leaders, their newspapers, and the political clubs. They felt that the deputies had worked only for the prosperous classes and had done little for the poor people, who should have been supplied with bread and allowed to vote. They were irritated also by the national guard commanded by that ex-noble, the Marquis of Lafayette, who looked altogether too fine on his white horse. The members of the guard were also well dressed and seemed disposed to fire on the "patriots" if they dared to make a demonstration. Altogether it is easy to see that there was trouble ahead. The Revolution had gone much too far for some and not far enough for others.

The count of Artois (the king's younger brother), Calonne, the prince of Condé, and others of the disgruntled nobles, set the example by leaving the country just after the events of July 14, 1789. They were followed by many who were terrified or disgusted by the burning of the châteaux, the loss of their privileges, and the complete abolition of hereditary nobility by the National Assembly in June, 1790. Before long these emigrant nobles (*émigrés*), among whom were many military officers like Condé, organized a little army across the Rhine, and the count of Artois began to plan an invasion of France. He was ready to ally himself with Austria, Prussia, or any other foreign government which he could induce to help undo the Revolution and give back to the French king his former absolute power, and to the nobles their old privileges.

The threats and insolence of the emigrant nobles and their shameful negotiations with foreign powers discredited those members of their class who still remained in France. The people suspected that the plans of the runaways met with the secret approval of the king, and more especially of the queen, whose brother, Leopold II, was now Emperor, and ruler of the Austrian dominions. This, added to the opposition of the nonjuring clergy, produced a bitter hostility between the so-called "patriots" and those who, on the other hand, were supposed to be secretly hoping for a counter-revolution which would reëstablish the old régime.

Had the king been willing to follow the advice of Mirabeau, the tragedy of the approaching Reign of Terror might have been avoided. France needed a strong king who would adjust himself to the new constitution, guide the Assembly, maintain order in Paris and the other great cities, and, above all, avoid any suspicion of wishing for a restoration of the old régime; but Louis XVI was not the man for that task. Mirabeau saw clearly that the welfare of France at this juncture depended upon strengthening the monarchy. His efforts to forward this end were, however, unavailing. The fact that he accepted money from the king for advice roused the natural suspicions of the radical members of the Assembly, and he was denounced as a traitor. On the other hand, he never really enjoyed the confidence of Louis XVI, who, like the queen, heartily detested him. He died April 2, 1791, at the age of forty-three, worn out by a life of dissipation, and the king was thus left with no one to hold him back from destruction.

Louis now resolved upon a desperate measure: with his family he fled from Paris in June, 1791, hoping to escape from his realm. A body of regular troops was collected on the northeastern boundary ready to receive and protect him. If he could escape and join them at Montmédy, which was just on the frontier, about a hundred and seventy miles from Paris, he hoped that, aided by a demonstration on the part of the queen's brother, Leopold, he might march back and at least check the further progress of the revolutionary movement. He had, it is true, no liking for the emigrants and disapproved of their policy, nor did he believe that the old régime could ever be restored. But, unfortunately for him, his plans led him to attempt to reach the boundary just at the point where the emigrants were collected, that is, at Coblenz and Worms. He and the queen were, however, arrested at Varennes, when within twenty-five miles of their destination, and speedily brought back to Paris.

When the news of the capture of the king and queen at Varennes reached the ears of Marie Antoinette's brother, Leopold, he declared that the violent arrest of the king sealed with unlawfulness all that had been done in France and "compromised directly the honor of all the sovereigns and the security of every government." He therefore proposed to the rulers of Russia, England, Prussia, Spain, Naples, and Sardinia that they should come to some understanding among themselves as to how they might "reëstablish the liberty and honor of the most Christian king and his family, and place a check upon the dangerous excesses of the French Revolution, the fatal example of which it behooves every government to repress."

On August 27, Leopold, in conjunction with the king of Prussia, had issued the famous Declaration of Pillnitz. In this the two sovereigns state that, in accordance with the wishes of the king's brothers (the leaders of the emigrant nobles), they are ready to join the other European rulers in an attempt to place the king of France in a position to establish a form of government "that shall be once more in harmony with the rights of sovereigns and shall promote the welfare of the French nation." They agreed in the meantime to prepare their troops for active service.

The Declaration was little more than an empty threat; but it seemed to the French people a sufficient proof that the monarchs were ready to help the seditious French nobles to reestablish the old régime against the wishes of the nation and at the cost of infinite bloodshed. The idea of foreign rulers intermeddling with their internal affairs would in itself have been intolerable to a proud people like the French, even if the new reforms had not been endangered. Had it been the object of the allied monarchs to hasten instead of to prevent the deposition of Louis XVI, they could hardly have chosen a more efficient means than the Declaration of Pillnitz.

The desertion of the king appears to have terrified rather than angered the nation. The consternation of the people at the thought of losing, and their relief at regaining, a poor, weak ruler like Louis XVI clearly shows that France was still profoundly royalist in its sympathies. The National Assembly pretended that the king had not fled but had been carried off. This gratified France at large; in Paris, however, there were some who advocated the deposition of the king, on the ground that he was clearly a traitor. Indeed, for the first time a *republican* party, small as yet, made its appearance, and urged the complete abolition of the monarchical form of government and the substitution of a democracy.

Of those who had lost confidence in the king and in the monarchy, the most prominent was Dr. Marat, a physician and scholar, who before the Revolution had published several scientific works, but was now conducting the very violent newspaper already quoted, *The Friend of the People*. In this he denounced in the most extravagant language both the "aristocrats" and the "bourgeoisie"—for by "the people" he meant the great mass of workingmen in the towns and the peasants in the fields. Then there was the gentle and witty Camille Desmoulins, who on July 12, 1789, had made the famous address, in the Palais Royal, which had roused the populace to defend themselves against the plots of the courtiers. He too edited a newspaper and was a leader in the radical club called the *Cordeliers*.[1] Lastly Desmoulins's good friend Danton, with his coarse, strong face, his big voice, and his fiery eloquence, was becoming a sort of Mirabeau of the masses. He had much good sense and was not so virulent in his language as Marat, but his exuberant vitality led him to condone violence and cruelty in carrying on the Revolution and crushing its enemies.

Under the influence of these men a petition was drawn up demanding that the Assembly should regard the king as having abdicated by his flight, and that a new convention should be called to draw up a better constitution. On July 17 this petition was taken to the Champ de Mars (a great open space used for military maneuvers, where the festival had been held during the previous July), and here the people of Paris were called together to sign it. The mayor of Paris disapproved of the affair and decided to disperse the people. He marched out with Lafayette and the national guard and ordered the petitioners to go home. Unhappily the crowd did not take the warnings of the mayor seriously; some stones were thrown at the troops, who were thereupon ordered to fire, and a number of men, women, and children were killed. This unfortunate and quite needless "Massacre of the Champ de Mars" served to weaken the monarchy still further. It was not forgotten, although the king remained on the throne for a year longer, and Marat, Danton, and Desmoulins were intimidated and thought it prudent to remain in hiding for a time.

Political excitement and enthusiasm for the Revolution were kept up by the newspapers which had been established, especially in Paris, since the convening of the Estates-General. Except in England there had been no daily newspapers before the French Revolution, and those journals that were issued

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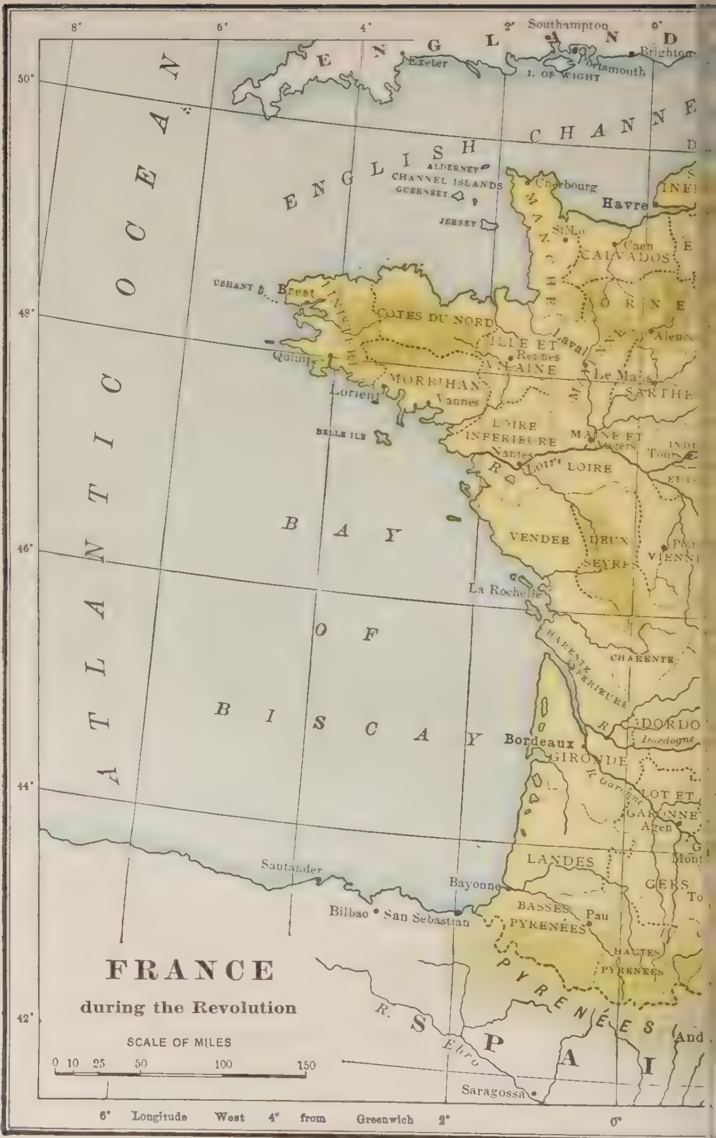
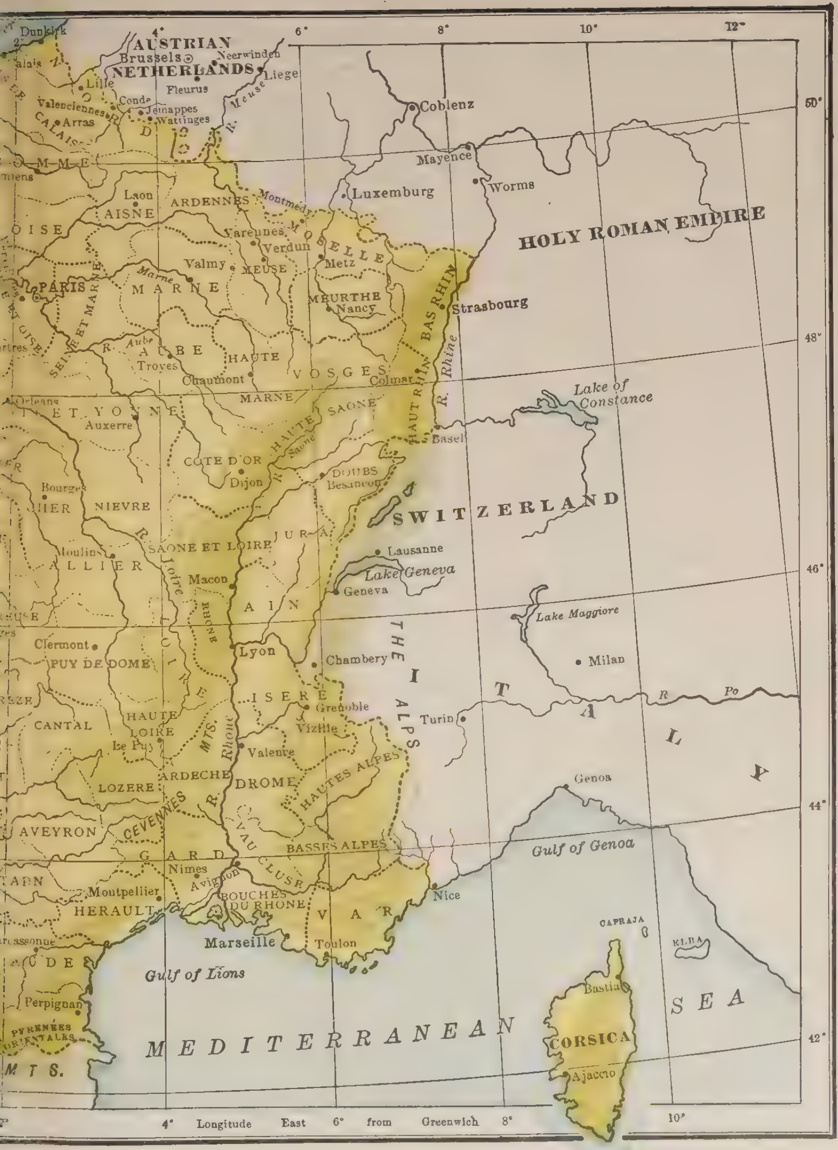
[1] So named after the monastery where the club held its meetings. The monks had belonged to the order of St. Francis, and were called *Cordeliers* on account of the heavy "cord," a rope with three knots, which they wore instead of a girdle.



FRANCE

during the Revolution


AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
Dunkirk
Brussels
Neerwinden
Liege
Lille
Fleurus
Conde
Jemappes
Wattinges
Valenciennes
Arras
R. Meuse
Coblenz
Mayence
Worms
Luxemburg
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Laon
AISNE
ARDENNES
Montmedy
OISE
Varennes
Verdun
MOSELLE
Metz
Valmy
MEUSE
PARIS
MARNE
R. Marne
SEINE ET MARNE
MEURTHE
Nancy
BAS RHIN
Strasbourg
R. Rhine
AUBE
R. Aube
Troyes
HAUTE MARNE
Chaumont
VOSGES
Colmar
HAUT RHIN
Lake of Constance
Orleans
YONNE
Auxerre
HAUTE SAONE
R. Saone
Basel
COTE D'OR
Dijon
DOUBS
Besancon
Bourges
NIEVRE
SWITZERLAND
JURA
Lausanne
Lake Geneva
Geneva
SAONE ET LOIRE
R. Loire
Moulins
ALLIER
Macon
AIN
RHONE
THE ALPS
Lake Maggiore
Clermont
PUY DE DOME
LOIRE
Lyon
Chambery
Milan
ISERE
Grenoble
Vizille
Turin
ITALY
R. Po
CANTAL
HAUTE LOIRE
Le Puy
R. Rhone
Valence
HAUTES ALPES
DROME
Genoa
LOZERE
ARDECHE
CEVENNES MTS.
AVEYRON
VAUCLUSE
BASSES ALPES
Gulf of Genoa
GARD
Nimes
Avignon
TARN
Montpellier
HERAULT
BOUCHES DU RHONE
VAR
Nice
Marseille
Toulon
CAPRAJA
ELBA
Carcassonne
AUDE
Gulf of Lions
Bastia
Perpignan
SEA
PYRENEES ORIENTALES
MEDITERRANEAN
CORSICA
MTS.
Ajaccio
4°
6°
8°
10°
12°
50°
48°
46°
44°
42°
Longitude East from Greenwich

weekly or at longer intervals had little to say of politics—commonly a dangerous subject on the Continent. But after 1789 the public did not need longer to rely upon an occasional pamphlet, as had been the case earlier. Many journals of the most divergent kinds and representing the most various opinions were published. Some, like the notorious *Friend of the People,* were no more than a periodical editorial written by one man. Others, like the famous *Moniteur*, were much like our papers of today and contained news, both foreign and domestic, reports of the debates in the Assembly and the text of its decrees, announcements of theaters, etc. The royalists had their organ, called *The Acts of the Apostles*, witty and irreverent as the court party itself. Some of the papers were illustrated, and the representations of contemporaneous events, especially the numerous caricatures, are highly diverting.[1]

The French Revolution leads to European Wars

Inevitably the action of the emigrant nobles, the attempted flight of the king, and the agitation of the extremists had a deep effect upon the first elections held under the constitution completed in September, 1791. After it was approved by the king, who solemnly promised to obey it, the voters were called upon to choose representatives to the legislature for which the constitution provided. On October 1 the new Legislative Assembly met to face difficult tasks for which its members were poorly prepared. It consisted almost entirely of young and inexperienced men; for the National Assembly, on motion of the virtuous Robespierre, had passed a self-denying ordinance excluding all its members from election to the new body.

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[1] For example, in one of the caricatures, the formerly despotic king is represented as safely confined by the National Assembly in a huge parrot cage. When asked by his brother-in-law, Leopold II, what he is about, Louis XVI replies, "I am signing my name"—that is, he had nothing to do except meekly to ratify the measures which the Assembly chose to pass.

Among the factions in the new Assembly none was destined to play a more important rôle than the Jacobins. This group had originated in the days of the National Assembly. When that assembly moved from Versailles into Paris, some of the provincial representatives of the third estate rented a large room in the monastery of the Jacobin monks, not far from the building where the National Assembly itself met. A hundred deputies, perhaps, were present at the first meeting. The next day the number had doubled. The aim of this society was to discuss questions which were about to come before the National Assembly. The club decided at its meetings what should be the policy of its members and how they should vote; and in this way they successfully combined to counteract the schemes of the aristocratic party in the Assembly. The club rapidly grew, and soon admitted to its sessions some who were not deputies. In October, 1791, it decided to permit the public to attend its discussions.

Gradually similar societies were formed in the provinces. These affiliated themselves with the "mother" society at Paris and kept in constant communication with it.[1] In this way the Jacobins of Paris stimulated and controlled public opinion throughout France and kept the opponents of the old régime alert. When the Legislative Assembly met, the Jacobins had not as yet become republicans, but they believed that the king should have hardly more power than the president of a republic. They were even ready to promote his deposition if he failed to stand by the Revolution.

Another important faction in the Legislative Assembly was led by some young and ardent lawyers, among whom the most prominent were from the department of the Gironde, in which the city of Bordeaux is situated. They and their followers were called Girondists. They had much to say, in their brilliant speeches, of the glories of Sparta and of the Roman Republic;

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[1] By June, 1791, there were four hundred and six of these affiliated Jacobin clubs.

they too longed for a republic and inveighed against "tyrants." They applauded the eloquence of their chief orator, Vergniaud, and frequently assembled at the house of the ardent and fascinating Madame Roland to consider the regeneration of their beloved country. But in spite of their enthusiasm they were not statesmen and showed no skill in meeting the troublesome problems that kept arising.

The Assembly, not unnaturally, promptly turned its attention to the emigrant nobles. These had been joined by the king's brother, the count of Provence, who had managed to escape at the time that the royal family had been arrested at Varennes. Having succeeded in inducing the Emperor and the king of Prussia to issue the Declaration of Pillnitz, they continued to collect troops on the Rhine. The Assembly declared that "the Frenchmen assembled on the frontier" were under suspicion of conspiring against their country. The count of Provence was ordered to return within two months or forfeit any possible claim to the throne. Should the other *émigrés* fail to return to France by January 1, 1792, they were to be regarded as convicted traitors and punished, if caught, with death; their property was to be confiscated.

The harsh treatment of the emigrant nobles was perhaps justified by their desertion and treasonable intrigues; but the conduct of the Assembly toward the clergy was impolitic as well as harsh. Those who had refused to pledge themselves to support a system which was in conflict with their religious convictions and which had been condemned by the Pope were commanded to take the prescribed oath within a week, on penalty of losing their income from the State and being put under surveillance as "suspects." As this failed to bring the clergy to terms, the Assembly later (May, 1792) ordered the deportation from the country of those who steadily persisted in their refusal to accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. In this way the Assembly aroused the active hostility of a great part of the most conscientious among the lower clergy, who had loyally supported the commons in their fight against the privileged orders. It lost, also, the confidence of a great mass of faithful Catholics—merchants, artisans, and peasants—who had gladly accepted the abolition of the old abuses, but who would not consent to desert their priests at the bidding of the Assembly.

By far the most important act of the Legislative Assembly during the one year of its existence was its precipitation of a war between France and Austria. To many in the Assembly, including the Girondists, it seemed that the existing conditions were intolerable. The emigrant nobles were forming little armies on the boundaries of France and had even induced Austria and Prussia to consider interfering in French affairs. The Assembly suspected—what was quite true—that Louis was negotiating with foreign rulers and would be glad to have them intervene and reëstablish him in his old despotic power. The Girondist deputies argued, therefore, that a war against the hated Austria would unite the sympathies of the nation and force the king to show his true character; for he would be obliged either to become the nation's leader or to show himself the traitor they believed him to be.

It was with a heavy heart that Louis XVI, urged on by the clamors of the Girondists, declared war upon Austria on April 20, 1792. Little did the ardent young lawyers of the Assembly surmise that this was the beginning of the most terrific and momentous series of wars that had ever swept over Europe, involving, during twenty-three years of almost continuous conflict, every country and people from Ireland to Turkey and from Norway to Naples. Although the Girondist leaders, Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, and their friend Madame Roland, were the first to be destroyed by the storm they had conjured up, could they have looked forward they would have been consoled to see that the tyrants they hated never permanently regained their old power; that the long wars served to bring the principles of the French Revolution home to all the European peoples, everywhere slowly but surely destroyed the old régime, and gave to the people the liberty and the control of the government which the Girondists had so hotly defended.

The French army was in no condition for war. The officers, who, according to the law, were all nobles, had many of them deserted and joined the *émigrés*. The regular troops were consequently demoralized, and the new national guard had not yet been employed except to maintain order in the towns. Naturally Dumouriez, the Girondist minister of war, turned his attention first to the Austrian Netherlands, which promised to be an easy conquest. The reforms of Joseph II and his attempt to make the Netherlands an integral part of the Austrian state had aroused a revolt in 1790. It is true that when Leopold II came to the throne and undid his brother's rash changes, all resistance had subsided. Still, there was a strong party in the Netherlands which greeted the French Revolution with enthusiasm, and Dumouriez had good reason to think that the attempts made a century before by Louis XIV to add that region to France might at last be successful. But the raw troops that he collected for the invasion of Belgium ran away as soon as they caught sight of Austrian cavalry. The emigrant nobles rejoiced, and Europe concluded that the "patriots" were made of poor stuff.

Meanwhile matters were going badly for the king of France. The Assembly had passed two bills, one ordering those priests who refused to take the oath to the constitution to leave the country within a month; the other directing the formation, just without the walls of Paris, of a camp of twenty thousand volunteers from various parts of France as a protection to the capital. The king resolved, for very good reasons, to veto both these measures and to dismiss his Girondist ministry, with the exception of Dumouriez, his really able minister of war, who immediately resigned.

All this served to make the king far more unpopular than ever. The "Austrian woman," or "Madame Veto," as the queen was called, was rightly believed to be actively betraying France, and it is now known that she did send to Austria the plan of campaign which had been adopted before the war began. On June 20 some of the lesser leaders of the Paris populace resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the Tennis Court oath. They arranged a procession which was permitted to march through the Riding-school, where the Assembly sat.

The ensigns of the mob were a calf's heart on the point of a pike, labeled "the heart of an aristocrat," and a pair of knee breeches representing the older costume of a gentleman, which was now going out of fashion since the Girondists, in order to exhibit their democratic sentiments, had adopted the long trousers which had hitherto been worn solely by workingmen. To give up knee breeches and become a *sans-culotte*, or breeches-less patriot, had come to be considered an unmistakable indication of love for the Revolution.

After visiting the Assembly the crowd found their way into the neighboring palace of the Tuileries. They wandered through the beautiful apartments shouting, "Down with Monsieur Veto!" The king might have been killed by some ruffian had he not consented to drink to the health of the "nation"—whose representatives were roughly crowding him into the recess of a window—and to put on a red "liberty cap," the badge of the "citizen patriots."

This invasion of the Tuileries seemed to the European rulers a new and conclusive proof that the Revolution meant anarchy. Had not the populace of Paris treated the king of France as they might have disported themselves with a poor drunken fellow in the street? Prussia had immediately joined Austria when France declared war against the latter in April, and now the army which Frederick the Great had led to victory was moving, under his old general, the duke of Brunswick, toward the French boundary with a view to restoring Louis XVI to his former independent position.

The Assembly declared the country in danger. Every citizen, whether in town or country, was to report, under penalty of imprisonment, what arms or munitions he possessed. The national guards were to select from their ranks those who could best join the active army. Every citizen was ordered to wear the tricolored cockade—the red, white, and blue of the Revolution. In this way the peasants, who had been accustomed to regard war as a matter of purely personal interest to kings, were given to understand that they were not now called upon to risk their lives, as formerly, because the Polish king had lost his throne, or because Maria Theresa had a grudge against Frederick the Great. If they were to shed their blood, it would be to keep out of France two "tyrants" who proposed to force them to surrender the precious reforms of the past three years and restore to the hated runaway nobles their former privileges.

As the allies approached the French frontier it became clearer and clearer that the king was utterly incapable of defending the country, even if he were willing to oppose the armies which claimed to be coming to his rescue and with which he was believed to be in league. France seemed almost compelled under the circumstances to rid herself of her dubious and utterly incompetent ruler. The duke of Brunswick, who was in command of the Prussian army, sealed the king's fate by issuing a manifesto in the name of both the Emperor and the king of Prussia, in which he declared that the allies proposed to put an end to anarchy in France and restore the king to his rightful powers; that the inhabitants of France who dared to oppose the Austrian and Prussian troops "shall be punished immediately according to the most stringent laws of war, and their houses shall be burned." If Paris offered the least violence to king or queen, or again permitted the Tuileries to be invaded, the allies promised to "inflict an ever-to-be-remembered vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction."

The leaders in Paris finally determined to force the Assembly to depose the king. Five hundred members of the national guard of Marseille were summoned to their aid. This little troop of "patriots" came marching up through France singing that most stirring of all national hymns, "The Marseillaise," which has ever since borne their name.[1]

Danton and other leaders of the insurrection had set their hearts on doing away with the king altogether and establishing a republic. After careful preparations, which were scarcely concealed, the various sections into which Paris was divided arranged to attack the Tuileries on August 10. The men from Marseille led in this attack. The king, who had already been warned, retired from the palace with the queen and the dauphin to the neighboring Riding-school, where they were respectfully received by the Assembly and assigned a safe place in the newspaper reporters' gallery. The king's Swiss guards fired upon the insurgents, but they were overpowered and almost all of them slain. Thereupon the ruffianly element in the mob ransacked the palace and killed the servants. Napoleon Bonaparte, an unknown lieutenant who was watching affairs from across the river, declared that the palace could easily have been defended had not the commander of the guards been brutally murdered before hostilities opened.[1]

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[1] This famous song was not meant originally as a republican chant. It had been composed a few months before by Rouget de Lisle at Strasbourg. War had just been declared, and it was designed to give heart to the French army on the Rhine. The "tyrants" it refers to were the foreign kings Frederick William II of Prussia and the Emperor, who were attacking France, not Louis XVI. "The Marseillaise" begins as follows:

Allons, enfants de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé!
Contre nous de la tyrannie
L'étendard sanglant est levé. [Repeat]
Entendez-vous dans les campagnes
Mugir ces féroces soldats?
Ils viennent jusque dans nos bras
Égorger nos fils, nos compagnes!
Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons!
Marchons, marchons!
Qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

Que veut cette horde d'esclaves,
De traîtres, de rois conjurés?
Pour qui ces ignobles entraves,
Ces fers dès longtemps préparés? [Repeat]
Français, pour nous, ah! quel outrage!

. . . . . .

Meanwhile the representatives of the various quarters of Paris had taken possession of the City Hall. They pushed the members of the municipal council off their seats and took their places. In this way a new revolutionary *commune* was formed, which seized the government of the capital and then sent messengers to demand that the Assembly dethrone the king.

The Assembly refused to abolish kingship, but "suspended" the monarch and placed him under guard. It viewed the attack on the Tuileries merely as a reply to the threats of the allies, and endeavored to reassure Europe by proclaiming that France had no idea of making any conquests, but desired to secure the brotherhood of mankind. To illustrate this universal brotherhood, the privileges of French citizenship were conferred upon a number of distinguished foreigners,—Priestley, Wilberforce, Schiller, Washington, and Kosciusko among others. The suffrage in France, which had been limited by the previous Assembly to the citizens who could pay taxes equal to three days' labor, was extended to all, rich and poor alike. Lastly, a new ministry was formed in which Danton, the most conspicuous leader in the insurrection which had just taken place, was made minister of justice.

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[1] Of the many patriotic songs which express the spirit of the people during the Revolution, the famous "Carmagnole," which deals with the events of August 10, may be cited. It begins:

Madame Veto avait promis,
Madame Veto avait promis,
De faire égorger tout Paris,
De faire égorger tout Paris.
Mais le coup a manqué
Grâce à nos canonniers!
Dansons la Carmagnole!
Vive le son, vive le son,
Dansons la Carmagnole,
Vive le son
Du canon!

Three days later a decree which had been proposed by Vergniaud was passed, summoning a *national convention* to draft a new constitution. Although a great part of France was still loyal to the monarchy, it was evident that under the circumstances this convention would be forced to establish a republic. What else could it do? The king and queen were in league with the foreign enemy whom the king's two brothers had induced to invade France. The natural heir to the throne was a boy of seven to whose weak hands it was impossible to intrust the public welfare. These were strong arguments for the republican leaders and newspaper editors, especially as they had behind them the resolute insurrectionary commune of Paris. France must find a substitute for her ancient kings, who had come to seem little better than the feudal lords of whom they had been, after all, the chief. In short, the monarchical constitution which had not yet been in force a year was already an anachronism.

So the Legislative Assembly gave way to the Convention, whose task was truly appalling, since it had not only to draft a new constitution to suit both monarchists and republicans, but to conduct the government, repel invading armies, deal with the Paris mob,—in a word, see France through the Reign of Terror.

France becomes a Republic

When the Convention met on September 21, two grave problems confronted it. It had to decide upon a form of government, including the fate of the king; and it had to organize for national defense. The first step was quickly taken. As soon as the Convention assembled, it abolished the ancient monarchy and proclaimed France a republic. It seemed to the enthusiasts of the time that a new era of liberty had dawned, now that the long oppression by "despots" was ended forever. The twenty-second day of September, 1792, was reckoned as the first day of the Year I of French Liberty.[1]

For a time the fate of the king was left undecided, because the factions in the Convention were divided on the matter. Meanwhile the extremists in Paris grew bolder and more numerous. In September, shortly after the declaration of the republic, they took the law into their own hands and committed one of the most atrocious acts in history. On the pretext that Paris was full of traitors who sympathized with the Austrians and the emigrant nobles, they had filled the prisons with three thousand citizens, including many of the priests who had refused to take the oath required by the Constitution. On September 2 and 3, hundreds of these were executed with scarcely a pretense of a trial. The excuse offered was, "How can we go away to the war and leave behind us three thousand prisoners who may break out and destroy our wives and our children!" The members of the commune who perpetrated this deed probably hoped to terrify those who might still dream of returning to the old system of government.

The extremists in the Convention determined to bring the king to book. They urged that he was guilty of treason in secretly encouraging the foreign powers to come to his aid; and they finally brought him to trial. By a small majority, on the final vote, Louis was found guilty and condemned to death. He mounted the scaffold on January 21, 1793, with the fortitude of a martyr. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that, through his earlier weakness and indecision, he brought untold misery upon his own kingdom and upon Europe at large. The French people had not dreamed of a republic until his absolute incompetence forced them, in self-defense, to abolish the monarchy in the hope of securing a more efficient government.

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[1] A committee of the Convention was appointed to draw up a new republican calendar. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each. The five days preceding September 22, at the end of the year, were holidays. Each month was divided into three *décades*, and each tenth day (*décadi*) was a holiday. The days were no longer dedicated to saints but to agricultural implements, vegetables, domestic animals, etc.

In the midst of these terrible domestic events the Convention had to defend the new republic against redoubtable foreign foes. Late in August, 1792, the Prussians crossed the French boundary and on September 2 took the fortress of Verdun. It now seemed as if there were nothing to prevent their marching upon Paris. The French general, Dumouriez, blocked the advance of the Prussian army, however, at Valmy, scarcely a hundred miles from the capital, and forced the enemy to retreat without fighting a pitched battle. Notwithstanding his fear of the French, King Frederick William II of Prussia (who had succeeded his uncle, Frederick the Great, six years before) had but little interest in the war. As for the Austrian troops, they were lagging far behind. Both powers were much more absorbed in a second partition of Poland, which was approaching, than in the fate of the French king (see pages 159 f.).

The French were able, therefore, in spite of their disorganization, not only to expel the Prussians but to carry the Revolution beyond the bounds of France. They invaded Germany and took several important towns on the Rhine, including Mainz, which gladly opened its gates to them. Besides, they occupied Savoy, on the southeast. Then Dumouriez led his barefooted, ill-equipped volunteers into the Austrian Netherlands. This time they did not run away, but, shouting "The Marseillaise," they defeated the Austrians at Jemappes (on November 6) and were very soon in possession of the whole country.

The Convention now proposed to use its armies to revolutionize Europe. It issued a proclamation addressed to the peoples of the countries that France was occupying: "We have driven out your tyrants. Show yourselves freemen and we will protect you from their vengeance." Feudal dues, unjust taxes, and all the burdens which had been devised by the "tyrants" were forthwith abolished, and the French nation declared that it would treat as enemies every people who, "refusing liberty and equality, or renouncing them, may wish to maintain or recall its prince or the privileged classes."

Nowhere did the execution of Louis XVI produce more momentous results than in England. George III went into mourning and ordered the French envoy to be expelled from the kingdom; even Pitt, forgetting the work of Cromwell and the Puritan revolutionists, declared the killing of the French king to be the most awful and atrocious crime in all recorded history. All of England's old fears of French aggression were aroused. It was clear that the Republic was bent upon carrying out the plans of Louis XIV for annexing the Austrian Netherlands and Holland and thereby extending her frontiers to the Rhine. Indeed, there was no telling where the excited nation, in its fanatical hatred of kings, would stop.

On February 1 Pitt made a speech in the House of Commons in which he accused the French of having broken their promises not to conquer their neighbors or mix in their affairs. They had seized the Austrian Netherlands and declared the river Scheldt open to commerce, though it had been closed by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) in the interests of the Dutch ports. They had already occupied Savoy and now threatened Holland. They loudly proclaimed their intention to free all peoples from the dominion of their rulers. Consequently the Revolution was, Pitt urged, incompatible with the peace of Europe, and England must in honor join the allies and save Europe from falling under the yoke of France.[1]

On the same day that Pitt made his speech, the French Convention boldly declared war upon England and Holland on the ground that "the king of England has not ceased, especially since the Revolution of August 10, 1792, to give the French nation proofs of his ill will and his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads." He had expelled the French envoy, flooded France with forged *assignats*, prevented grain from reaching French ports, and drawn the "servile" Dutch stadholder into an alliance against France. In thus rashly challenging Great Britain the French could not have foreseen that England was to prove their most persistent enemy. For over twenty years the struggle was to continue, until an English ship carried Napoleon Bonaparte to his island prison. When, in March, 1793, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire joined the coalition, France was at war with all her neighbors.

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[1] Many Englishmen sympathized with the Revolution. Against Pitt's arguments some of the Whigs, especially Fox, recalled in vain the bloody manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, which had maddened the French, and the atrocious conduct of the allies in the partition of Poland upon which they were just then engaged.

The Austrians defeated Dumouriez at Neerwinden, March 18, and drove the French out of the Netherlands. Thereupon Dumouriez, disgusted by the failure of the Convention to support him and by its execution of the king, and angered by the outrageous manner in which its commissioners levied contributions from the people to whom they had brought "liberty," deserted to the enemy with a few hundred soldiers who consented to follow him.

Encouraged by this success, the allies began to consider partitioning France. Austria might take the northern regions for herself and then assign Alsace and Lorraine to Bavaria in exchange for the Bavarian territory on her boundaries, which Austria had long wished to annex. England could have Dunkirk and what remained of the French colonies. A Russian diplomat suggested that Spain and the king of Sardinia should also help themselves. "This done, let us all work in concert to give what remains of France a stable and permanent monarchical government. She will in this way become a second-rate power which will harm no one, and we shall get rid of this democratic firebrand which threatens to set Europe aflame."

The loss of the Netherlands and the desertion of their best general made a deep impression upon the members of the Convention. If the new French Republic was to defend itself against the "tyrants" without and its many enemies within, it could not wait for the Convention to draw up an elaborate, permanent constitution. An efficient government must be devised immediately, to maintain the loyalty of the nation to the Republic and to raise and equip armies and direct their commanders. The Convention accordingly put the government into the hands of a small committee, consisting originally of nine, later of twelve, of its members. This famous Committee of Public Safety was given practically unlimited powers. "We must," one of the leaders exclaimed, "establish the despotism of liberty in order to crush the despotism of kings."

Within the Convention itself there was dissension, especially between two groups of active men who came into bitter conflict over the policy to be pursued. There was, first, the party of the Girondists, led by Vergniaud, Brissot, and others. They were enthusiastic republicans and counted among their numbers some speakers of remarkable eloquence. The Girondists had enjoyed the control of the Legislative Assembly in 1792 and had been active in bringing on the war with Austria and Prussia. They hoped in that way to complete the Revolution by exposing the bad faith of the king and his sympathy with the emigrant nobles. They were not, however, men of sufficient decision to direct affairs in the terrible difficulties in which France found herself after the execution of the king. They consequently lost their influence, and a new party, called the Mountain (from the high seats that its members occupied in the Convention), gained the ascendancy.

This was composed of the most vigorous and uncompromising republicans, like Danton, Robespierre, and Saint-Just, who had obtained control of the Jacobin clubs and were supported by the commune of Paris. They believed that the French people had been depraved by the slavery to which their kings had subjected them. Everything, they argued, which suggested the former rule of kings must be wiped out. A new France should be created, in which liberty, equality, and fraternity should take the place of the tyranny of princes, the insolence of nobles, and the impostures of the priests. The leaders of the Mountain held that the mass of the people were by nature good and upright, but that there were a number of adherents of the old system who would, if they could, undo the great work of the Revolution and lead the people back to slavery under king and Church. All who were suspected by the Mountain of having the least sympathy with the nobles or the persecuted priests were branded as "counter-revolutionary." The Mountain was willing to resort to any measures, however shocking, to rid the nation of those suspected of counter-revolutionary tendencies, and its leaders relied upon the populace of Paris to aid them in carrying out their designs.

The Girondists, on the other hand, abhorred the restless populace of Paris and the fanatics who composed the commune of the capital. They argued that Paris was not France, and that it had no right to assume a despotic rule over the nation. They proposed that the commune should be dissolved and that the Convention should remove to another town where they would not be subject to the intimidation of the Paris populace. The Mountain thereupon accused the Girondists of an attempt to break up the Republic, "one and indivisible," by questioning the supremacy of Paris and the duty of the provinces to follow the lead of the capital. The mob, thus encouraged, rose against the Girondists. On June 2, 1793, it surrounded the meeting place of the Convention, and deputies of the commune demanded the expulsion from the Convention of the Girondist leaders, who were placed under arrest.

The conduct of the Mountain and its ally, the Paris commune, now began to arouse opposition in various parts of France, and the country was threatened with civil war at a time when it was absolutely necessary that all Frenchmen should combine in the loyal defense of their country against the invaders who were again approaching its boundaries.

The first and most serious opposition came from the peasants of Brittany, especially in the department of La Vendée.

There the people were still loyal to the monarchy and their priests, and even to the nobles; they refused to send their sons to fight for a republic that had killed their king and was persecuting those clergymen who declined to take an oath which their conscience forbade.

The cities of Marseille and Bordeaux were indignant at the treatment to which the Girondist deputies were subjected in Paris, and they also organized a revolt against the Convention. In the manufacturing city of Lyon the merchants hated the Jacobins and their republic, since the demand for silk and other luxuries produced at Lyon had come from the nobility and clergy, who were now no longer in a position to buy. The prosperous classes were therefore exasperated when the commissioners of the Convention demanded money and troops. The citizens gathered an army of ten thousand men, placed it under a royalist leader, and prepared to bid defiance to the Jacobins who controlled the Convention.

Meanwhile France's enemies were again advancing against her. The Austrians laid siege to the border fortress of Condé, which they captured on July 10, 1793, and two weeks later the English took Valenciennes. In this way the allies gained a foothold in France itself. Once more they were hardly more than a hundred miles away from the capital, and there appeared to be no reason why they should not immediately march upon Paris and wreak the vengeance which the duke of Brunswick had threatened in his proclamation of the previous year. The Prussians had driven the French garrison out of Mainz and were ready to advance into Alsace. Toulon, the great naval station of southern France, now revolted against the Convention. It proclaimed the little dauphin as king, under the title of "Louis XVII," and welcomed the English fleet as an ally.

The French Republic seemed to be lost; but never did a body of men exhibit such marvelous energy as the Committee of Public Safety. Carnot, who was to earn the title of "Organizer of Victory," became a member of the committee in August. He immediately called for a general levy of troops and soon had no less than seven hundred and fifty thousand men. These he divided into thirteen armies which he dispatched against the allies. Each general was accompanied by two "deputies on mission," who were always on the watch lest the commanders desert, as Lafayette had done after August 10, 1792, and Dumouriez a few months later. These Jacobin deputies not only roused the patriotism of the raw recruits, but they let it be known that for a general to lose a battle meant death.

Fortunately for the Convention the allies did not march on Paris; but Austria began occupying the border towns, and the English moved westward to seize the coveted Dunkirk. The French were able to drive off the English and Hanoverians who were besieging Dunkirk, and in October General Jourdan defeated the Austrians at Wattignies. Since Frederick William continued to give his attention mainly to Poland, there was little danger from the duke of Brunswick and his army, so that by the close of 1793 all danger from foreign invasion was over for the time being.

As for the revolt of the cities and of the Vendean peasants, the Committee of Public Safety showed itself able to cope with that danger too. It first turned its attention to Lyon. Some of the troops from the armies on the frontiers were recalled, and the city was bombarded and captured. Thereupon Collot d'Herbois, one of the stanchest believers in terrorism, was sent down to demonstrate to the conquered city what a fearful thing it was to rise against the Mountain. Nearly two thousand persons were executed, or rather massacred, as traitors, within five months. Indeed, the Convention declared its intention to annihilate the great and flourishing city and rename its site Freedville (*Ville-Affranchie*). Happily, a close friend of Robespierre, who was sent to execute this decree, contented himself with destroying forty houses.

Frightened by the awful fate of Lyon, the cities of Bordeaux and Marseille judged it useless to oppose the Convention and admitted its representatives, who executed three or four hundred "traitors" in each place. Toulon held out until an artillery officer hitherto entirely unknown, a young Corsican by the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, suggested occupying a certain promontory in the harbor, from which he was able to train his cannon on the British fleet that was supporting the city. It sailed away with some refugees, leaving the town to the vengeance of the Convention, December 19, 1793.

Although the Vendean peasants fought bravely and defeated several corps of the national guard sent against them, their insurrection was also put down in the autumn—at least for a time—with atrocious cruelty. A representative of the Convention at Nantes had perhaps two thousand Vendean insurgents shot or drowned in the Loire. This was probably the most horrible episode of the Revolution, and was not approved by the Convention, which recalled its bloodthirsty agent, who was finally sent to the scaffold for his crimes.

The Reign of Terror

In spite of the extraordinary success with which the Committee of Public Safety had crushed its opponents at home and repelled the armies of the monarchs who proposed to dismember France, it was clear that the task of rendering the Revolution complete and permanent was by no means accomplished. The revolt of the Vendée and of the cities had shown that there were thousands of Frenchmen who hated the Jacobins. All such were viewed by the Convention as guilty of holding counter-revolutionary sentiments and therefore "suspect." It was argued that anyone who was not an ardent and demonstrative *sans-culotte* might at any time become a traitor. In order to prevent this and force people to be faithful to the Republic, the Convention decided that they must be terrorized by observing the fearful vengeance which the Republic wreaked upon traitors. The Reign of Terror was only a systematic attempt to secure the success of the Revolution by summarily punishing or intimidating its enemies. While it had no definite beginning or end, it lasted, in its more acute stages, for about ten months—from September, 1793, to July, 1794.

Even before the fall of the Girondists a special court had been established in Paris, known as the Revolutionary Tribunal. Its function was to try all those who were suspected of treasonable acts. At first the cases were very carefully considered, and few persons were condemned. In September, after the revolt of the cities, two new men who had been implicated in the September massacres were added to the Committee of Public Safety. They were selected for the particular purpose of intimidating the counter-revolutionary party by bringing all the disaffected to the guillotine.[1] A terrible law was passed, declaring all those to be suspects who by their conduct or remarks had shown themselves enemies of liberty. The former nobles, including the wives, fathers, mothers, and children of the "emigrants," unless they had constantly manifested their attachment to the Revolution, were ordered to be imprisoned.

In October, Marie Antoinette, after a trial in which false and atrocious charges were urged against her in addition to the treasonable acts of which she had been guilty, was executed in Paris. A number of high-minded and distinguished persons, including Madame Roland and a group of Girondists, suffered a like fate. But the most horrible acts of the Reign of Terror were, as has been noted, perpetrated in the provinces, especially at Lyon and Nantes.

It was not long before the members of the radical party who were conducting the government began to disagree among themselves. Danton, a man of fiery zeal for the Republic, who had hitherto enjoyed great popularity with the Jacobins, became tired of bloodshed and convinced that the system of terror was no longer necessary. Camille Desmoulins, another ardent republican, began to attack the harsher Jacobins as he had earlier attacked the unpractical Girondists. He started a witty but very serious little newspaper, called *The Old Cordelier*, in the interest of moderation.

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[1] In former times it had been customary to inflict capital punishment by decapitating the victim with a sword. At the opening of the Revolution a certain Dr. Guillotin recommended a new device, which consisted of a heavy knife sliding downward between two uprights. This instrument, called after him the guillotine, which has until very recently been used in France, was more speedy and certain in its action than the sword in the hands of the executioner.

Desmoulins began by showing that the severities of the Reign of Terror were, after all, as nothing compared with the atrocities of the earlier Roman emperors which one read about in Tacitus. "Vice, pillage, and crime are diseases in republics, whereas rogues are absolutely necessary to the maintenance of a monarchy." In his next issue he ceased to extenuate the work of the guillotine and pleaded for clemency. "You would exterminate all your enemies by the guillotine! What madness! Can you possibly destroy one enemy on the scaffold without making ten others among his family and friends?" The strong and courageous, as Desmoulins urged, had emigrated or else perished at Lyon or in the Vendée. The sick or cowardly who remained were no source of danger. So Terror should no longer be the order of the day, and a committee of clemency should take the place of the revolutionary army that was traveling about the country with a movable guillotine. "This committee of clemency," he said, "will complete the Revolution; for clemency itself is a revolutionary measure, the most efficient of all, when it is wisely dealt out."

On the other hand, the radical leader of the Paris commune, Hébert, had also his newspaper, an obscene sheet which called on the people to complete the Revolution. He proposed that the worship of Reason should be substituted for that of God, and arranged a service in the cathedral of Notre Dame where Reason, in the person of a handsome actress, took her place on the altar.

Robespierre, who was a member of the Committee of Public Safety, sympathized neither with the moderates nor with Hébert and his Goddess of Reason. He himself enjoyed a great reputation for high ideals, republican virtue, and incorruptibility. He and Saint-Just had read their Rousseau with prayerful attention and dreamed of a glorious republic in which there should be neither rich nor poor, in which men and women should live in independence and rear robust and healthy children. These should be turned over to the Republic at five years of age, to be educated in Spartan fashion by the nation; they were to eat together and to live on roots, fruit, vegetables, milk, cheese, bread, and water. The Eternal was to be worshiped in temples; and in these temples, at certain times, every man should be required publicly to state who were his friends. Any man who said he had no friends, or was convicted of ingratitude, was to be banished.

Robespierre was, however, insignificant and unattractive in person and a tiresome speaker. He had none of the magnetism of Danton and none of the wit and charm of Desmoulins. He coldly advocated the execution of these two former associates for attempting to betray the Republic and frustrate the Revolution by their ill-timed moderation. On the other hand, as a deist, he believed that Hébert and his followers were discrediting the Revolution by their atheism. Hence, through his influence, the leaders of both the moderate and the extreme party were arrested and sent to the guillotine (in March and April, 1794).

Robespierre now enjoyed a brief dictatorship. He read in the Convention a report on a system of festivals which were to help regenerate the land by celebrating such abstractions as liberty, equality, glory, immortality, frugality, stoicism, and old age. He had a decree passed proclaiming that the French nation believed in God and the immortality of the soul, and organized a ceremony in honor of the Supreme Being in which he himself assumed a very conspicuous rôle as a sort of high priest of deism. The Convention was so far in sympathy with the aspirations of Robespierre and Saint-Just as to assert that "it is necessary to refashion a people completely if it is to be made free. Its prejudices must be destroyed, its habits changed, its needs limited, its vices eradicated, and its desires purified. Strong forces must be invoked to develop social virtues and repress the passions of men."

In order the more effectively to destroy his enemies and those who opposed his designs for the regeneration of society, Robespierre had the Revolutionary Tribunal divided into four sections (June 10, 1794), so that it could work far more rapidly than hitherto. It could condemn any suspected "enemy of the people" on almost any evidence. The accused were in many cases deprived of counsel, and no witnesses were examined. The result was that in seven weeks thirteen hundred and seventy-six persons were sent to the guillotine in Paris, whereas only eleven hundred and sixty-five had been executed from December 1 of the previous year until the passage of Robespierre's terrible new law in June.

It was, of course, impossible for Robespierre to maintain his power long. Many of his colleagues in the Convention began to fear that they might at any moment follow Danton and Hébert to the guillotine. They did not sympathize very deeply with Robespierre's ideas; as one of the most ardent terrorists said, "Robespierre begins to bore me with his Supreme Being." A conspiracy was formed against him, and the Convention was induced to order his arrest. When, on July 27 (the ninth Thermidor of the new republican calendar), he appeared in the Convention and attempted to speak, he was silenced by cries of "Down with the tyrant!" In his consternation he could not at first recover his voice, whereupon one of the deputies shouted, "The blood of Danton chokes him!" Finally he called upon the commune of Paris to defend him, but the Convention was able to maintain its authority and to send Robespierre and Saint-Just, his fellow idealist, to the guillotine. It is sad enough that two of the most sincere and upright of all the revolutionists should, in their misguided and fanatical efforts to better the condition of their fellow men, have become objects of execration to posterity.

In successfully overthrowing Robespierre the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety had rid the country of the only man who, owing to his popularity and his reputation for uprightness, could have prolonged the Reign of Terror. There was almost an immediate reaction after his death, since the country was weary of executions. The Revolutionary Tribunal henceforth convicted very few indeed of those who were brought before it. It made an exception, however, of those who had themselves been the leaders in the worst atrocities, as, for example, the public prosecutor, who had brought hundreds of victims to the guillotine in Paris, and the terrorists who had ordered the massacres at Nantes and Lyon. Within a few months the Jacobin Club at Paris was closed by the Convention, and the revolutionary commune of Paris abolished.

RECONSIDERATION OF THE REIGN OF TERROR

The importance and nature of the Reign of Terror are so commonly misunderstood that it is worth our while to stop a moment to reconsider it as a whole. When the Estates-General met, the people of France were loyal to their king, but wished to establish a more orderly government; they desired to vote the taxes, to have some share in making the laws, and to abolish the old feudal abuses, including the ancient privileges of the nobility and the clergy. The nobility were frightened and began to run away. The king and queen urged foreign powers to intervene and even tried to escape to join the traitorous emigrant nobles. Austrian and Prussian troops reached the frontier, and the Prussian commander threatened to destroy Paris unless the royal family were given complete liberty. Paris, aided by the men of Marseille, retaliated by deposing the king, and the Convention decided by a narrow majority to execute Louis XVI for treason, of which he was manifestly guilty. In the summer, just as Austria and England were taking the French border fortresses of Condé and Valenciennes, the cities of Lyon, Marseille, and Toulon and the peasants of the Vendée revolted. The necessity of making head against invasion and putting down the insurrection at home led to harsh measures on the part of the Convention and its Committee of Public Safety.

When the immediate danger was dispelled, Robespierre, Saint-Just, and others sought to exterminate the enemies of that utopian republic of which they dreamed and in which every man was to have a fair chance in life. This led to the second phase of the Reign of Terror. To the executions sanctioned by the government must be added the massacres and lynchings perpetrated by mobs or by irresponsible agents of the Convention. Yet Camille Desmoulins was right when he claimed that the blood that had flowed "for the eternal emancipation of a nation of twenty-five millions" was as nothing to that shed by the Roman emperors (and, it may be added, by bishops and kings), often in less worthy causes.

Then it should be remembered that a great part of the French people were nearly or quite unaffected by the Reign of Terror. In Paris very few of the citizens stood in any fear of the guillotine. The city was not the gloomy place that it has been pictured by Dickens and other story-tellers. Never did the inhabitants appear happier than when the country was being purged of the supposed traitors; never were the theaters and restaurants more crowded. The guillotine was making way with the enemies of liberty; so the women wore tiny guillotines as ornaments, and the children were given toy guillotines and amused themselves decapitating the figures of "aristocrats."

Moreover, the Convention had by no means confined its attention during the months of the Reign of Terror to hunting down "suspects" and executing traitors. Its committees had raised a million troops, organized and equipped them with arms, and sent them forth to victory. The reforms outlined by the National Assembly had been developed and carried on. The Convention had worked out a great system of elementary education designed to form the basis of the new republic. It had drafted a new code of laws which should replace the confusion of the ancien régime, though it was left for Napoleon to order its revision and gain the credit of the enterprise. The republican calendar was not destined to survive, but the rational system of weights and measures known as the metric system, which the Convention introduced, has been adopted by most of the nations of continental Europe and is used by men of science in England and America.

In its anxiety to obliterate every suggestion of the old order of things, the Convention went to excess. The old terms of address, *Monsieur* and *Madame*, seemed to smack of the ancien régime and so were replaced by "citizen" and "citizeness." The days were no longer dedicated to Saint Peter, Saint James, Saint Bridget, or Saint Catherine, but to the cow, the horse, celery, the turnip, the harrow, the pitchfork, or other useful creatures or utensils. The Place Louis XV became the Place de la Révolution. Throne Square was rechristened Place of the Overturned Throne. The Convention endeavored to improve the condition of the poor man and deprive the rich of their superfluity. The land which had been taken from the Church and the runaway nobles was sold in small parcels, and the number of small landholders was thus greatly increased. In May, 1793, the Convention tried to keep down the price of grain by passing the Law of the Maximum, which forbade the selling of grain and flour at a higher price than that fixed by each commune. This law was later extended to other forms of food, and worked quite as badly as the grain laws which Turgot had abolished.

The reckless increase of the paper currency, or *assignats*, and the efforts to prevent their depreciation, by laws, which made it a capital offense to refuse to accept them at par, caused infinite confusion. There were about forty billions of francs of these *assignats* in circulation at the opening of the year 1796. At that time it required nearly three hundred francs in paper to procure one in specie.

At last the Convention turned its attention once more to the special work for which it had been summoned in September, 1792, and drew up a constitution for the Republic—the so-called Constitution of the Year III. This was preceded by a "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the Citizen," which summed up, as the first Declaration of Rights had done, the great principles of the Revolution.[1] The law-making power is vested by the Constitution of the Year III in a Legislative Body to be composed of two chambers, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Elders (consisting of two hundred and fifty members). Members of the latter were to be at least forty years old and either married or widowers. Practically all men over twenty-one years of age were permitted to vote for the members of the electoral colleges, which, in turn, chose the members of the Legislative Body. To take the place of a king, a *Directory* composed of five members chosen by the Legislative Body was invested with the executive power. One director was to retire each year, as well as one third of the members of the Legislative Body (a system suggesting that of the United States Senate).

Before the Convention completed the constitution, its enemies had become very strong. The richer classes had once more got the upper hand; they abhorred the Convention which had killed their king and oppressed them, and they favored the reëstablishment of the monarchy without the abuses of the ancien régime. The Convention, fearing for itself and the

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[1] All the duties of man and the citizen are derived, according to this constitution, from two principles which are graven by nature in the hearts of all: "Ne faites pas à autrui ce que vous ne voudriez pas qu'on vous fît. Faites constamment aux autres le bien que vous voudriez en recevoir." This is, after all, only an amplification of the Golden Rule.

Republic, decreed that in the approaching election at least two thirds of the new Legislative Body were to be chosen from the members of the existing Convention. Believing that it could rely upon the armies, it ordered that the constitution should be submitted to the soldiers for ratification and that bodies of troops should be collected near Paris to maintain order during the elections. These decrees roused the anger of the wealthier districts of Paris, which did not hesitate to organize a revolt and prepare to attack the Convention.

The latter, however, chose for its defender that same Napoleon Bonaparte who, after helping to take Toulon, had resigned his commission rather than leave the artillery and join the infantry, as he had been ordered to do, and was earning a bare subsistence as a clerk in a government office. Bonaparte stationed his troops around the building in which the Convention sat and then loaded his cannon with grapeshot. When the bourgeois national guard attacked him on October 5, 1795 (the thirteenth Vendémiaire), he gave the order to fire and easily swept them from the streets.[1] The royalists were defeated. The day had been saved for the Convention by the army and by a military genius who was destined soon not only to make himself master of France but to build up an empire comprising a great part of western Europe.

ENGLISH OPINION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Changes so vast as those wrought in the government and society of France by the Revolution could not fail to have startling effects in England, the United States, and indeed all over the continent of Europe. In England there was already a considerable party of reformers who desired to extend the suffrage, abolish the rotten boroughs, give representation to the new cities like Leeds and Manchester, and grant complete religious toleration to Catholics and Dissenters. The French Revolution encouraged them to believe that the day of success was at hand. New reform societies sprang up, and lively criticisms of the abuses in the English system were heard on all sides. Statesmen like Charles James Fox greeted the revolution as an event of great promise and prophesied its extension throughout Europe.

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[1] More people were killed on the thirteenth Vendémiaire than on August 10, 1792, when the monarchy was overthrown.

But conservative Englishmen drew back in alarm. Edmund Burke, who had watched the course of things with growing anxiety, burst out, in the autumn of 1790, in terrible anger against the French reformers, spreading his wrath and philosophy through the four hundred pages of his *Reflections on the French Revolution,* later supplemented by his *Letters on a Regicide Peace.* The immediate occasion of Burke's great tract was a sermon by a dissenting clergyman who praised the French and declared that Englishmen had a right to choose their own governors, cashier them for misconduct, and frame a government for themselves, using for his illustrations the events of "the Glorious Revolution of 1688." These three propositions Burke vehemently denied. He said that the vast majority of the people of England utterly disclaimed such ideas and would resist with their lives and fortunes any attempt to put them into practice. He did admit that in the case of the revolution of 1688 there had been "a small and temporary deviation from the strict order of a regular hereditary succession"; but he contended that the English people in his day claimed no right to form a government for themselves.

Burke then took the French to task for not following the English example by building upon the secure foundation of the past. He said that the French monarchy, while it was associated with some abuses, was on the whole very good. The French clergy he found "persons of moderate minds and decorous manners." The French nobles he thought mild and generous. "As to their behavior to the inferior classes, they appeared to me to comport themselves with good nature and with something more nearly approaching to familiarity than is generally practiced with us." For the unfortunate queen, Marie Antoinette, Burke could scarcely find words eloquent enough to express his feelings. He recalled seeing her a few years before at Versailles: "Surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in—glittering like the morning star." Now she has been insulted by the mob. "The glory of Europe is extinguished forever. Never, nevermore shall we behold that glorious loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of exalted freedom."

Having praised the old order, Burke analyzed the first new constitution of France and condemned it in all parts, particularly because it had no upper house and reduced the king to a mere figurehead. The National Assembly he considered as nothing but a voluntary association that had unlawfully supplanted the rightful government. He protested against taking from the king the power to make war and peace. The transfer of political sovereignty to the lower middle classes he regarded with horror; for he believed that "the body politic of France existed in the majesty of its throne, in the honor of its gentry, in the sanctity of its clergy, in the reverence of its magistracy, in the weight and consideration due to its landed property in the several bailliages, in the respect due to its movable substance represented by the corporations of the kingdom." To Burke this was France, and the National Assembly was a gang of usurpers.

In his *Reflections* and other writings on the Revolution he almost exhausted the list of invectives in condemning French popular leaders. The governors of France under their direction he characterized as "the dirtiest, lowest, most fraudulent, most knavish of chicaners." The French were "a nation of murderers," "murderous atheists," "a desperate gang of plunderers, murderers, tyrants, and atheists," "the scum of the earth," "a bloody and corrupted republic," the authors of "a system of manners the most licentious, prostitute, and abandoned that has ever been known, and at the same time the most coarse, rude, savage, and ferocious." But in the midst of his rage he saw clearly that the Revolution was destined to run a terrible course, through military despotism and war, to some unknown end. He mixed his venom with sage counsel, and to this day students of history can read his famous tract with interest and profit.

Burke's savage attack upon French ideas called forth many replies. First in time and among the most powerful was one by a schoolteacher and governess, Mary Wollstonecraft, who quickly took up Burke's challenge in a remarkable book entitled *The Vindication of the Rights of Man.* She attacked the British constitution for excluding the masses from all share in the government, permitting corruption and bribery in the purchase of seats in the House of Commons, allowing great landlords to monopolize the land and turn the poor out to starve, and many other abuses no less glaring. She ridiculed Burke's continual appeal to the old traditions and customs, as if reason and conscience were not guides at all in human conduct.

Having defended the "rights of man," Miss Wollstonecraft proceeded to issue a book similar in character, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.* In this she protested against the position assigned to women in English society: the mass of them were taught to attain their ends by cunning, soft temper, and a certain kind of piety, while the rich women "confined in cages like the feathered race, have nothing to do but plume themselves and move with mock majesty from perch to perch." She protested against the idea that women need protection by men against "the frown of an old cow or the jump of a rat." She urged that girls be given a serious education, allowed to earn an independent livelihood, take up useful occupations, and even be permitted to practice medicine. Then she added, "I may excite laughter by dropping a hint," that hint referred to the idea of women's having the vote and taking part in politics. A shout of derision met this work. A learned monthly, the *Critical Review*, exclaimed: "We call upon women to declare whether they will sacrifice their pleasing qualities for the severity of reason. . . . We may anticipate their answer and leave Mary Wollstonecraft to oblivion." The idea was clever, but it happened that it was the editor of the *Critical Review*, not Mary Wollstonecraft, who was ultimately to be consigned to oblivion.

The most famous of all the replies to Burke was the trenchant and bitter tract by Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man*, published in two parts (1791–1792). Paine was the equal of Burke in his power to curse opponents, and he used his power to the limit. In this art the stormy agitator of the two worlds did not differ much from the profound philosopher. He called the old régime in France "an Augean stable of parasites and plunderers" and declared that nothing short of a revolution could rid the masses of such an incubus. As for violence, he asked whether the royal governments of Europe by their wars and by their terrible treatment of the people had not set a horrible example, and then went on to add that the French nobles were responsible for the violence in France because they had plotted against the Revolution and taken up arms against it.

Paine examined the constitutions of America and showed that they were founded on the right of the people to rule themselves, choose their own governors, and remove them. He asked his readers to compare the character of George Washington with that of any monarch in the Old World. He attacked Burke for his excessive veneration of the past and asserted the right of the living to decide for themselves the kind of institutions they wish to adopt. Paine then went on to enumerate a long program of additional reforms: plans for distributing land to peasants in small plots, popular education, old-age pensions, public aid for the unemployed, and the limitation of expenditures for armaments. He did not deny that many unhappy events had accompanied the Revolution in France, but he thought them of minor importance as compared with the great achievements; and he prophesied the final triumph of the principles of democratic government.

The Revolution in France and the pamphleteering in England awakened very strong agitation throughout the British islands. Societies were founded to promote parliamentary reform, manhood suffrage, and religious liberty. A few hot-heads—but not many, it seems—were prepared to undertake the overthrow of the English monarchy by violence. The mass of the reformers appear to have been persons of moderate views who wished to bring about reform by reasonable methods. The Tories naturally would have none of it. They arrogated to themselves a monopoly of loyalty and patriotism; they lumped all reformers together as seditious, traitorous, and pro-French. Voluntary societies for the protection of "the good old English constitution" sprang up on every hand. The parent of these organizations was "The Society for the Protection of Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levelers." Such societies enlisted the support of gossips and busybodies who spied, pried, and listened, reporting all kinds of charges, true and false. Men who mentioned the reform of Parliament in taverns or even in the bosom of their families were haled into court and laid under heavy penalties for remarks of the most trivial character. Parliament in 1795 passed a Treasonable Practices Bill which penalized all adverse criticism of the government. Ignorant judges and still more ignorant counsel browbeat and intimidated men of refinement and high character who advocated ideas which were within fifty years to be the commonplaces of all Europe.

The press was hounded by the government. Taxes were laid for the purpose of keeping down the circulation of newspapers. *The Courier* was indicted because it had published a libel on the Tsar of Russia, then an ally of England, the libel being this: "The Emperor of Russia is rendering himself obnoxious to his subjects by various acts of tyranny, and ridiculous in the eyes of Europe by his inconsistency." At the trial of the editors guilty of this libel the court laid down the doctrine "that public writers are to be punished, not for their guilt, but from fear of the displeasure of foreign powers." The publisher of the Stamford *News* was convicted because he objected to flogging in the army, the presiding judge having declared that it was "unconstitutional and seditious" for anyone to criticize acts of Parliament and make the people dissatisfied with the government.

Moderate men were tried and convicted along with radicals like Thomas Paine. An Edinburgh lawyer was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years because he favored certain political changes. A young man of great promise in letters was charged with attending a conference in the interests of parliamentary reform and sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude; he sank into an early grave. Catholics were prosecuted for seeking religious toleration; Protestant Dissenters were prosecuted for demanding the right to hold office.

In handling these cases the judges were harsh and arbitrary and always eager to deliver their conservative political opinions in the form of oracular judgments. One judge, in trying an advocate of parliamentary reform, frankly said that "the landed interest alone has the right to be represented; as for the rabble, who have nothing but personal property, what hold has the nation on them?" A judicial colleague at the same trial lamented that torture had been abolished, as it alone was adequate as a punishment for sedition. A third judge, apparently at a loss for argument, declared, "Let them bring me more prisoners—I will find them the law." A fourth judge, at the trial of some mild reformers, exclaimed, "The right of universal suffrage the subjects of this country never enjoyed;

and were they to enjoy it, they would not long enjoy either liberty or a free constitution." Lord Braxton termed the British constitution "the happiest, the best, and the most noble constitution in the world" and exclaimed, "I do not believe it possible to make a better." The bishop of Rochester, in defending the conduct of such judges, vowed that he "did not know what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws but to obey them."

In the midst of this widespread hysteria and persecution there were only a few lawyers who dared to brave the terrors of mobs, judges, and juries. One of them was the celebrated Erskine, "whom neither the displeasure of the king and the Prince of Wales, nor the solicitations of his friends, nor public clamors deterred from performing his duties as an advocate." A few others like Erskine, though accused by the conservative press of disloyalty and sedition, stood up against the public fury and sought to throw around the humblest prisoner the majesty of the law, defending him against ignorant and brutal judges in speeches which are today among the classics of British liberty. Not until some years after the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo did the great persecuting mania die away and freedom of press and speech recover its former position in the English constitution.

Effects of the French Revolution in America

In the United States, no less than in England, the events and principles of the French Revolution were hotly discussed. The early reforms and the adoption of the first constitution in 1791 were greeted with general approval; but as more radical measures were undertaken, and reforms merged into violence, many Americans drew back. The country was at that time divided into a conservative faction, led by Hamilton, and an opposition headed by Jefferson—factions soon to be known as Federalists and Republicans; and the French Revolution added fuel to the domestic discord already raging. Burke and Paine were read and debated throughout the country. Both had their champions and defenders. A Massachusetts preacher declared that all who pleaded the cause of France should be treated as enemies of our country: "of all traitors they are the most aggravatedly criminal; of all villains they are the most infamous and detestable." On the other side, the Jeffersonians attacked with equal severity "the monarchists and defenders of monarchy."

So the country was filled with angry dispute. The Federalists, alarmed by the growth of democratic movement and determined to stamp out the "French faction," enacted in 1798 two remarkable laws, the Alien and Sedition Acts. Under the former the president was authorized to expel from the country all undesirable aliens; under the latter anyone who criticized the government or spoke disrespectfully of any branch thereof was liable to fine and imprisonment. The fever did not rise to the same height as in England, but nevertheless a large number of editors, politicians, and private citizens found themselves in the toils of the law. A Federal judge, Chase, emulated some of his English brethren in delivering, from the bench, stump speeches against reformers and in searching for victims to fine and imprison. The storm in America did not last as long, however, as it did in England. The triumph of Jefferson in the presidential election of 1800 marked the collapse of the Federalists, and rang the death knell of such measures as the Alien and Sedition Laws. Although Judge Chase's enemies were unable to convict him after they had impeached him before the Senate, they were successful in putting an end to the prosecution and persecution of citizens for the expression of political opinion. All this is of importance when one reflects on the wild rumors, the misapprehensions, and the suppression of dissident opinion during the World War, as well as during the Russian revolution which followed in its wake.

CHAPTER X

A LITTLE CORSICAN INTERVENES

Napoleon Bonaparte

There have been long discussions as to whether the history of mankind is determined by heroes and altogether exceptional leaders, or by slowly altering conditions, the result of obscure and elusive causes. It seems, at least, obvious enough that now and then some person of genius emerges wholly unexpectedly and, using the means he finds at hand, molds the affairs of nations to gratify, so far as possible, his personal tastes and ambitions. Such have been men like Sargon I, Cyrus, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar and Augustus, Charlemagne, Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. Without these singular men it would seem that the course of history would necessarily have been very different. There are also the prophets, poets, artists, scientific discoverers, and inventors, of such exceptional ability that they seem personally to influence deeply the habits and thoughts of mankind for centuries—Confucius, Buddha, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Mohammed, Dante, Shakespeare, Newton, Voltaire. Mechanical inventions, which have served to revolutionize our modern world, seem not to depend so much on a particular personality as on the appearance, in the course of affairs, of some special problem which usually attracts the attention of a number of men. In fact, all the innovators mentioned have to work in terms of the knowledge and tendencies of their time in order to make a permanent impression. Otherwise they would only be beating the air in vain.

Following the wide dislocation of established routine caused by the French revolutionary reformers there suddenly emerged one of these geniuses who stand out in history. It will be plain enough as we proceed that the Little Corsican took advantage of conditions as he found them, even as had Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Luther, and Cromwell, to grave his name deeply in the chronicles of mankind. These conditions and the early years of Napoleon must next engage our attention.

Although the French Constitution of the Year III was solemnly proclaimed and the new government for which it had provided was duly installed, the great changes wrought by the Revolution thus far were by no means assured. Indeed, the situation had been saved in 1795 only by the prompt and harsh action of the young army officer, Napoleon Bonaparte; this alone was ample proof that the Directory rested upon weak foundations. Moreover, France was still at war. The emigrant nobles were still hovering on the borders, awaiting an opportunity to recover their lost privileges and to restore the old order. The nonjuring clergy were as discontented as ever with the Civil Constitution of the Church. France was seething with counter-revolutionary plots, and extremists were busy with schemes for still more radical measures.

Amid such circumstances—conflict at home and war abroad—everything depended on the army and its commanders. In this sphere too there had been a complete transformation. The rules of the ancien régime had required all officers to be nobles, and many of these had left France after the fall of the Bastille. Others, such as Lafayette and Dumouriez, who had at first favored the Revolution, deserted soon after the opening of the war. Still others, like Custine and Beauharnais (the empress Josephine's first husband), were executed because the "deputies on mission" believed that they were responsible for the defeats that the armies of the French Republic had suffered.

The former rigid discipline disappeared, and the hundreds of thousands of volunteers who pressed forward to defend and extend the boundaries of the Republic found new leaders, who rose from the ranks, and who hit upon novel and quite unconventional ways of beating the enemy. Anyone might now become a general if he could prove his ability to gain victories. Moreau was a lawyer of Brittany; Murat had been a waiter; Jourdan, before the Revolution, had sold cloth in Limoges. In short, the army, like the State, had become democratic.

Among the commanders who by means of their talents rose to take the places of the "aristocrats" was one who was to dominate the history of Europe as no man before him had ever done. For fifteen years his biography and the political history of Europe are so nearly synonymous that the period we are now entering upon may properly be called, after him, the Napoleonic period.

Napoleon Bonaparte (or Buonaparte, as he called himself in his early years) was hardly a Frenchman by birth. It is true that the island of Corsica, where he was born (August 15, 1769), had at that time belonged to France for a year[1]; but Napoleon's native language was Italian, and he was descended from Italian ancestors who had come to the island in the sixteenth century. His father, Carlo Maria da Buonaparte, although he claimed to be of noble extraction, busied himself with the profession of the law in the town of Ajaccio, where Napoleon was probably born. He was poor, and found it hard to support his eight boys and girls, all of whom were one day to become kings and queens or, at worst, princes and princesses. Accordingly he took his two elder sons, Joseph and Napoleon, to France, where Joseph was to be educated for the priesthood, and Napoleon, who was but ten years old, after learning a little French, was to prepare for the army in the military academy at Brienne.

Here the boy led an unhappy life for five or six years. He soon came to hate the young French nobles with whom he was associated. He wrote to his father, "I am tired of exposing my poverty and seeing these shameless boys laughing over it, for they are superior to me only in wealth and infinitely beneath me in noble sentiments." Gradually the ambition to free his little island country from French control developed in him.

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[1] It is possible that Bonaparte was born in the previous year, when Corsica still belonged to the republic of Genoa.

On completing his course in the military school he was made second lieutenant. Poor and without influence, he had little hope of any considerable advance in the French army, and he was drawn to his own country both by a desire to play a political rôle there and to help his family, which had been left in straitened circumstances by his father's death. He therefore absented himself from his command as often and as long as he could, and engaged in a series of intrigues in Corsica in the hope of getting control of the forces of the island. He fell into disfavor, however, with the authorities; and in 1793 he and his family were banished, and fled to France.

The following three years were for Bonaparte a period of great uncertainty. He had lost his love for Corsica and as yet had found no foothold in France. Soon after his return his knowledge of artillery enabled him, as we have seen, to suggest a successful method of capturing Toulon; and two years later his friend Barras selected him to defend the Convention from its enemies on the thirteenth Vendémiaire. This was the beginning of his career; for Barras, a member of the Directory, introduced him into the gay and reckless social circle to which he belonged. Here he met and fell in love with the charming widow of poor General Beauharnais, who had lost his head just before Thermidor. Madame Beauharnais accepted the pale, nervous little republican officer in spite of his awkward manners and ill-fitting uniform. Nine years later he was able to place an imperial crown upon her brow.

In the spring of 1796 Bonaparte was selected by the Directory to command one of the three armies which it was sending against Austria. This important appointment at the age of twenty-seven forms the opening of an astonishing military career which can be compared only to that of Alexander the Great.

Bonaparte's Opening Campaigns (1796–1797)

France, as has been pointed out, found herself in 1793 at war with Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, Sardinia, the kingdom of Naples (that is, of the Two Sicilies), and Tuscany. This formidable alliance, however, succeeded only in taking a few border fortresses, which the French easily regained. Prussia and Austria were far more interested in Poland, where a third and last partition was pending, than in fighting the Revolution and keeping the French out of the Austrian Netherlands. The Polish patriot, Kosciusko, had led a revolt of the Poles against their oppressors, and the Russian garrison which Catherine had placed in Warsaw was cut down by the Polish rebels in April, 1794. Catherine then appealed to Frederick William for assistance. He therefore turned his whole attention to Poland,[1] and Pitt had to pay him handsomely to induce him to leave sixty thousand Prussian troops to protect the Netherlands from the French invaders. But England's money was wasted; for the Prussians refused to take active measures, and even Austria, after one or two reverses, decided to evacuate the Netherlands in the summer of 1794, in order to center all her energies upon Polish affairs and prevent Russia and Prussia from excluding her, as they had done the last time, when it came to a division of the booty.

England was naturally disgusted. She had joined the war partly in order to aid Austria and Prussia to maintain the balance of power and defend the Netherlands, which formed a defensive barrier between Holland and France. Lord Malmesbury, one of the English diplomats, declared that in his negotiations with the allies he encountered nothing but "shabby art and cunning, ill will, jealousy and every sort of dirty passion." By October, 1794, the Austrians had disappeared beyond the Rhine. The English were forced to give up Holland

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[1] See pages 160–161.

and to retreat forlornly into Hanover before the French under General Pichegru, who captured the Dutch fleet imprisoned in the ice near Texel. The Dutch towns contained some enthusiastic republicans who received the French invaders cordially. The office of hereditary stadholder,[1] which was really that of a king except in name, was abolished, and the United Netherlands became the Batavian Republic, under French control.

Instead of being crushed by the overwhelming forces of the allies, the armies of the French Republic had, in the three years since the opening of the war, conquered the Spanish Netherlands, Savoy, and Nice; they had also metamorphosed Holland into a friendly sister republic, and had occupied western Germany as far east as the Rhine. The Convention was now ready to conclude its first treaties of peace. Prussia signed the Treaty of Basel with the new republic (April, 1795), secretly agreeing not to oppose the permanent acquisition by France of the left bank of the Rhine provided that Prussia were indemnified for the territory which she would in that case lose. Three months later Spain also made peace with France.

Early in 1796 the Directory decided, in accordance with General Bonaparte's advice, to undertake a triple movement upon Vienna, the capital of its chief remaining enemy. Jourdan was to take a northerly route along the river Main; Moreau was to lead an army through the Black Forest and down the Danube; while Bonaparte invaded Lombardy, which, since the French had occupied the Netherlands, was the nearest of the Austrian possessions.

Italy was still in the same condition in which it had been left some fifty years before at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, when the Austrian Hapsburgs and the Spanish Bourbons had come to a final agreement as to what each was to have for the younger members of the two families.[2] In the kingdom of

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[1] See pages 126 and 151 (footnote).

[2] See pages 144 and 151.

Naples[1] the feeble Ferdinand IV[2] reigned with Caroline, his wife, the sister of Marie Antoinette. To the north, stretching across the peninsula, lay the Papal States. Tuscany enjoyed the mild and enlightened rule of the successors of Joseph of Lorraine. Parma's duke was related to the Spanish house, and Modena's to the Austrian; but the only part of Italy actually under foreign rule was Lombardy and its capital, Milan, which had fallen to Austria after the War of the Spanish Succession. The once flourishing republics of Venice and Genoa still existed, but had long since ceased to play a rôle in European affairs. The only vigorous and promising state in Italy that was not more or less under the influence of either Austria or Spain was the kingdom of Sardinia, composed of Piedmont, Savoy, Nice, and the island of Sardinia.

General Bonaparte had to face the combined forces of Austria and Sardinia, which had joined the enemies of France in 1793. By marching north from Savona he skillfully separated his two enemies. He forced the Sardinian troops back toward Turin and compelled the king to conclude a treaty by which Savoy and Nice were ceded to France. Bonaparte was now free to advance into Lombardy. He marched down the Po, and the Austrians, fearing that he might cut them off, hastened eastward, leaving Milan to be occupied by the French. Here Bonaparte made a triumphal entry on May 15, 1796, scarcely more than a month after the campaign opened.

As he descended the mountains into the plains of Lombardy, Bonaparte had announced that the French army came to break the chains of the tyrants, as the French people was the friend of all peoples. Nevertheless, the Directory expected him to force those he "freed" to support the French armies. Their instructions to Bonaparte were sufficiently explicit: "Leave nothing in Italy which will be useful to us and which the political situation will allow you to remove." Accordingly Milan was required not only to pay its "deliverers" twenty million francs but also to give up some of the finest old masterpieces

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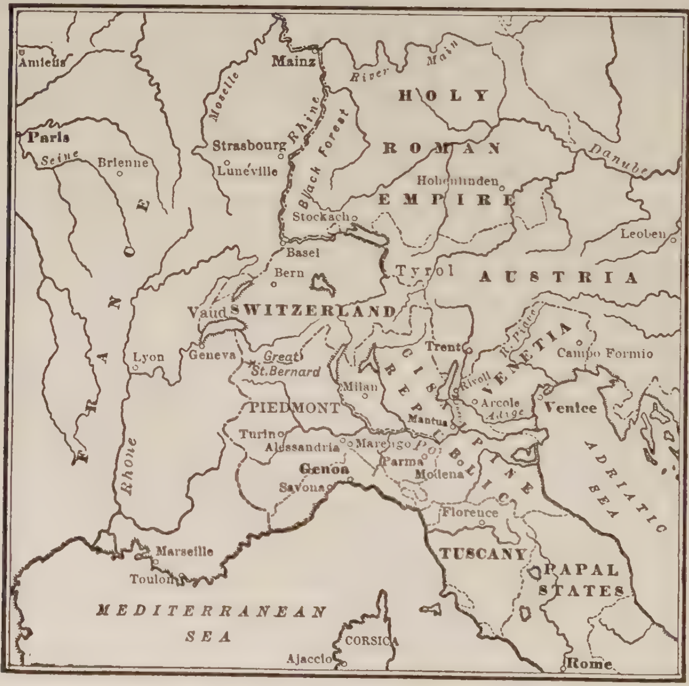
[1] We shall use this name hereafter instead of the more cumbersome title, "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies."

[2] The successor of Don Carlos, who had become Charles III of Spain (see pages 143 and 278 ff.).



CENTRAL EUROPE, ILLUSTRATING NAPOLEON'S CAMPAIGNS, 1796–1801

in its churches and galleries. The dukes of Parma and Modena made similar "contributions" upon condition that Bonaparte would grant them an armistice.

Bonaparte soon moved east and defeated the Austrian army, a part of which took refuge in the strong fortress of Mantua, to which the French promptly laid siege. There is no more fascinating chapter in the history of warfare than the story of the audacious maneuvers by means of which Bonaparte successfully repulsed the Austrian armies sent to relieve Mantua. Toward the end of July an Austrian army nearly twice the size of Bonaparte's descended in three divisions from Tyrol. The situation of the French was critical, but Bonaparte managed to defeat each of the three divisions before they had an opportunity to join forces. In five days the Austrians retired, leaving fifteen thousand prisoners in the hands of the French. Bonaparte now determined to advance up the river Adige into Germany. He again routed the Austrians and took possession of Trent. Wurmser, the Austrian commander, tried to cut him off from Italy, but was himself shut up in Mantua with the remains of his army.

In November two more armies were sent down to relieve Mantua, one approaching by the Adige and the other descending the Piave. Bonaparte met and defeated the Piave army in a three days' battle at Arcole, after which the other Austrian division retreated. The last effort to relieve the fortress was frustrated by Bonaparte at Rivoli (January 14–15, 1797) and resulted in the surrender of Mantua, which gave the French complete control of northern Italy.

All danger of an attack in the rear was now removed, and the victorious French general could lead his army through the mountains to Vienna. He forced back the Austrians, who attempted to block the road; and when, on April 7, he was within eighty miles of the capital, the Austrian commander requested a truce, which Bonaparte was not unwilling to grant, since he was now far from home, and both the other armies which the Directory had sent out, under Moreau and Jourdan, had been routed and forced back over the Rhine. A preliminary peace was accordingly arranged, which was followed by the definitive Treaty of Campo Formio (October, 1797).

The provisions of the Treaty of Campo Formio illustrate the unscrupulous manner in which Bonaparte and Austria disposed of the helpless lesser states. It inaugurated the bewilderingly rapid territorial redistribution of Europe which was so characteristic of the Napoleonic period. Austria ceded to France the Austrian Netherlands and secretly agreed to use its good offices to secure for France a great part of the left bank of the Rhine. Austria also recognized the Cisalpine Republic, which Bonaparte had created out of the smaller states of northern Italy and had placed under the "protection" of France. This new state included Lombardy, which Bonaparte had conquered; the duchy of Modena; some of the papal dominions; and, lastly, a part of the possessions of the venerable and renowned but now defenseless republic of Venice, which Bonaparte had ruthlessly destroyed. Austria received as an indemnity for the Netherlands and Lombardy the rest of the possessions of the Venetian republic, including Venice itself.

Bonaparte's Ambitions

While the negotiations were going on, the young general established a brilliant court at a villa near Milan. "His salons," an observer informs us, "were filled with a throng of generals, officials, and purveyors, as well as the highest nobility and the most distinguished men of Italy, who came to solicit the favor of a glance or a moment's conversation." It would appear, from the report of a most extraordinary conversation which occurred at this time, that he had already conceived the rôle that he was to play later.

"What I have done so far," he declared, "is nothing. I am but at the opening of the career that I am to run. Do you suppose that I have gained my victories in Italy in order to advance the lawyers of the Directory—the Carnots and the Barras? Do you think, either, that my object is to establish a republic? What a notion! . . . What the French want is Glory and the satisfaction of their vanity; as for Liberty, of that they have no conception. Look at the army! The victories that we have just gained have given the French soldier his true character. I am everything to him. Let the Directory attempt to deprive me of my command and they will see who is the master. The nation must have a head,—a head who is rendered illustrious by glory, and not by theories of government, fine phrases, or the talk of idealists, of which the French understand not a whit."

There is no doubt whom General Bonaparte had in mind when he spoke of the needed head of the French nation who should be "rendered illustrious by glory." This son of a poor Corsican lawyer, but yesterday a mere unlucky adventurer, had arranged his program; two years and a half later he was the master of the French Republic.

We naturally ask what manner of person this was who could frame such audacious schemes at twenty-eight and realize them at thirty years of age. He was a little man, less than five feet two inches in height. At this time he was extremely thin, but his striking features, quick searching eye, abrupt, animated gestures, and rapid speech, incorrect as it was, made a deep impression upon those who came in contact with him. He possessed in a supreme degree two qualities that are ordinarily considered incompatible. He was a dreamer and, at the same time, a man whose practical skill and mastery of detail amounted to genius. He once told a friend that he was wont, when a poor lieutenant, to allow his imagination full play and fancy things just as he would have them. Then he would coolly consider the exact steps to be taken if he were to try to make his dream come true.

In order to explain Bonaparte's success it must be remembered that he was not hampered or held back by the fear of doing wrong. He was utterly unscrupulous, whether dealing with an individual or a nation, and appears to have been absolutely without any sense of moral responsibility. Neither did affection for his friends and relatives ever stand in the way of his personal aggrandizement. To these traits must be added unrivaled military genius and the power of intense and almost uninterrupted work.

But even Bonaparte, unexampled as were his abilities, could never have extended his power over all of western Europe, had it not been for the peculiar political weakness of most of the states with which he had to deal. There was no strong German Empire in his day, no united Italy. The French republic was surrounded by petty, independent, or practically independent, principalities, which were defenseless against an unscrupulous invader. Prussia, much smaller than it later became, offered, as we shall see, no efficient opposition to the extension of French control; while Austria had been forced to capitulate, after a short campaign, by an enemy far from its base of supplies and led by a young and inexperienced general.

France republicanizes her Neighbors

The creation of the Cisalpine Republic by Bonaparte was in line with the general policy which the French government had pursued after the Revolution at home. It had already *republicanized* Holland. At about the same time that Bonaparte was projecting the Cisalpine Republic, the French stirred up a revolution in Genoa. This led to the abolition of the old aristocratic government and the founding of a new Ligurian Republic, which was to be the friend and ally of France.

Next, with the encouragement of Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, who was the French ambassador at Rome, the few republicans in the Pope's capital proclaimed a republic. In the disturbance which ensued a French general was killed, a fact which gave the Directory an excuse for declaring war and occupying Rome. On February 15, 1798, the republicans assembled in the ancient Forum and declared that the Roman Republic was once more restored. The brutal French commissioner insulted the Pope, snatched his staff and ring from his hand, and ordered him out of town. The French seized the pictures and statues in the Vatican and sent them to Paris, and managed to rob the new republic of some sixty million francs besides.

More scandalous still was the conduct of the Directory in dealing with Switzerland. In that little country certain of the *cantons*, or provinces, had long been subject to others. A few persons in the canton of Vaud were readily induced by the French agitators to petition the Directory to free their canton from the overlordship of Bern. In January, 1798, a French army entered Switzerland and easily overpowered the troops of Bern. In March they occupied the city, where they seized the treasure which had been gradually brought together through a long period by the thrifty government of the confederation. A new Helvetic Republic, "one and indivisible," was proclaimed, in which all the cantons were to be equal and all the old feudal customs and inequalities should be abolished. The mountaineers of the conservative cantons about Lake Lucerne rose in vain against the intruders, who mercilessly massacred those who dared to oppose the changes which their "deliverers" chose to introduce. The money and supplies which the French appropriated were sent to Toulon, to be used in the Egyptian expedition.

A new outbreak of war against France in 1798 was caused by the situation at Naples, where Marie Antoinette's sister, Caroline, followed with horror the occupation of Rome by the French troops. Bonaparte had, for reasons given later, sailed off to Egypt, leaving the Directory to muddle through without him. However, Nelson had destroyed Bonaparte's fleet in the battle of the Nile and returned to Naples, where he arranged a plan for driving the French from the Papal States. But everything went badly for the British; the French easily defeated the Bourbon armies, and the royal family of Naples was glad to embark on the British ships and make its way to Palermo. Thereupon the French republicanized Naples, seized millions of francs as usual, and carried off to Paris the best works of art. These events served to frighten the European governments into a new coalition against France (see pages 370 f.) with which the Directory was ill qualified to deal.

Bonaparte makes himself Master of France

After arranging the peace of Campo Formio, Bonaparte had returned to Paris. He at once perceived that the French, in spite of their enthusiasm over his victories, were not prepared to accept him as a ruler. The pear was not yet ripe, as he observed. He saw, too, that he would soon sacrifice his prestige if he lived quietly in Paris like an ordinary person. His active mind promptly conceived a plan which would forward his interests. France was still at war with England, its most persevering enemy during this period. Bonaparte convinced the Directory that England could best be ruined in the long run by occupying Egypt and so threatening her commerce in the Mediterranean, and perhaps ultimately her dominion in the East. Fascinated by the career of Alexander the Great, Bonaparte pictured himself riding to India on the back of an elephant and dispossessing England of her most precious colonial dependencies. He had, however, still another and a characteristic reason for undertaking the expedition. France was on the eve of a new war with the European powers. Bonaparte foresaw that if he could withdraw some of France's best officers, the Directory might soon find itself so embarrassed that he could return as a national savior. And even so it fell out.

Accordingly General Bonaparte, under the authority of the Directory, collected some forty thousand of the best troops and fitted out a strong fleet, with a view to gaining for France the control of the Mediterranean. He did not forget to add to the expedition a hundred and twenty scientists and engineers, who were to study the country and prepare the way for French colonists to be sent out later.[1]

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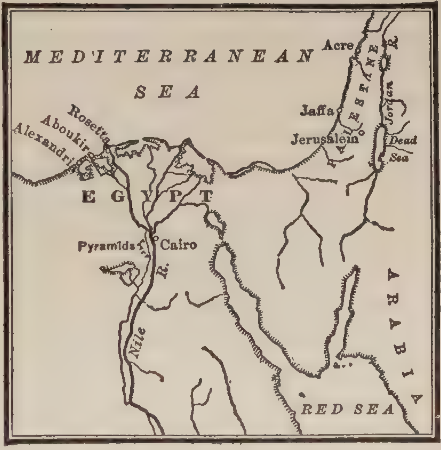
[1] One of the most noteworthy scientific results of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt was the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, which the soldiers dug up at the mouth of the Nile. This has inscribed upon it a passage in Egyptian hieroglyphics accompanied by a Greek translation which has furnished modern scholars with the key to ancient hieroglyphic inscriptions. The stone is now in the British Museum.

The French fleet left Toulon on May 19, 1798. It was so fortunate as to escape the English squadron under Nelson, which sailed by it in the night. Bonaparte arrived at Alexandria on July 1, and easily defeated the Turkish troops in the famous battle of the Pyramids. Meanwhile Nelson, who did not know the destination of the enemy's fleet, had returned from the Syrian coast, where he had looked for the French in vain. Later he discovered Bonaparte's ships in the harbor of Alexandria and completely annihilated them in the first battle of the Nile (on August 1, 1798). The French troops were now completely cut off from Europe.



EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN

The Porte (the Turkish government) having declared war on France, Bonaparte next determined to attack Turkey by land. He therefore marched into Syria in the spring of 1799, but was repulsed at Acre, where the Turkish forces were aided by the English fleet. Pursued by pestilence, the army regained Cairo in June, after terrible suffering and loss. It was still strong enough to annihilate a Turkish army that had landed at Alexandria; but news now reached Bonaparte from Europe which convinced him that the time had come for him to hasten back. The powers had formed their new coalition against France. Northern Italy, which he had won, was lost, the allies were about to invade France itself, and the Directory was hopelessly demoralized.

Accordingly Bonaparte secretly deserted his army and managed, through a series of happy accidents, to reach France on

October 9, 1799. At the end of a month he had made himself master of France by overthrowing the Directory. That government, one of the most corrupt and inefficient bodies that the world has ever seen, had completely disgraced itself, and Bonaparte readily found others to join with him in a conspiracy to supplant it. A plan was formed for abruptly destroying the old government and replacing it by a new one without observing any constitutional forms. This is a procedure so familiar in France during the past century that it is known even in English as a *coup d'état* (literally translated, a "stroke of state"). The conspirators had a good many friends in the two assemblies, especially among the "Elders." Nevertheless, Bonaparte had to order his soldiers to invade the hall in which the Assembly of the Five Hundred was in session and scatter his opponents before he was able to accomplish his purpose. A chosen few were then reassembled under the presidency of Lucien Bonaparte, one of Napoleon's brothers, who was a member of the Assembly. They voted to put the government in the hands of three men,—General Bonaparte and two others,—to be called Consuls. These were to proceed, with the aid of a commission and of the Elders, to draw up a new constitution. This revolution is called the coup d'état of the eighteenth Brumaire, according to the Republican calendar.

The new constitution was a very cumbrous and elaborate one. It provided for no less than four assemblies,—one to propose the laws, one to consider them, one to vote upon them, and one to decide on their constitutionality. But Bonaparte saw to it that as First Consul he himself had practically all the power in his own hands. The Council of State, to which he called talented men from all parties and over which he presided, was the most important of the governmental bodies.

Bonaparte's chief aim was to *centralize* the government. Nothing was left to local assemblies, for he proposed to control everything from Paris. Accordingly, in each department he put an officer called a *prefect*; in each subdivision of the department, a *subprefect*. These, together with the mayors and police commissioners of the towns, were all appointed by the First Consul. The prefects—the "little First Consuls," as Bonaparte called them—resembled the former intendants, the king's officers under the old régime. Indeed, the new government suggested in several important respects that of Louis XIV. This administrative system which Bonaparte perfected has endured, with a few changes, down to the present day. It has rendered the French government very stable in spite of the startling changes in the constitution which have occurred. There is no surer proof of Napoleon's genius than that, with no previous experience, he could conceive a plan of government that would serve a great state like France through all its vicissitudes for a century and more.

The new ruler objected as decidedly as Louis XIV had done to the idea of being controlled by the people, who, he believed, knew nothing of public affairs. It was enough, he thought, if they were allowed to say whether they wished a certain form of government or not. He therefore introduced what he called a *plébiscite*.[1] The new constitution when completed was submitted to the nation at large, and all were allowed to vote "yes" or "no" on the expediency of its adoption. Over three million voted in favor of it, and only fifteen hundred and sixty-two against it. This did not necessarily mean, however, that practically the whole nation wished to have General Bonaparte as its ruler. A great many may have preferred what seemed to them an objectionable form of government to the risk of rejecting it. Herein lies the injustice of the plebiscite: there are many questions which cannot be answered by a simple "yes" or "no."

Yet the accession to power of the popular young general was doubtless gratifying to the majority of the citizens, who longed, above all, for a stable government. The Swedish envoy wrote, just after the coup d'état: "A legitimate monarch has perhaps never found a people more ready to do his bidding than Bonaparte, and it would be inexcusable if this talented general did not take advantage of this to introduce a better form of government upon a firmer basis. It is literally true that France will perform impossibilities in order to aid him in this. The people (with the exception of a despicable horde of anarchists) are so sick and weary of revolutionary horrors and folly that they believe that any change cannot fail to be for the better. . . . Even the royalists, whatever their views may be, are sincerely devoted to Bonaparte, for they attribute to him the intention of gradually restoring the old order of things. The indifferent element cling to him as the one most likely to give France peace. The enlightened republicans, although they tremble for their form of government, prefer to see a single man of talent possess himself of the power than a club of intriguers."

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[1] The *plebiscitum* of the Romans, from which the French derived their term *plébiscite*, was originally a law voted in the assembly of the *plebs*, or "people."

Bonaparte defeats a New Coalition (1800–1801)

Upon becoming First Consul, General Bonaparte found the Republic at war with England, Russia, Austria, Turkey, and Naples—a somewhat strange coalition which must be explained. After the treaties of Basel and Campo Formio, England had been left to fight the Revolution single-handed. The Directory issued a decree that excluded her products from all the lands under French control,—especially cotton and woolen goods, hardware, pottery, and refined sugar, which were not to be imported on pain of confiscation. Although this was exactly the kind of law that England had been trying to enforce in her own interest for a century or so,[1] the English merchants were exasperated at the French, and Pitt was encouraged to continue the struggle.

He found an unexpected ally in the Tsar, Paul. Like his mother, Catherine II, whom he succeeded in 1796, he hated the Revolution; but, unlike her, he consented to send troops to fight against France, for which Pitt agreed (December, 1798) to help pay.[1] Austria was willing to take up the war again, since she saw no prospect of getting all the territory that Bonaparte had half promised her in the Treaty of Campo Formio. As for the Sultan, Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition brought the French to his very doors and led him to join his ancient enemy, Russia, in a common cause.

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[1] See pages 73 and 205.

Such was the state of affairs when Bonaparte overthrew the Directory in 1799. The First Consul sought to make a happy impression upon France by writing personal letters on Christmas Day to both George III and Emperor Francis II, in which he deplored a continuation of war among the most enlightened nations of Europe. Why should they "sacrifice to ideas of empty greatness the blessings of commerce, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness? Should they not recognize that peace was at once their first need and their chief glory?"

The British government returned a gruff reply in which Pitt declared that France was entirely at fault and had precipitated war by her aggressions in Holland, Switzerland, and Egypt. England must continue the struggle until France offered pledges of peace, and the best security would be the recall of the Bourbon dynasty.[2] The Austrians likewise refused, though somewhat more graciously, to come to terms, and Bonaparte began secretly to collect troops which he could direct against the Austrian army that was besieging the French in Genoa.

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[1] Paul was an ill-balanced person whose chief grievance against the French was that Bonaparte had captured the island of Malta on the way to Egypt. Malta had for centuries been held by the Order of the Knights of Malta, which had originated during the Crusades. Now the knights had chosen Paul as their "Protector,"—an honor which enchanted his simple soul and led him to dream of annexing Malta to his empire. Bonaparte's seizure of the island interfered with his plans and served to rouse a desire for vengeance.

[2] This convinced the French that England was their implacable enemy.

Bonaparte now proceeded to devise one of the boldest and most brilliant of campaigns. Instead of following one of the usual roads into Italy, either along the coast to Genoa or across the Alps of Savoy, he resolved to take the enemy in the rear. In order to do this he concentrated his forces in Switzerland and, emulating Hannibal, led them over the difficult Alpine pass of the Great St. Bernard. There was no highroad then, as there is now, and the cannons had to be dragged over in trunks of trees which had been hollowed out for the purpose. Bonaparte arrived safely in Milan on June 2, 1800, to the utter astonishment of the Austrians, who had received no definite news of his line of approach. He immediately restored the Cisalpine Republic, wrote to Paris that he had delivered the Lombards from the "Austrian rod," and then moved toward the southwest, to find and crush the enemy (see map, p. 360).

In his uncertainty as to the exact whereabouts of the Austrians, Bonaparte divided his forces when near the village of Marengo (June 14) and sent a contingent under Desaix southward to head off the enemy in that direction. In the meantime the whole Austrian army approached from Alessandria, and the engagement began. The Austrians at first repulsed the French, and Bonaparte saw all his great plans in jeopardy as he vainly besought his soldiers to make another stand. The defeat was soon turned, however, into one of his most brilliant victories; for Desaix had heard the firing and returned with his division. Meanwhile the aged and infirm Austrian commander had gone back to Alessandria, supposing that the battle was won. The result was that the French troops, reënforced, renewed the attack and carried all before them. The brave Desaix, who had really saved the day, was killed; Bonaparte simply said nothing of his own temporary defeat, and added one more to the list of his great military triumphs. A truce was signed next day, and the Austrians retreated behind the river Mincio, leaving Bonaparte to restore French influence in Lombardy. The districts that he had "freed" were obliged to support his army, and the reëstablished Cisalpine Republic was forced to pay a monthly tax of two million francs.

While Bonaparte had been making his last preparations to cross the St. Bernard, a French army under Moreau, a very able commander, had invaded southern Germany and prevented the Austrian forces there from taking the road to Italy. Some months later, in the early winter, when the truce concluded after Marengo had expired, Moreau was ordered to march on Vienna. On December 3 he met the Austrian army in the snowy roads of the forest of Hohenlinden and overwhelmingly defeated it. This brought Austria to terms, and she agreed to a treaty of peace at Lunéville, February, 1801.

In this the arrangements made at Campo Formio were in general reaffirmed. France was to retain possession of the Austrian Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine. The Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics were to be recognized and included in the peace. Austria was to keep Venice.

Austria's retirement from the war was the signal for a general peace. Even England, who had not laid down her arms since hostilities first opened in 1793, saw no advantage in continuing a struggle in which the Continental powers refused longer to participate. After defeating the French army which Bonaparte had left in Egypt, she suspended hostilities and opened negotiations with France in the autumn of 1801, although the definite peace was not signed until the following March, at Amiens.

Among many merely transitory results of these treaties, there were two provisions of momentous import. The first of these, Spain's cession of Louisiana to France in exchange for certain advantages in Italy, does not concern us here directly. But when war again broke out, Bonaparte sold the district to the United States; and among the many transfers of territory that he made during his reign, none was more important than this. We must treat with some detail, however, the second of the great changes, which led to the complete reorganization of Germany and ultimately rendered possible the establishment of the present powerful German republic.

Consolidation of Germany

In the Treaty of Lunéville the Emperor had agreed on his own part, as the ruler of Austria, and on the part of the Holy Roman Empire, that the French Republic should thereafter possess in full sovereignty the territories of the Empire which lay on the left bank of the Rhine, and that thereafter the Rhine should form the boundary of France from the point where it left the Helvetic Republic to the point where it entered the Batavian Republic. As an inevitable consequence of this cession, numerous rulers and towns—nearly a hundred in number—found themselves dispossessed wholly or in part of their lands. The territories involved included the Palatinate and the duchy of Jülich (both of which then belonged to Bavaria), the possessions of the archbishops of Trèves and Cologne and of the bishop of Liége, the ancient free cities of Worms, Speyer, and Cologne, Prussia's duchy of Cleves, besides the tiny realms of dozens of counts and abbots.

The Empire bound itself by the treaty to furnish the *hereditary* princes who had been forced to give up their territories to France "an indemnity within the Empire." Those who did not belong to the class of hereditary rulers were, of course, the bishops and abbots and the free cities. The ecclesiastical princes were forbidden as clergymen to marry, and consequently could have no lawful heirs. Hence if they were deprived of their realms they might be adequately indemnified by a pension for life, with no fear of injustice to their heirs, since they could have none. As for the towns, once so prosperous and important, they now seemed to the more powerful rulers of Germany scarcely worth considering. Indeed, it appeared absurd at the opening of the nineteenth century that a single town should be permitted to constitute an independent state, with its own system of coinage and its particular customs lines.

There was, however, no unoccupied land within the Empire with which to indemnify even the hereditary princes, like the elector of Bavaria, the margrave of Baden, the king of Prussia, or the Emperor himself, who had seen their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine divided into French departments. It was understood by France, as well as by the princes concerned, that the ecclesiastical rulers and the free towns were to pay the costs of this cession by sacrificing their territories on the eastern bank as well as on the western. The *secularization* of the Church lands—as the process of transferring them to lay rulers was called—and the annexation of the free towns implied a veritable revolution in the old Holy Roman Empire.

A commission of German princes was appointed to undertake the reconstruction of the map; and the final distribution was preceded by an undignified scramble among the hereditary rulers for bits of territory. They all turned to Paris for favors, since it was really the First Consul and his minister, Talleyrand, who determined the distribution. Needy princelings are said to have caressed Talleyrand's poodle and played "drop the handkerchief" with his niece in the hope of adding a monastery or a shabby village to their share. At last the Imperial Commission, with France's help, finished its intricate task, and the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*, as the outcome of their labors was officially called, was ratified by the diet in 1803.

All the ecclesiastical states except Mainz were turned over to lay rulers, while of the forty-eight imperial cities only six were left. Three of these—Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck—still exist as members of the new German *Reich*. No map could make clear all the shiftings of territory which the Imperial Commission sanctioned. A few examples will serve to illustrate the complexity of their procedure and the strange microscopic divisions of the Empire.[1]

Prussia received, in return for Cleves and other small territories, the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, a part of the bishopric of Münster and of the lands of the elector of Mainz, the territories of the abbots, or abbesses, of Herford, Quedlinburg, Elten, Essen, Werden, and Kappenberg, and the free towns of Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, and Goslar—over four times the area that she had lost. The elector of Bavaria, for more considerable sacrifices on the left bank, was rewarded with the bishoprics of Würzburg, Bamberg, Freising, Augsburg, and Passau, besides the lands of twelve abbots and of seventeen free towns, which materially extended his boundaries. Austria got the bishoprics of Brixen and Trent; the duke of Württemberg and the margrave of Baden also rounded out and consolidated their dominions. A host of princes and counts received little allotments of land or else were assigned an income of a few thousand guldens to solace their woes,[2] but the more important rulers carried off the lion's share of the spoils. Bonaparte wished to add Parma as well as Piedmont to France; so the duke of Parma was given Tuscany, and the grand duke of Tuscany was indemnified with the archbishopric of Salzburg.[3]

These bewildering details are given here only to illustrate the hopelessly minute subdivision of the old Holy Roman Empire and the importance of the partial amalgamation which took place in 1803. One hundred and twelve sovereign and independent states lying to the east of the Rhine were wiped out by being annexed to larger states, such as Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, etc., while nearly a hundred more had disappeared when the left bank of the Rhine was converted into departments by the French.

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[1] It has not been deemed feasible to give a map here to illustrate the innumerable changes effected by the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*. See the map in Droysen, *Historischer Handatlas*, and the extraordinary maps at the end of Putzger's *Historical Atlas*, edited by W. R. Shepherd.

[2] For example, the prince of Bretzenheim, for the loss of the two villages of Bretzenheim and Winzenheim, was given a "princely" nunnery on Lake Constance; the poor princess of Isenburg, countess of Parkstein, who lost a part of the tiny Reipoltskirchen, received an annuity of twenty-three thousand guldens and a share in the tolls paid by boats on the Rhine; and so on.

[3] As for the knights, who were the least among the German rulers, those who had lost their few acres on the left bank were not indemnified, and those on the right bank were quietly deprived of their political rights within the next two or three years by the princes within whose territories they happened to live.

Although Germany never sank to a lower degree of national humiliation than during this period, this consolidation was nevertheless the beginning of her political regeneration. Bonaparte, it is true, hoped to weaken rather than strengthen the Empire; for by increasing the territory and the power of the southern states—Bavaria, Württemberg, Hesse, and Baden—he expected to gain the permanent friendship of their rulers and so create a "third Germany" which he could play off against Austria and Prussia. He succeeded for a time in this design, but the consolidation of 1803 paved the way, as we shall see, for the creation, sixty-eight years later, of the German Empire.

General Bonaparte reorganizes France and becomes Emperor Napoleon I

Bonaparte was by no means merely a military genius; he was a distinguished statesman as well. He found France in a sad plight after ten years of rapid and radical change, incompetent government, and general disorder. The turmoil of the Reign of Terror had been followed by the mismanagement and corruption of the Directory. There had been no opportunity to perfect the elaborate and thoroughgoing reforms introduced by the first National Assembly, and the work of the Revolution remained but half done. Bonaparte's officials reported to him that the highways were infested with murderous bands of robbers, that the roads and bridges were dilapidated and the harbors filled with sand. The manufacturers and business men were discouraged, and industry was demoralized.

The financial situation was intolerable. The disorder had reached such a pitch that scarcely any taxes were paid in the year 1800. The *assignats* had so depreciated in March, 1796, that three hundred francs in paper were required to procure one in gold. Thereupon the Directory had withdrawn them at one thirtieth of their value and substituted another kind of paper money, which rapidly declined in value in the same way that the *assignats* had done. The hard-beset government had issued all sorts of government securities which were at a hopeless discount, and had repudiated a considerable part of the public debt.

The First Consul and his able ministers began at once to devise measures to remedy the difficulties, and his officials, scattered throughout France, saw to it that the new laws were enforced. The police was everywhere reorganized, and robbers were brought to summary justice. The tax rate was fixed, and the taxes were regularly collected. A sinking-fund was created, designed gradually to extinguish the public debt; this served to raise the credit of the State. New government securities replaced the old ones, and a Bank of France was established to stimulate business. The Directory had so grossly mismanaged the disposal of the lands of the clergy and emigrant nobles that they had brought in very little to the government. Bonaparte carefully cherished what remained unsold and made the most of it.

In no respect had the revolutionary governments been less successful than in dealing with the Church. We have seen how the priests who refused to swear to support the Civil Constitution of the Clergy had been persecuted. After Hébert's attempt to replace Christianity by the worship of Reason, and that of Robespierre to establish a new deistic worship of the Supreme Being, the Catholic churches began early in 1795 to be opened once more, and the Convention declared (February

21, 1795) that the government would no longer concern itself with religion: it would not in the future pay salaries to any clergyman, and everyone should be free to worship in any way he pleased.[1] Thereupon both the "constitutional" and the nonjuring clergy began actively to reorganize their churches. But while thousands of priests managed to perform their duties, the Convention, and later the Directory, continued to persecute those who did not take a new oath of submission to the laws of the Republic, and many suspected of hostility to the government were exiled or imprisoned.

General Bonaparte, although himself a deist, nevertheless fully appreciated the importance of gaining the support of the Church and the Pope, and consequently, immediately upon becoming First Consul, he set to work to settle the religious difficulties. He freed the imprisoned priests on their promising not to oppose the constitution, while those who had been exiled began to return in considerable numbers after the eighteenth Brumaire. Sunday, which had been abolished by the republican calendar, was once more generally observed, and all the revolutionary holidays, except July 14, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, and September 22, the first day of the republican year, were done away with.

A formal treaty with the Pope, known as the *Concordat,* was concluded in September, 1801, which was destined to remain in force for over a hundred years. It declared that the Roman Catholic religion was that of the great majority of the French citizens and that its rites might be freely observed; that the Pope and the French government should arrange a new division of the country into bishoprics; that the bishops should be appointed by the First Consul and confirmed by the Pope, and the priests should be chosen by the bishops. Both bishops and priests were to receive a suitable remuneration from the government, but were to be required to swear to support the constitution of the Republic. The church buildings which had not been sold should be put at the disposition of the bishops, but the Pope agreed never to disturb in any way those who had acquired the former property of the clergy.

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[1] This first law separating Church and State is interesting in view of the efforts which were later made in France to effect the same result (see Volume II). The decree of the Convention read as follows: "No form of worship shall be interfered with. The Republic will subsidize none of them. It will furnish no buildings for religious exercises nor any dwellings for clergymen. The ceremonies of all religions are forbidden outside of the confines of the place chosen for their performance. The law recognizes no minister of religion, and no one is to appear in public with costumes or ornaments used in religious ceremonies." The Convention gruffly added other limitations on religious freedom. It required, for example, that all services be conducted in a semiprivate manner, with none of the old gorgeous display or public ceremonials and processions.

It is to be observed that Bonaparte showed no inclination to separate Church and State, but carefully brought the Church under the control of the State by vesting the appointment of the bishops in the head of the government—the First Consul. The Pope's confirmation was likely to be a mere form. The bishops were to choose no priests who were not agreeable to the government, nor was any papal bull or decree to be published in France without its permission.[1]

In some ways the arrangements of the Concordat of 1801 resembled those which prevailed under the ancien régime, but the Revolution had swept away the whole medieval substructure of the Church. Its lands and feudal rights, the tithes, the monks and nuns with their irrevocable vows enforced by law, the Church courts, the monopoly of religion, and the right to persecute heretics—all of these had disappeared, and General Bonaparte saw no reason for restoring any of them.

As for the emigrant nobles, Bonaparte decreed that no more names should be added to the lists. The striking of names from the list, and the return of confiscated lands that had not already been sold, he made favors to be granted by himself.

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[1] In the "Organic Articles" which, at the instigation of the First Consul, were passed by the Legislative Body, all the old Gallican liberties were reaffirmed, and all the teachers in the theological seminaries were to subscribe to, and agree to inculcate, the Declaration of 1682 (see page 239).

Parents and relatives of emigrants were no longer to be regarded as incapable of holding public offices. In April, 1802, a general amnesty was issued, and no less than forty thousand families returned to France.

There was a gradual reaction from some of the innovations of the Reign of Terror. The old titles of address, *Monsieur* and *Madame*, again came into use instead of the revolutionary "Citizen." Streets which had been rebaptized with republican names resumed their former ones. Old titles of nobility were revived, and something very like a royal court began to develop at the palace of the Tuileries; for Bonaparte, in all but his title, was already a king, and his wife, Josephine, a queen.

It had been clear for some years that the nation was weary of political agitation. How great a relief, after the anarchy of the past, to place all responsibility upon one who showed himself capable of concluding a long war with unprecedented glory for France and of reëstablishing order and the security of person and property, the necessary conditions for renewed prosperity! How natural that the French should welcome a despotism to which they had been accustomed for centuries, after suffering as they had under nominally republican institutions!

One of the greatest and most permanent of Bonaparte's achievements still remains to be noted. The heterogeneous laws of the old régime had been much modified by the legislation of the successive assemblies. All this work needed a final revision, and Bonaparte appointed a commission to undertake the task. Their draft of the new code was discussed in the Council of State, and the First Consul had many suggestions to make. The resulting codification of the civil law—the *Code Napoléon*—is still used today, not only in France but also, with certain modifications, in Bavaria, Baden, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and even in the state of Louisiana. The criminal and commercial laws were also codified. These codes carried with them into foreign lands the principles of equality upon which they were based, and thus diffused the ideas of the Revolution beyond the borders of France.

Bonaparte had always shown the ambitions of a despotic ruler, and France really ceased to be a republic except in name after the eighteenth Brumaire. The First Consul was able to bring about, one by one, changes in the constitution which made his own power more and more absolute. In 1802 he was appointed Consul for life, with the right to choose his successor. But this did not satisfy his insatiable ambition. He longed to be a monarch in name as well as in fact. He believed heartily in kingship and was not averse to its traditional splendor, its palaces, ermine robes, and gay courtiers. A royalist plot gave him an excuse for secretly urging that he be made emperor. France might, he argued, be replunged into civil war as long as there was any chance of overthrowing the government. The only safety for a great nation lay in hereditary power, "which can alone assure a continuous political life that may endure for generations, even for centuries." The Senate was induced to ask him (May, 1804) to accept the title of "Emperor of the French," which he was to hand down to his children or adopted heirs.[1]

On December 2, 1804, General Bonaparte was crowned, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, as Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. The Pope consented to grace the occasion; but the new monarch seized the golden laurel chaplet before the Pope could take it up, and placed it on his own head, since he wished the world to understand that he owed the crown not to the head of the Church but to his own sagacity and military genius. A royal court was reëstablished in the Tuileries, and Ségur, an emigrant noble, and Madame de Campan—one of Marie Antoinette's ladies-in-waiting, who had been earning an honest livelihood by conducting a girls' school—were called in to show the new courtiers how to deport themselves according to the rules of etiquette which had prevailed before the red cap of liberty had come into fashion. A new nobility was established to take the place of that abolished by the first National Assembly in 1790: Bonaparte's uncle was made Grand Almoner; Talleyrand, Lord High Chamberlain; General Duroc, High Constable; and fourteen of the most important generals were exalted to the rank of Marshals of France. The stanch republicans, who had believed that the court pageantry of the old régime had gone to stay, were either disgusted or amused by these proceedings, according to their temperaments. But Emperor Napoleon would brook no strictures or sarcastic comment.

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[1] Josephine had borne him no children.

From this time on he became increasingly tyrannical and hostile to criticism. At the very beginning of his administration he had suppressed a great part of the numerous political newspapers and forbidden the establishment of new ones. As emperor he showed himself still more exacting. His police furnished the news to the papers, and carefully omitted everything which might offend their suspicious master. He ordered the journals to "put in quarantine all news that might be disadvantageous or disagreeable to France."[1] He would have liked to suppress all newspapers but one, to be used for official purposes.

Napoleon's Destruction of the Holy Roman Empire

A great majority of the French undoubtedly longed for peace; but Napoleon's position made war a personal necessity for him. No one saw this more clearly than he. "If," he said to his Council of State in the summer of 1802, "the European states intend ever to renew the war, the sooner it comes the better. Every day the remembrance of their defeats grows dimmer, and at the same time the prestige of our victories pales. . . . France needs glorious deeds, and hence war. She must be the first among the states or she is lost. I shall put up with peace as long as our neighbors can maintain it, but I shall regard it as an advantage if they force me to take up my arms again before they rust. . . . In our position I shall look on each conclusion of peace as simply a short armistice, and I regard myself as destined during my term of office to fight almost without intermission."

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[1] When the French fleet was annihilated by Nelson at Trafalgar, in 1805, the event was not mentioned in the *Moniteur*, the official newspaper.

On another occasion, in 1804, Napoleon said, "There will be no rest in Europe until it is under a single chief—an emperor who shall have kings for officers, who shall distribute kingdoms to his lieutenants, and shall make this one king of Italy, that one of Bavaria; this one ruler of Switzerland, that one governor of Holland, each having an office of honor in the imperial household." This was the ideal that he now found himself in a position to carry out with marvelous exactness.

There were many reasons why the peace with England (concluded at Amiens in March, 1802) should be speedily broken, especially as the First Consul was not averse to a renewal of the war. The obvious intention of Napoleon to bring as much of Europe under his control as he could, and the imposition of high duties on English goods in those territories that he already controlled, filled commercial and industrial England with apprehension. The English people longed for peace, but peace appeared only to offer an opportunity to Napoleon to develop French commerce at their expense. This was the secret of England's pertinacity. All the other European powers concluded treaties with Napoleon at some time during his reign. England alone did not lay down her arms a second time until the emperor of the French was a prisoner.

War was renewed between England and France in May, 1803. Bonaparte promptly occupied Hanover, of which, it will be recalled, the English king was elector, and declared the coast blockaded from Hanover to Otranto. Holland, Spain, and the Ligurian Republic (formerly the republic of Genoa) were, by hook or crook, all induced to agree to furnish their contingent of men or money to the French army and to exclude English ships from their ports.

To cap the climax, England was alarmed by the appearance of a French army at Boulogne, just across the Channel. A great number of flatboats were collected and troops trained to embark and disembark. Apparently Napoleon harbored the firm purpose of invading the British Isles. Yet the transportation of a large body of troops across the English Channel, trifling as is the distance, would have been very hazardous, and by many it was deemed downright impossible.[1] No one knows whether Napoleon really intended to make the trial. It is quite possible that his main purpose in collecting an army at Boulogne was to have it in readiness for the continental war which he saw immediately ahead of him. He succeeded, at any rate, in terrifying England, who prepared to defend her coasts against the French invaders.

The new Tsar, Alexander I,[2] had submitted a plan for the reconciliation of France and England in August, 1803; the rejection of this, the continued aggressions of Napoleon, and above all, his shocking execution of the duke of Enghien, a Bourbon prince whom he had arrested on the ground that he was plotting against the First Consul, roused the Tsar's indignation and led him to conclude an alliance with England, the objects of which were the expulsion of the French from Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Hanover, and the settlement of European affairs upon a sound and permanent basis by a great international congress.

Russia and England were immediately joined by Austria, who found Napoleon intent upon developing in northern Italy a strong power which would threaten her borders. He had been crowned king of Italy in May, 1805, and had annexed the Ligurian Republic to France. There were rumors, too, that he was planning to seize the Venetian territories which had been assigned to Austria at Campo Formio. The timid king of Prussia, Frederick William III, could not be induced to join the alliance, nor would he ally himself with Napoleon, although he was offered the electorate of Hanover, a very substantial inducement. He persisted in maintaining a neutrality which was to cost him dear.

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[1] The waves and currents caused by winds and tides make the Channel very uncertain for all except steam navigation. Robert Fulton offered to put his newly invented steamboat at Napoleon's disposal, but his offer was declined.

[2] Alexander had succeeded his father, Paul, when the latter was assassinated in a palace plot, March, 1801.

Napoleon had been endeavoring to get the advantage of the English on the sea, for there was little possibility of ferrying his armies across to England so long as English men-of-war were blockading the French squadrons and guarding the Channel. His efforts to free the French ships and concentrate them in the Channel proved vain; for Lord Cornwallis continued to blockade one fleet at Brest, while the other was forced to take refuge in the harbor of Cadiz, where Lord Nelson watched it. These circumstances and the approach of the Austrian army through southern Germany led Napoleon to give up all thought of invading England and to turn his whole attention toward the east.

He misled Austria by massing troops about Strasbourg and pretending that he was going to march through the Black Forest. Consequently, the Austrian general, Mack, concentrated his forces about Ulm, so as to be ready for the French when they should make their appearance. Napoleon, however, was really taking his armies around to the north, through Mainz and Coblenz. On October 14 he occupied Munich, and cut off the Austrians from Vienna in somewhat the same way he had done when he crossed the St. Bernard Pass in 1800. He then moved westward, and six days later General Mack, finding himself surrounded and shut up in Ulm, was forced to capitulate. Thus Napoleon made prisoners of a whole Austrian army, sixty thousand strong, without losing more than a few hundred of his own men. The French could now safely march down the Danube to Vienna, which they reached October 31.

Emperor Francis II had retired before the approaching enemy and was now concentrating his troops north of Vienna, in Moravia. Here he had been joined by the Russian army. The allies determined to risk a battle with the French and occupied a favorable position on a hill near the village of Austerlitz, which was to be made forever famous by the terrible winter battle that occurred there on December 2. The Russians having descended the hill to attack the weaker wing of Napoleon's army, the French occupied the heights which the Russians had deserted, and poured a deadly fire upon the enemy's rear. The allies were routed, and thousands of their troops were drowned as they sought to escape across the thin ice of a little lake which lay at the foot of the hill. The Tsar withdrew the remnants of his forces, while the Emperor in despair agreed to submit to a humiliating peace, the Treaty of Pressburg.

By this treaty Austria recognized all Napoleon's changes in Italy, and ceded to his kingdom of Italy that portion of the Venetian territory which she had received at Campo Formio. Moreover, she ceded Tyrol to Bavaria, which was friendly to Napoleon, and other of her possessions to Württemberg and Baden, also friends of the French emperor. As head of the Holy Roman Empire, Francis II agreed also that the rulers of Bavaria and Württemberg should be raised to the rank of kings, and that they and the grand duke of Baden should enjoy "the plenitude of sovereignty" and all rights derived therefrom, precisely as did the rulers of Austria and Prussia.

These provisions of the Treaty of Pressburg are of vital importance in the history of Germany. By explicitly declaring several of the larger of the German states altogether independent of the Emperor, Napoleon prepared the way for the formation in Germany of another dependency which, like Holland and the kingdom of Italy, might support France in future wars. In the summer of 1806 Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and thirteen lesser German states united in a league known as the Confederation of the Rhine. This union was to be under the "protection" of the French emperor and was to furnish him sixty-three thousand soldiers, who were to be organized by French officers and to be at his disposal when he needed them.

On August 1 Napoleon announced to the diet of the Holy Roman Empire at Ratisbon that he had, "in the dearest interests of his people and of his neighbors," accepted the title "Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine," and that he could therefore no longer recognize the existence of the Holy Roman Empire, which had long been merely a shadow of its former self. A considerable number of its members had become sovereign powers, and its continuation could only be a source of dissension and confusion.

The Emperor, Francis II, like his predecessors for several hundred years, was the ruler of the various Austrian dominions. He was officially known as "King of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Galicia, and Laodomeria, Duke of Lorraine, Venice, Salzburg," etc. When, however, the First Consul received as ruler of France the title "Emperor of the French," Francis determined to substitute for his long array of individual titles the brief and dignified formula "Hereditary Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary."

After the Treaty of Pressburg and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, he became convinced of the utter impossibility of longer fulfilling the duties of his office as head of the Holy Roman Empire, and he accordingly abdicated (on August 6, 1806). In this way he formally put an end to a line of rulers who had, for well-nigh eighteen centuries, proudly maintained that they were the successors of Augustus Cæsar, the first Roman emperor. The slight bond that had held the practically independent German states together was now dissolved, and the way was left clear for a series of reconstructions which later resulted in the formation of a new and powerful German Empire, with the king of Prussia at its head. But the story of this must be deferred.

Napoleon went on steadily developing what he called "the real French Empire," namely, the dependent states under his control which lay outside the bounds of France itself. Immediately after the battle of Austerlitz he had proclaimed that Ferdinand IV, the Bourbon king of Naples, had ceased to reign. He ordered one of his generals to proceed to southern Italy and "hurl from the throne that guilty woman," Queen Caroline, who had favored the English and entertained Lord Nelson. In March he appointed his elder brother, Joseph, as king of Naples and Sicily, and a younger brother, Louis, king of Holland.

One of the most important of the Continental states, it will have been noticed, had taken no part as yet in the opposition to the extension of Napoleon's influence. Prussia, the first power to conclude peace with the new French republic in 1795, had since that time maintained a strict neutrality. Had she yielded to Tsar Alexander's persuasions and joined the coalition in 1805, she might have turned the tide at Austerlitz, or at any rate have encouraged further resistance to the conqueror. The hesitation of Frederick William III at that juncture proved a grave mistake; for Napoleon now forced him into war when he could look for no assistance from Russia or the other powers.

The immediate cause of the declaration of war was the disposal of Hanover. This electorate Frederick William had consented to hold provisionally, pending its possible transfer to him should the English king give his assent. Prussia was eager to get possession of Hanover because it lay just between her older possessions and the territory which she had gained in the redistribution of 1803.

Napoleon, as usual, did not fail either to see or to use his advantage. His conduct toward Prussia was most insolent. After setting her at enmity with England and promising that she should have Hanover, he unblushingly offered to restore the electorate to George III. His insults now began to arouse the national spirit in Prussia, and the reluctant Frederick William was forced by the party in favor of war, which included his beautiful queen, Louise, and the great statesman Stein, to break with Napoleon.

The Prussian army was, however, as has been well said, "only that of Frederick the Great grown twenty years older." One of Frederick's generals, the aged duke of Brunswick, who had issued the famous manifesto in 1792, was its leader. A double defeat near Jena (October 14, 1806) put Prussia entirely in the hands of her enemy. This one disaster produced complete demoralization throughout the country. Fortresses were surrendered without resistance, and the king fled to the uttermost parts of his realm, on the Russian boundary.

After crushing Prussia, Napoleon led his army into what had once been the kingdom of Poland. Here he spent a winter of great hardship and danger in operations against the Russians and their feeble allies, the Prussians. He closed a difficult campaign far from France by the signal victory of Friedland (not far from Königsberg), and then arranged for an interview with the Tsar. The two rulers met on a raft in the river Niemen (June 25, 1807), and there privately arranged the provisions of the Treaty of Tilsit between France, Russia, and Prussia. The Tsar, Alexander I, was completely won over by Napoleon's skillful diplomacy. He shamefully deserted his helpless ally, Frederick William III of Prussia, and turned against England, whose subsidies he had been accepting.

Napoleon had no mercy upon Prussia, which he immediately dismembered by depriving it of all its possessions west of the Elbe, and all that it had gained in the second and third partitions of Poland. From the lands which he forced Frederick William to cede to him at Tilsit, Napoleon established two new French dependencies by forming the Polish territories into the grand duchy of Warsaw—of which his friend, the king of Saxony, was made ruler—and by creating from the western territory (to which he later added Hanover) the kingdom of Westphalia, for his brother Jerome.

Russia, on the other hand, he treated with marked consideration, and proposed that he and the Tsar should form an alliance which would enable him to have his way in western Europe and Alexander in the east. The Tsar consented to the dismemberment of Prussia and agreed to recognize all the sweeping changes which Napoleon had made during previous years. He secretly promised, if George III refused to conclude peace, to join France against England and to force Denmark and Portugal to exclude English ships from their ports. In this way England would be cut off from all of western Europe, since Napoleon would have the whole coast practically under his control. In return for these promises Napoleon engaged to aid the Tsar in seizing Finland from Sweden and annexing the so-called Danubian provinces,—Moldavia and Wallachia,—which belonged to the Sultan of Turkey.[1]

The Continental Blockade

In arranging the Treaty of Tilsit, it is evident that Napoleon had constantly in mind his most persistent and inaccessible enemy, England. However marvelous his successes by land might be, he had no luck whatever on the sea. He had beheld his Egyptian fleet sink under Nelson's attack in 1798. When he was making preparations to transport his army across the Channel in 1805, he was humiliated to discover that the English were keeping his main squadrons penned up in the harbors of Brest and Cadiz. The day after he had captured General Mack's whole army with such ease at Ulm, Nelson had annihilated off Cape Trafalgar the French squadron which had ventured out from Cadiz. After Tilsit, Napoleon set himself more earnestly than ever to bring England to terms by ruining her commerce and industry, since he had no hope of subduing her by arms. He proposed to make "that race of shopkeepers" cry for peace by absolutely cutting them off from trade with the countries on the continent of Europe and so drying up the sources of British prosperity.

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[1] They now form part of the kingdom of Rumania.

In May, 1806, England had declared the coast from the mouth of the Elbe to Brest "blockaded"; that is to say, she gave warning that her war vessels and privateers would capture any vessel that attempted to enter or leave any of the ports between these two points. After he had won the battle of Jena, Napoleon replied to this declaration by his Berlin Decree (November, 1806), in which he proclaimed that England had "disregarded all ideas of justice and every high sentiment which civilization ought to bring to mankind"; that it was monstrous effrontery on her part to declare great stretches of coast in a state of blockade which her whole fleet would be unable to enforce. Nevertheless, he believed it a natural right to use the same measures against her that she employed against him. He therefore retaliated by declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade and forbidding all commerce with them. Letters or packages addressed to England or to an Englishman, or even written in the English language, were not to be permitted to pass through the mails in the countries he controlled. All trade in English goods was prohibited. Any British subject discovered in the countries occupied by French troops, or in the territories of Napoleon's allies, was to be regarded as a prisoner of war and his property as a lawful prize. This was, of course, only a "paper" blockade, since France and her allies could do little more than capture, now and then, some unfortunate vessel which was supposed to be coming from, or bound to, an English port.

A year later England established a similar paper blockade of the ports of the French Empire and its allies, but hit upon the happy idea of permitting the ships of neutral powers to proceed, provided that they touched at an English port, secured a license from the English government, and paid a heavy export duty. Napoleon was ready with a still more outrageous measure. In a decree issued from "our royal palace at Milan" (December, 1807), he declared that all vessels, of whatever nationality, which submitted to the regulations of England were lawful prizes for the French privateers.

The ships of the United States were at this time the most numerous and important of the neutral vessels carrying on the world's trade, and a very hard time they had between the Scylla of the English orders and the Charybdis of Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees. The Baltimore *Evening Post* in September, 1808, calculated that if an American ship bound for Holland with four hundred hogsheads of tobacco should decide to meet England's requirements and touch at London on the way, its owners would pay three halfpence per pound on the tobacco, and twelve shillings for each ton of the ship. With a hundred dollars for England's license to proceed on her way, and sundry other dues, the total would amount to about thirteen thousand dollars. On the way home, if the neutral vessel wished to avoid the chance of capture by an English cruiser, she might pay, perhaps, sixteen thousand five hundred dollars more to England for the privilege of returning to Baltimore with a cargo of Holland gin. This would make the total contributions paid to Great Britain for a single voyage about thirty thousand dollars.

Alarmed and exasperated at the conduct of England and France, the Congress of the United States, at the suggestion of President Jefferson, passed an embargo act (in December, 1807), which forbade all vessels to leave port. It was hoped that this would prevent the further loss of American ships and at the same time so interfere with the trade of England and France that they would make some concessions. But the only obvious result was the destruction of the previously flourishing commerce of the Atlantic coast towns, especially in New England. Early in 1809 Congress was induced to permit trade once more with the European nations, excepting France and England, whose vessels were still to be strictly excluded from all the ports of the United States.

Napoleon expressed the utmost confidence in his plan of ruining England by cutting her off from the Continent. He was cheered to observe that a pound sterling was no longer worth twenty-five francs but only seventeen, and that the discouraged English merchants were beginning to urge Parliament to conclude peace. In order to cripple England permanently, he proposed to wean Europe from the use of those colonial products with which it had been supplied by English ships. He therefore encouraged the substitution of chicory for coffee, the cultivation of the sugar beet, and the discovery of new dyes to replace those—such as indigo and cochineal—which came from the tropics. This "Continental System" caused a great deal of distress and discontent and contributed to his downfall, inasmuch as he had to resort to despotic measures to break up the old system of trade. Besides, he was led to make continual additions to his already unwieldy empire, with a view to getting control of the whole coast line of western Europe, from the boundaries of Prussia around to those of the Turkish Empire.

Napoleon at the Zenith (1808–1812)

France owed much to Napoleon, for he had restored order and guaranteed many of the beneficent achievements of the Revolution of 1789. His boundless ambition was, it is true, sapping her strength by forcing younger and younger men into his armies in order to build up the vast international federation which he planned. But his victories and the commanding position to which he had raised France filled the nation with pride.

He sought to gain popular approval by great public improvements. He built magnificent roads along the Rhine and the Mediterranean and across the Alps, which filled the traveler with admiration. He beautified Paris by opening up wide streets and quays and constructing bridges and triumphal arches that kept fresh in the people's minds the recollection of his victories. By these means he gradually converted a medieval town into the most beautiful of modern capitals.

To make sure that the young people were brought up to venerate his name and to support his government, Napoleon completely reorganized the schools and colleges of France. These he consolidated into a single "university"[1] which comprised all the instruction from the most elementary to the most advanced. A "grand master" was put at its head, and a university council of thirty members drew up regulations for all the schools, prepared the textbooks, and controlled the teachers, high and low, throughout France. The university had its own large endowment, and its instructors were to be suitably prepared in a normal school established for the purpose.

The government could at any time interfere if it disapproved of the teaching; the prefect was to visit the schools in his department and report on their condition to the minister of the interior. The first schoolbook that was drawn up was the *Imperial Catechism*; in this the children were taught to say: "Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we in particular owe to Napoleon I, our Emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes levied for the preservation and defense of the empire and of his throne. We also owe him fervent prayers for his safety and for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the State."

Napoleon not only created a new nobility but he endeavored to assure the support of distinguished individuals by making them members of the Legion of Honor which he founded. The "princes," whom he nominated, received an annual income of two hundred thousand francs. The ministers of state, senators, members of his Council of State, and the archbishops received the title of "Count" and a revenue of thirty thousand francs, and so on. The army was not forgotten, for Napoleon felt that to be his chief support. The incomes of his marshals were enormous, and brave actions among the soldiers were rewarded with the decoration of the Legion of Honor.

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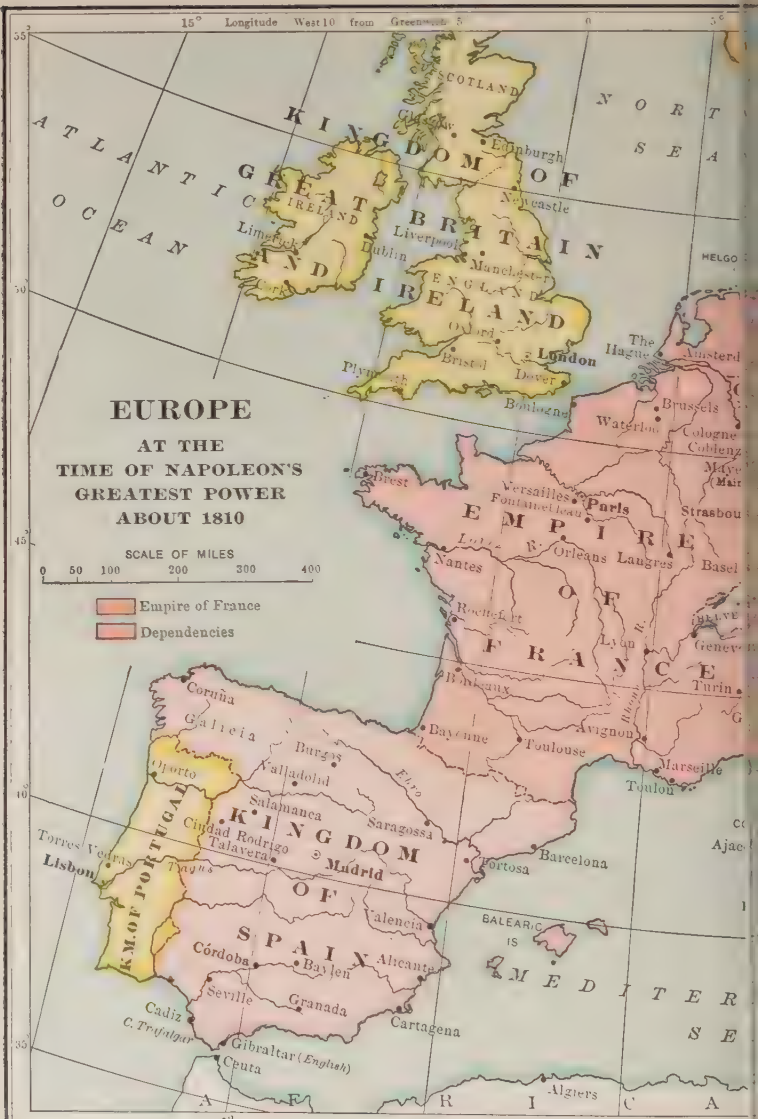
[1] Only the theological seminaries and the polytechnic schools were excluded from the university. Napoleon's system suggests the Board of Regents which constitutes the University of the State of New York.

Napoleon was, however, never content with his achievements or his glory. On the day of his coronation he complained to his minister, Decrès, that he had been born too late, that there was nothing great to be done any more. On his minister's remonstrating, he added: "I admit that my career has been brilliant and that I have made a good record. But what a difference is there if we compare ours with ancient times. Take Alexander the Great, for example. When he announced himself the son of Jupiter, the whole East—except his mother, Aristotle, and a few Athenian pedants—believed this to be true. But should I nowadays declare myself the son of the Eternal Father, there isn't a fishwife who would not hiss me. No, the nations are too sophisticated; nothing great is any longer possible."

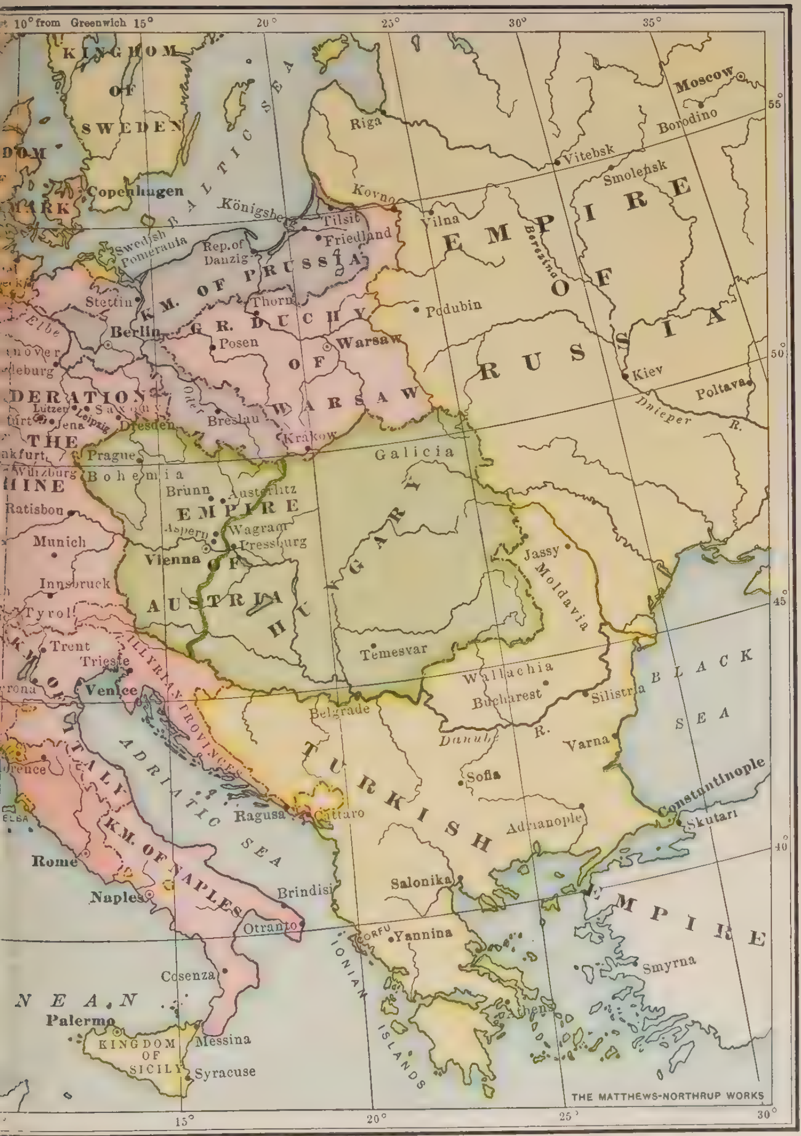
As time went on, Napoleon's despotic rule grew more and more oppressive. No less than thirty-five hundred prisoners of State were arrested at his command, one because he hated Napoleon, another because in his letters he expressed sentiments adverse to the government. No grievance was sufficiently petty to escape the emperor's jealous eye. Thus, he ordered the title of *A History of Bonaparte* to be changed to *The History of the Campaigns of Napoleon the Great.* He forbade the performance of certain of Schiller's and Goethe's plays in German towns, as tending to arouse the patriotic discontent of the people with his rule.

Up to this time Napoleon had had only the opposition of the several European courts to overcome in the extension of his power. The people of the various states which he had conquered showed an extraordinary indifference toward the po-



EUROPE

AT THE TIME OF NAPOLEON'S GREATEST POWER ABOUT 1810


10° from Greenwich 15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
DOM
MARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
Riga
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Vitebsk
Smolensk
Kovno
Vilna
Königsberg
Tilsit
Friedland
Swedish Pomerania
Rep. of Danzig
KM. OF PRUSSIA
Stettin
Berlin
Thorn
GR. DUCHY OF WARSAW
Posen
Warsaw
EMPIRE OF RUSSIA
Berezina
Podubin
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Würzburg
Bohemia
Brunn
Austerlitz
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
Ratisbon
Aspern
Wagram
Pressburg
Munich
Vienna
Innsbruck
Tyrol
HUNGARY
Jassy
Moldavia
Trent
Trieste
Temesvar
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
rona
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Wallachia
Bucharest
Silistria
BLACK SEA
Belgrade
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Sofia
TURKISH EMPIRE
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Ragusa
Cattaro
Constantinople
Skutari
Adrianople
ELBA
Rome
KM. OF NAPLES
Salonika
Naples
Brindisi
Otranto
CORFU
Yannina
Smyrna
IONIAN ISLANDS
Cosenza
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Palermo
Athens
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THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS

litical changes. But it was clear that as soon as the national spirit was once awakened, the highly artificial system created by the French emperor would collapse. His first serious reverse came from the people, and from an unexpected quarter.

After concluding the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon turned his attention to the Spanish peninsula. He was on friendly terms with the court of Spain, but little Portugal continued to admit English ships to her harbors. In October he ordered the Portuguese government to declare war on England and to confiscate all English property. Upon its refusal to obey this order, he commanded General Junot to invade Portugal and take charge of the government. Thereupon the royal family resolved to take refuge in their vast Brazilian empire, and when Junot reached Lisbon they were receiving the salutes of the English squadron as they moved down the Tagus on the way to their new home across the Atlantic. Easy and simple as was the subsequent occupation of Portugal, it proved one of Napoleon's serious mistakes.

Owing to quarrels and dissensions in the Spanish royal family, Spain also seemed to Napoleon an easy prey, and he determined to add it to his subject kingdoms. In the spring of 1808 he induced both Charles IV of Spain and the crown prince Ferdinand to meet him at Bayonne. Here he was able to persuade or force both of them to waive their rights to the throne,[1] and on June 6 he appointed his brother Joseph king of Spain. Murat, one of Napoleon's ablest generals, who had married his sister, succeeded Joseph on the throne of Naples.

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[1] Charles IV resigned all his rights to the crown of Spain and the Indies "to the emperor of the French as the only person who, in the existing state of affairs, can reëstablish order." He and his disreputable queen retired to Rome, while Napoleon kept Ferdinand under guard in Talleyrand's country estate. Here this despicable prince lived for six years, occasionally writing a cringing letter to Napoleon. In 1814 he was restored to the Spanish throne as Ferdinand VII, and, as we shall see later, showed himself the consistent enemy of reform (see page 430).

Joseph entered Madrid in July, armed with excellent intentions and a new constitution. The general rebellion in favor of the crown prince Ferdinand, which immediately broke out, had an element of religious enthusiasm in it; for the monks stirred up the people against Napoleon, on the ground that he was an enemy of the Pope and an oppressor of the Church. One French army was captured at Bailén, and another capitulated to the English forces which had landed in Portugal. Before the end of July, Joseph and the French troops had been compelled to retreat behind the river Ebro.

In November the French emperor himself led into Spain a magnificent army, two hundred thousand strong, in the best of condition and commanded by his ablest marshals. The Spanish troops, perhaps one hundred thousand in number, were ill clad and inadequately equipped; what was worse, they were overconfident in view of their late victory. They were, of course, defeated, and Madrid surrendered on December 4. Napoleon thereupon issued a proclamation to the Spanish people in which he said: "It depends upon you alone whether this moderate constitution that I offer you shall henceforth be your law. Should all my efforts prove vain, and should you refuse to justify my confidence, then nothing will remain for me but to treat you as a conquered province and find a new throne for my brother. In that case I shall myself assume the crown of Spain and teach the ill-disposed to respect that crown; for God has given me the power and the will to overcome all obstacles."

Decrees were immediately issued in which Napoleon abolished all vestiges of the feudal system, and declared that it should be free to everyone who conformed to the laws to carry on any industry that he pleased. The tribunal of the Inquisition, for which Spain had been noted for hundreds of years, was abolished and its property seized. The monasteries and convents were to be reduced to one third of their number, and no one, for the time being, was to be permitted to take any monastic vows. The customs lines which separated the

Spanish provinces and hampered trade were obliterated, and the customhouses transferred to the frontiers of the kingdom. These measures illustrate the way in which Napoleon disseminated the principles of the French Revolution by arms in those states which, in spite of the reforms of the benevolent despots, still retained many medieval institutions.

The next month Napoleon was back in Paris, as he saw that he had another war with Austria on his hands. He left Joseph on a very insecure throne, and, in spite of the arrogant confidence of his proclamation to the Spaniards, he was soon to discover that they could maintain a guerilla warfare against which his best troops and most distinguished generals were powerless. His ultimate downfall was in no small measure due to the persistent hostility of the Spanish people.

Austria was fearful, since Napoleon had gained Russia's friendship, that he might be tempted, should he succeed in putting down the stubborn resistance of the Spaniards, still further to increase his empire at her expense. She had been reorganizing and increasing her army, and decided that it was best to strike while some two hundred thousand of Napoleon's troops were busy in Spain. So the Austrian emperor's brother, the archduke Charles, led his forces westward in April, 1809, and issued an appeal to the German nation in which he urged them to imitate the heroic Spaniards and rise against their oppressors. Although there was an ever-growing party both in Prussia and in southern Germany which longed to throw off Napoleon's yoke, the king of Prussia refused to join Austria unless Russia would lend her aid. The monarchs who composed the Confederation of the Rhine also clung to their "protector"; so Austria was left to meet "the enemy of Europe" single-handed.

After defeating the archduke Charles in Bavaria, Napoleon marched on to Vienna, but he did not succeed in crushing the Austrian forces as easily and promptly as he had done at Austerlitz, in 1805. Indeed, he was actually defeated at the battle of Aspern (May 21–22), but finally gained a rather doubtful victory in the fearful battle of Wagram, near Vienna (July 5–6). Austria was disheartened and again consented to conclude a peace quite as humiliating as that of Pressburg.

She had announced that her object in going to war once more was the destruction of Napoleon's system of dependent states and had proposed "to restore to their rightful possessors all those lands belonging to them respectively before the Napoleonic usurpation." The battle of Wagram put an end to these dreams, and the emperor of Austria was forced to surrender to the victor and his friends extensive territories, together with four million Austrian subjects. A strip of land, including Salzburg, was given to the king of Bavaria; on the north, Galicia (which Austria had received in the first partition of Poland) was ceded to Napoleon's ally, the grand duke of Warsaw; and finally, along the Adriatic, Napoleon carved out a district which he added to his own empire under the name of "the Illyrian Provinces." This last cession served to cut Austria entirely off from the sea.

The new Austrian minister, Metternich, was anxious to establish a permanent alliance with the seemingly invincible emperor of the French and did all he could to heal the breach between Austria and France by a royal marriage. Napoleon ardently desired an heir to whom he could transmit his vast dominions. As Josephine had borne him no children, he decided to divorce her, and, after considering and rejecting a Russian princess, he married (April, 1810) the archduchess Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Austrian emperor and a grandniece of Marie Antoinette. In this way the former Corsican adventurer gained admission to one of the oldest and proudest of reigning families, the Hapsburgs. His second wife soon bore him a son, who was styled King of Rome.

While Napoleon was in the midst of the war with Austria, he had issued a proclamation "reuniting" the Papal States to the French Empire. He argued that it was Charlemagne, emperor of the French, his august predecessor, who had given the lands to the popes and that now, since the tranquillity and welfare of his people required the reunion of the territory with France, it was his obvious duty to deprive the Pope of his dominions.

Holland, it will be remembered, had been formed into a kingdom under the rule of Napoleon's brother Louis. The brothers had never agreed,[1] and in 1810 Holland was annexed to France, as well as the German territory to the north, including the great ports of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck.

Napoleon had now reached the zenith of his power. All of western Europe, except the British Isles, was apparently under his control. France itself reached from the Baltic nearly to the Bay of Naples and included a considerable district beyond the Adriatic. The emperor of the French was also king of Italy and "protector" of the Confederation of the Rhine, which now included all the German states except Austria and the remains of the kingdom of Prussia. Napoleon's brother Joseph was king of Spain, and his brother-in-law, Murat, king of Naples. Poland once more appeared on the map as the grand duchy of Warsaw, a faithful ally of its "restorer." The possessions of the emperor of Austria had so shrunk on the west that Hungary was now by far the most important part of Francis I's[2] realms, although he had the satisfaction of beholding in his grandson, the "King of Rome," the heir to unprecedented power. Surely in the entire history of the world there is nothing that is comparable to the career of Napoleon Bonaparte! He was, as a sage Frenchman has observed, "as great as a man can be without virtue."

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[1] Louis Bonaparte, the father of Napoleon III, and the most conscientious of the Bonaparte family, had been so harassed by Napoleon that he had abdicated.

[2] Emperor Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire had become Francis I, emperor of Austria.

Napoleon's Opening Reverses

But all Napoleon's military genius, his statesmanship, his tireless vigilance, and his absolute unscrupulousness could not invent means by which an empire such as he had built up could be held together permanently. Even if, by force or persuasion, he could have induced the monarchs to remain his vassals, he could not have coped with the growing spirit of nationality among their subjects which made subordination to a French ruler seem a more and more shameful thing to Spaniards, Germans, and Italians alike. Moreover, there were two governments that he had not succeeded in conquering,—Great Britain and Russia.

The English, far from begging for peace on account of the Continental blockade, had annihilated the French sea power and now began to attack Napoleon on land. Sir Arthur Wellesley (a commander who had made a reputation in India, and who is better known by his later title of "the Duke of Wellington") had landed English troops in Portugal (August, 1808) and had forced Junot and the French army to evacuate the country. While Napoleon was busy about Vienna in 1809, Wellesley had invaded Spain and gained a victory over the French there. He had then retired again to Portugal where he had spent the winter in building a system of defenses—the lines of Torres Vedras—on a rocky promontory near Lisbon. From here he could carry on his operations against the French with security and success. He and his Spanish allies continued to occupy the attention of about three hundred thousand of Napoleon's troops and some of his very best generals. So Napoleon never really conquered Spain, which proved a constant drain on his resources,—a source of humiliation to him and of exultation and encouragement to his enemies.

Among the Continental states Russia alone was entirely out of Napoleon's control. Up to this time the agreement of Tilsit had been maintained. There were, however, plenty of causes for misunderstanding between the ardent young Tsar, Alexander I, and Napoleon. The latter was secretly opposing, instead of aiding, Alexander's plans for adding the Danubian provinces to his possessions. Then the possibility of Napoleon's reëstablishing Poland as a national kingdom, which might threaten Russia's interests, was a constant source of apprehension to the Tsar.

The chief difficulty lay, however, in Russia's unwillingness to enforce the Continental blockade. The Tsar was willing, in accordance with the Treaty of Tilsit, to continue to close his harbors to English ships, but he refused to accede to Napoleon's demand that he shut out vessels sailing under a neutral flag. Russia had to dispose of her products in some way and to obtain English manufactures, as well as coffee, spices, sugar, and other tropical and semitropical products which she had no hope of producing herself. Her comfort and prosperity depended, therefore, upon the neutral vessels which visited her Baltic ports.

Napoleon viewed the open Russian ports as a fatal flaw in his Continental System and began to make preparations for an attack upon his doubtful friend, who was already beginning to look like an enemy. In 1812 he believed that he was ready to subdue even distant Russia. His more far-sighted counselors vainly attempted to dissuade him by pointing out the fearful risks that he was taking. Deaf to their warnings, he collected on the Russian frontier a vast army of almost half a million men, composed to a great extent of young French recruits and the contingents furnished by his allies.

The story of the fearful Russian campaign which followed cannot be told here in detail. Napoleon had planned to take three years to conquer Russia, but he was forced on by the necessity of proclaiming at least one signal victory before he closed the first season's campaign. The Russians simply retreated and led him far within a hostile and devastated country before they offered battle at Borodino (September 7). Napoleon won the battle, but his army was reduced to somewhat over one hundred thousand men when he entered Moscow a week later. The town had been set on fire by the Russians before his arrival; he found his position untenable, and had to retreat as winter came on. The cold, the lack of food, and the harassing attacks of the people along the route made that retreat one of the most signal military tragedies on record. Napoleon regained Poland early in December, 1812, accompanied by barely twenty thousand of the four hundred thousand men with whom he had opened the campaign some six months before.[1]

He hastened back to Paris, where he freely misrepresented the true state of affairs, even declaring that the army was in good condition up to the time when he had turned it over to Murat in December. While the loss of men in the Russian campaign was enormous, just those few had survived who were most essential for the formation of a new army, namely, the officers. With their help Napoleon soon had a force of no less than six hundred thousand men with which to return to the attack. This army contained one hundred and fifty thousand conscripts who should not have been called into service until 1814, besides older men who had been hitherto exempted.

REVIVAL OF PRUSSIA

The first of his allies to desert Napoleon was Prussia—and no wonder! She had felt his tyranny as no other country. He had not only taken her lands—he had cajoled and insulted her; he had forced her to send her ablest minister, Stein, into exile because he had aroused the French emperor's dislike; he had opposed every measure of reform which might have served to strengthen the diminished kingdom that he had left to Frederick William III.

Prussia, notwithstanding the reforms of Frederick the Great, had retained its half-feudal institutions down to the decisive defeat of Jena. The agricultural classes were serfs bound to the soil and compelled to work a certain part of each week for their lords without remuneration. The population was divided into three distinct castes,—nobles, burghers, and peasants,—who could not acquire one another's land.[1] The disaster of Jena and the losses at Tilsit convinced the Prussian statesmen that the country's only hope of recovery was a complete social and political revolution not unlike that which had taken place in France. They saw that the old system must be abolished, the peasants freed, and the restrictions which hedged about the different classes done away with before it would be possible to arouse public spirit to a point where a great popular uprising might expel the intruder forever.

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[1] This does not mean that all but twenty thousand had been killed. Some of the contingents—that of Prussia, for example—did not take an active part in the war.

The first step toward this general reform was the royal decree of October 9, 1807, intended to "remove every obstacle that has hitherto prevented the individual from attaining such a degree of prosperity as he is capable of reaching." Serfdom was abolished and the restrictions on landholding removed, so that anyone, regardless of class, was at liberty to purchase and hold landed property of every kind.

Every thoughtful Prussian had been deeply shocked by the cowardly way in which the enemy had been permitted to occupy the whole country after a single defeat. Men like William von Humboldt and the philosopher Fichte hence began to promote a moral and educational reform. The University of Berlin, today one of the foremost institutions of learning in the world, was founded, and four hundred and fifty-eight students matriculated during the first year (1810–1811). The *Gymnasien*, or high schools, were also greatly improved. A League of Virtue (*Tugendbund*), which was formed for the encouragement of morality and public spirit, did much to foster the growing love for the fatherland and the ever-increasing hatred of French domination.

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[1] See pages 213 and 273.

Fichte delivered a course of lectures in Berlin, *Addresses to the German People.* He told his audiences that the Germans were the one really superior race in the whole world. All other nations, he held, were declining and had seen their best days. Therefore the future belonged to the Germans, who would in due time, owing to their supreme natural gifts, come into their own and be recognized as world leaders. The German language, moreover, was infinitely stronger than the feeble speeches, like French and Italian, derived from the decadent Latin. He did what he could, in the name of patriotism, to cultivate the self-esteem of his countrymen and their contempt for all other peoples. His listeners heard him gladly, and his addresses became a sort of German classic, to be read in periods of national disappointment.

The old army of Frederick the Great had been completely discredited; and a few days after the signature of the Treaty of Tilsit a commission for military reorganization was appointed, with a military genius, Scharnhorst, at its head. The main aim of Scharnhorst was to give every man a share in the work of defending his country. Napoleon permitted Prussia to maintain an army of no more than forty-two thousand men, but Scharnhorst arranged that this should constantly be recruited by new men, and that those who had had some training in the ranks should retire and form a reserve. In this way, in spite of the small size of the regular army, there were as many as one hundred and fifty thousand men ready to fight when the opportunity should come. (This subterfuge of Scharnhorst proved to be of the utmost consequence in world history; for the system was later adopted by the other European states and formed the basis of all the great armies at the opening of the World War.) Moreover, the ancient custom of permitting only nobles to be officers was abandoned, and foreign mercenaries were no longer to be employed.

EXIT NAPOLEON

The Prussian contingent which Napoleon had ordered to support him in his campaign against Alexander was under the command of General Yorck. It had held back and so was not involved in the destruction of the main army. On learning of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, Yorck joined the Russians.

This action of Yorck and the influence of public opinion finally induced the faint-hearted king, who was still apprehensive of Napoleon's vengeance, to sign a treaty with the Tsar (February 27, 1813), in which Russia agreed not to lay down arms until Prussia should recover a total area equal to that she had possessed before the fatal battle of Jena. It was understood that she should give up to the Tsar all that she had received in the second and third partitions of Poland and be indemnified by annexations in northern Germany. This proved a very important stipulation. On March 17 Frederick William issued a proclamation "To my People," in which he summoned his subjects—Brandenburgers, Prussians, Silesians, Pomeranians, and Lithuanians—to follow the example of the Spaniards and free their country from the rule of a faithless and insolent tyrant.

Napoleon's situation was, however, by no means desperate so long as Italy, Austria, and the Confederation of the Rhine stood by him. With the new army which he had collected after his disastrous campaign in Russia the previous year, he marched to Leipzig, where he found the Russians and the Prussians under Blücher awaiting him. He once more defeated the allies at Lützen (May 2, 1813), and then moved on to Dresden, the capital of his faithful friend, the king of Saxony. During the summer he inflicted several defeats upon the allies, and on August 26–27 he won his last great victory, the battle of Dresden.

The friendship of Metternich, the leading Austrian statesman, had grown cold as Napoleon's position became more and more uncertain. He was willing to maintain the alliance between Austria and France if Napoleon would abandon a considerable portion of his conquests since 1806. As Napoleon refused to do this, Austria joined the allies in August. Meanwhile Sweden, which a year or two before had chosen one of Napoleon's marshals, Bernadotte, as its crown prince,[1] also joined the allies and sent an army into northern Germany.

Finding that the allied armies of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Sweden, under excellent generals like Blücher and Bernadotte, had at last learned that it was necessary to coöperate if they hoped to crush their ever-alert enemy, and that they were preparing to cut him off from France, Napoleon retreated early in October to Leipzig. Here the tremendous "Battle of the Nations," as the Germans love to call it, raged for four days. No less than one hundred and twenty thousand men were either killed or wounded, and Napoleon was totally defeated (October 16–19).

As the emperor of the French escaped across the Rhine with the remnants of his army, the whole fabric of his vast political edifice crumbled. The members of the Confederation of the Rhine renounced their "protector" and joined the allies. Jerome fled from his kingdom of Westphalia, and the Dutch drove the French officials out of Holland. Wellington had been steadily and successfully engaged in aiding the Spanish against their common enemy; and by the end of 1813 Spain was practically cleared of the French intruders, so that Wellington could press on across the Pyrenees into France.[2]

[1] See page 419.

[2] The United States, exasperated by England's interference with commerce and her impressment of American seamen, had declared war against Great Britain in June, 1812. This exercised no appreciable effect upon the course of affairs in Europe. The Americans succeeded in capturing a surprising number of English ships and preventing the enemy from invading New England or taking New Orleans. On the other hand, the English managed to defend the Canadian boundary, and took Washington and destroyed many public buildings there (August, 1814) just before the opening of the Congress of Vienna. Peace was concluded at Ghent before the end of the year, after about two years of hostilities.

In spite of these disasters, Napoleon refused the propositions of peace made on condition that he would henceforth content himself with his dominion over France. The allies, accordingly, marched into France, and the almost superhuman activity of the hard-pressed emperor could not prevent their occupation of Paris (March 31, 1814). Napoleon was forced to abdicate; and the allies, in seeming derision, granted him full sovereignty over the tiny island of Elba, off the coast of Tuscany, and permitted him to retain his imperial title. In reality he was a prisoner on his island kingdom, and the Bourbons reigned again in France.

Within a year, encouraged by the dissensions of the allies and the unpopularity of the Bourbons, he made his escape, landed in France (March 1, 1815), and was received with enthusiasm by a portion of the army. Yet the French as a whole were indifferent, if not hostile, to his attempt to reëstablish his power. Certainly no one could place confidence in his talk of peace and liberty. Moreover, whatever disagreement there might be among the allies on other matters, there was perfect unanimity in their attitude toward "the enemy and destroyer of the world's peace." They solemnly proclaimed him an outlaw, and devoted him to public vengeance.

Upon learning that English troops under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher had arrived in the Netherlands, Napoleon decided to attack them with such troops as he could collect. In the first engagements he defeated and drove back the Prussians. Wellington thereupon took up his position south of Brussels, at Waterloo. Napoleon advanced against him (June 18, 1815), and might have defeated the British had they not been opportunely reënforced by Blücher's Prussians, who had recovered themselves. As it was, Napoleon lost one of the most memorable of modern battles. Yet even if he had not been defeated at Waterloo, he could not long have opposed the vast armies which were being concentrated to overthrow him.

The fugitive emperor hastened to the coast, but found it so carefully guarded by English ships that he decided to throw himself upon the generosity of the English nation. The British government treated him, however, as a dangerous prisoner of war rather than as a retired foreign general and statesman of distinction who desired, as he claimed, to finish his days in peaceful seclusion. He was banished with a few companions and guards to the remote island of St. Helena.[1] Here he spent the six years until his death (on May 5, 1821) brooding over his past glories and dictating his memoirs, in which he strove to justify his career and explain his motives.

"For the general history of Europe the captivity at St. Helena possesses a double interest. Not only did it invest the career of the fallen hero with an atmosphere of martyrdom and pathos, which gave it a new and distinct appeal, but it enabled him to arrange a pose before the mirror of history, to soften away all that had been ungracious and hard and violent, and to draw in firm and authoritative outline a picture of his splendid achievements and liberal designs. . . . The great captain, hero of adventures wondrous as the Arabian Nights, passes over the mysterious ocean to his lonely island and emerges transfigured as in some ennobling mirage."—H. A. L. Fisher

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[1] An isolated rocky island lying south of the equator between Brazil and the African coast, from which it is separated by some thirteen hundred miles of water.

CHAPTER XI

ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE THE UNSETTLABLE IN 1815

Problems facing the Congress of Vienna

When at last, after twenty-five years of revolution and war, the victorious allies representing the monarchies of Europe had disposed of Napoleon, they were confronted with the troublesome problems of settlement. These problems were, broadly speaking, three in number. There was, in the first place, the perplexing task of readjusting the map of Europe —redistributing the territory among the contending kings and princes and fixing the boundaries of the many states, new and old. This was an extremely difficult and delicate operation. Geographical lines centuries old had been swept away by the storms of war and the ambition of the conqueror. Many ancient states had disappeared altogether—Venice, Genoa, Piedmont, the Papal States, Holland, and scores of little German principalities. These had been either merged into France or the realms of their more fortunate neighbors or formed into countries—the kingdom of Italy, the kingdom of Westphalia, the Confederation of the Rhine, the grand duchy of Warsaw. Those which had survived had, with the exception of England and Russia, received new bounds, new rulers, or new institutions. When Napoleon was forced to abdicate, the princes whose former patrimonies had vanished from the map, or who had been thrust aside, clamored to be restored to their thrones. The great powers,—Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia,—whose rulers had been able with more or less success to resist the despoiler and had finally combined to bring about his overthrow, naturally assumed the rôle of arbiters in the settlement. But they were far from impartial judges, since each proposed to gain for itself the greatest possible advantages in the reapportionment of territory.

The second problem before the statesmen of 1815 was the settlement of the domestic concerns of the several countries that had been involved in revolutions and wars. This too was a difficult and delicate operation, carried out in part by the Congress of Vienna and in part by the leaders of the victorious factions within the various countries. A quarter of a century had elapsed since the Estates-General assembled in Versailles and began the momentous revolution that had overwhelmed Europe. There were some who longed to restore completely the old order of things as it stood in the days of Louis XVI; but that was impossible. The changes were too firmly established to be readily overturned. Feudal privileges had been swept away, and the peasants had grown used to their new rights. The laws of land and commerce had been completely altered. Ideas of self-government and democracy had been spread about and discussed freely in every nook and corner of western Europe. It was evident to those statesmen who had learned something during the fiery processes of the past two decades that the new order must be a kind of compromise. Those who had learned nothing and would yield nothing were soon forced, as we shall see, to read their lesson again.

The third problem was one of forming some kind of concert among the victorious powers to carry into effect the territorial settlement of Vienna and to prevent a sudden attack upon it from any corner. Napoleon was still alive. He had escaped from Elba; he might escape from St. Helena. At all events, the settlement at Vienna was bound to leave a seething mass of discontent, and some new adventurer might suddenly arise to play havoc with the carefully worked-out program of the diplomats. Hence some kind of international agreement seemed to offer the only safeguard against a new menace to European peace.

On a number of points the allies had reached a settlement in the first Treaty of Paris, which had been concluded in May, 1814, immediately after Napoleon had been sent to Elba. They readily agreed, for instance, that the Bourbon dynasty should be restored in France in the person of Louis XVI's younger brother, the count of Provence, who took the title "Louis XVIII."[1] They agreed also that France should retain the boundaries of 1792, although they later deprived her of Savoy and the Saar valley as a penalty for yielding to Napoleon on his return from Elba. On several other principles they came to a conclusion; but the gravest issues and the details were left to a Congress that convened at Vienna in the autumn of 1814 and continued its session for nearly a year.

It was an imposing assembly that met in the Austrian capital in September, 1814. The kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Württemberg, the Tsar, and the emperor of Austria were there in person, besides many minor princes, most of whom had come to reclaim their lost territories. Among the illustrious diplomats were Lord Castlereagh and, later, the Duke of Wellington, representing England and her decrepit sovereign, George III, who had now almost lost his mind; the Prussian minister Stein, who had been driven from his country by Napoleon and was now chosen by Alexander I to advise him upon all matters in which Germany was concerned. William von Humboldt, the founder of the University of Berlin, and Hardenberg, the Prussian reformer and diplomat, stood by the side of Frederick William III; Prince Metternich, who for years was to be the chief adversary of new reforms in Europe, was in charge of the interests of Austria.

Of all the plenipotentiaries none had a more delicate task than the representative of France, Talleyrand, whose strange career mirrored all the extraordinary changes of the previous quarter of a century. A bishop under the old régime, he had been elected to the Estates-General and had advocated the fundamental reform of the Church. It was he who moved that its property be placed at the disposal of the State. He was chosen to perform Mass at an altar on the Champ de Mars when France sent delegates to Paris to celebrate the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. He ordained bishops under the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in spite of the Pope's prohibitions, and when he was finally excommunicated he determined to devote himself frankly to political life. Attaching himself to the fortunes of the rising General Bonaparte, he became minister of foreign affairs during the Consulate, and under the empire was made grand chamberlain and Prince of Benevento. He was active in the negotiations which led to the treaties of Lunéville, Amiens, Pressburg, and Tilsit. Alive to the recklessness of Napoleon's later policy, he made overtures during the Russian campaign to the count of Provence and was influential in placing him upon the throne of France. When Louis XVIII chose him to represent France at Vienna, Talleyrand, in spite of his years of experience in difficult negotiations, left Paris with the most gloomy misgivings. He was able, however, to take advantage of the dissensions of the allies, and soon restored his country to an influential place in the councils of the powers.

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[1] The young son of Louis XVI had been imprisoned by the Convention and, according to reports, maltreated by the jailers set to guard him. His fate has been a fruitful theme of historical discussion, but it is probable that he died in 1795. Though he never exercised power in any form, he takes his place in the line of French kings as Louis XVII.

Although the brilliant assembly at Vienna, which was lavishly entertained by the half-bankrupt emperor, is called a "congress," it was in reality merely a meeting of rulers and diplomats who came together, like the brokers on the stock exchange, each to make the best bargain he could with his fellows. The congress was never regularly opened, nor did it assemble as a deliberative body in which motions were submitted, to be acted upon by the plenipotentiaries present. On the contrary, the disputes in regard to territory were settled by treaties concluded by the parties chiefly concerned. Indeed, the four allied powers—Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia—had come to some sort of agreement before the congress opened, and now proposed to submit their conclusions to the lesser powers for their assent.

A NEW MAP OF EUROPE (1815) ACCORDING TO THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The restoration of the map to its condition before Napoleon refashioned it was impossible; for Austria, Prussia, and Russia all had schemes for their own advantage which precluded so simple an arrangement. The congress was, in short, a scramble for territory on the part of the powers, who exhibited no more regard for ancient privileges and rights than Napoleon himself had shown. They tried to disguise their selfish schemes; but, as the secretary of the congress, Frederick von Gentz, said, "The grand phrases of 'reconstruction of social order,' 'regeneration of the political system of Europe,' 'a lasting peace founded on a just division of power,' and the like, were uttered to tranquillize the people and give an air of dignity and grandeur to this solemn assembly; but the real purpose of the congress was to divide among the conquerors the spoils taken from the vanquished."

Some questions, however, the allies easily settled. They confirmed their former decision that Holland should become a hereditary kingdom under the House of Orange, which had so long played a conspicuous rôle in the nominal republic. In order that Holland might be better able to check any encroachments on the part of France, the Austrian Netherlands (which had been seized by the French Convention early in the revolutionary wars) were joined to the new Dutch kingdom. Metternich was entirely satisfied with this arrangement; for he was relieved to have Austria removed from contact with the troublesome French. Moreover, it fitted into the general plan of the congress to consolidate and strengthen, along the borders of France, the petty states whose weakness had for centuries invited French aggressions. The fact that most of the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands were not closely connected by language,[1] traditions, or religion with the Dutch had no weight in the councils of the powers, just as no such consideration had arisen in former times when the provinces had passed, by inheritance, to Spain and later, by conquest, to Austria. The Vienna congress simply continued the old policy of carving out and distributing states among princes without regard to the wishes of the people concerned.

The territorial settlement of Germany did not prove to be so difficult as might have been expected. No one except the petty princes and the ecclesiastics desired to undo the work of 1803 and restore the old minute subdivisions which had been done away with by the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*. The restoration of the Holy Roman Empire could not be seriously considered by anyone, but some sort of union between the surviving thirty-eight German states seemed to be expedient. They were accordingly united by a very loose bond, which permitted the former members of the Confederation of the Rhine to continue to enjoy that precious "sovereignty" which Napoleon had granted them. Formerly that portion of Germany which lies on the Rhine had been so broken up into little states that France had constantly been tempted to take advantage of this disintegration to encroach on German territory. After 1815 this source of weakness was partly remedied; for Prussia was assigned a considerable tract on the Rhine, while Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg stood by her side to discourage new aggressions from their dangerous enemy on the west.

Italy was not so fortunate as Germany in securing greater unity than she had enjoyed before the French Revolution. Napoleon had reduced and consolidated her various divisions

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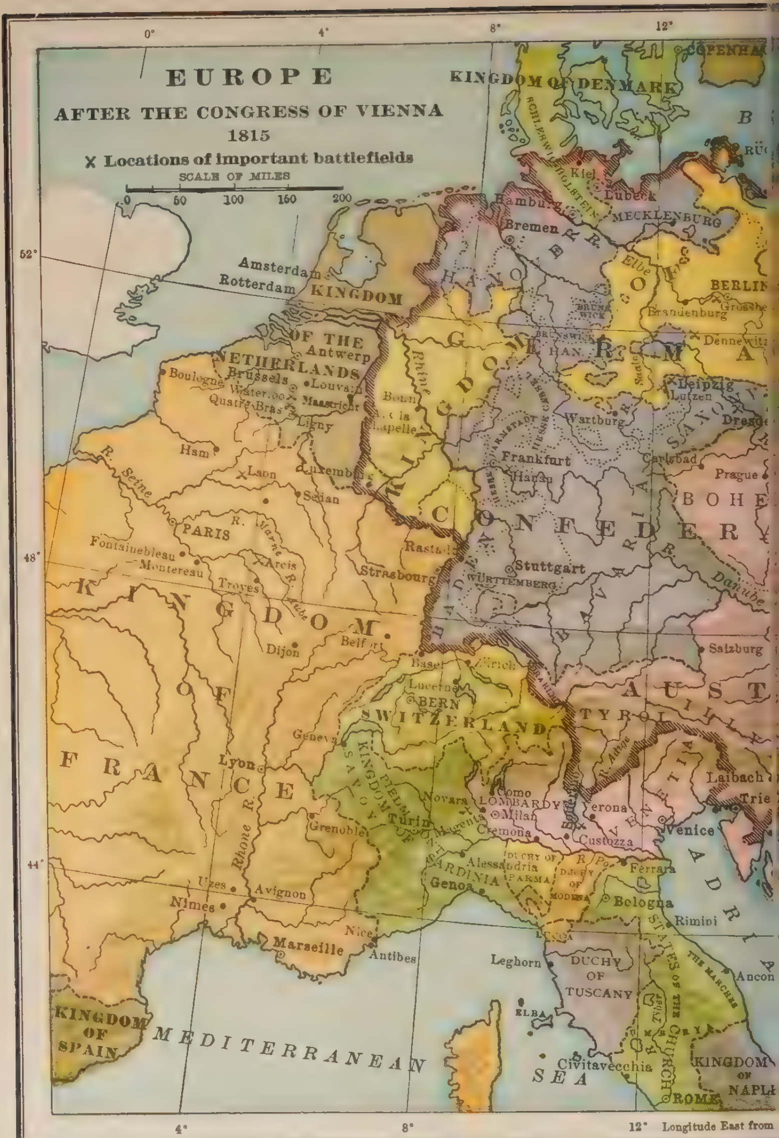
[1] About half the people of Belgium today speak French, while the remainder use Flemish, a dialect akin to Dutch, and a few speak German.

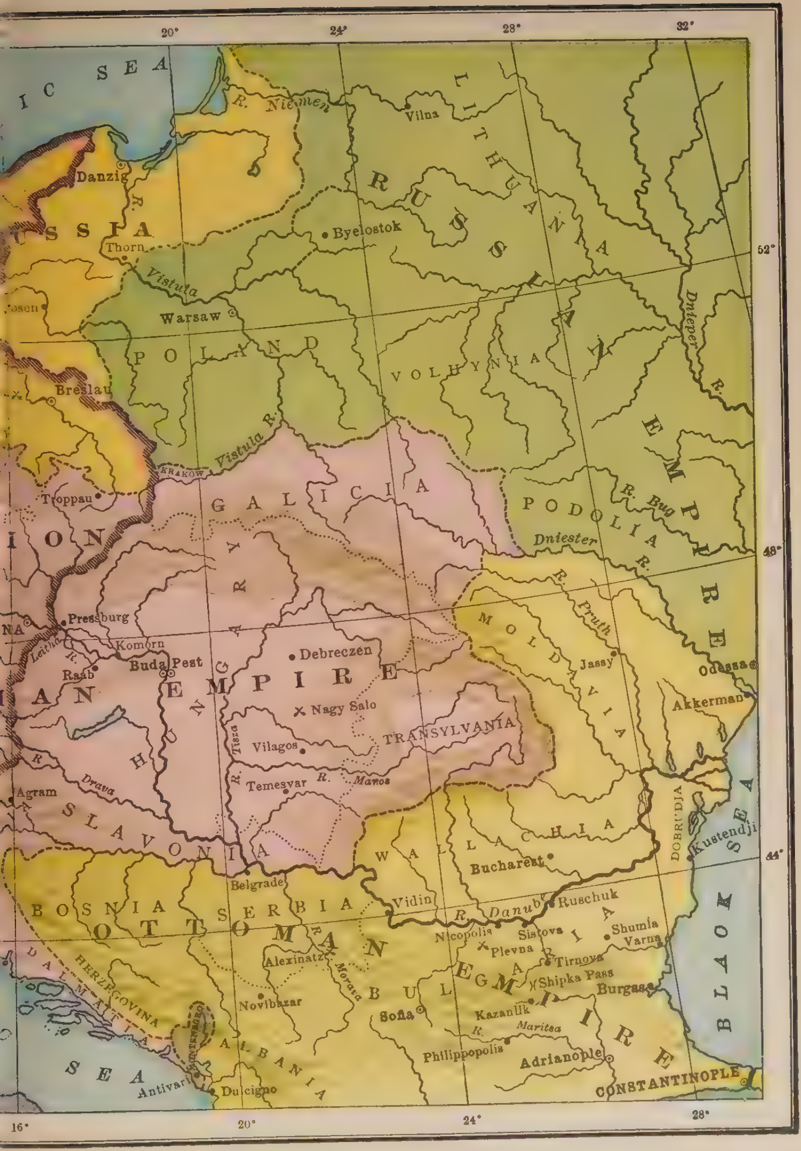


EUROPE

AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

1815

X Locations of important battlefields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Nagy Salo
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Temesvar
R. Maros
Drava
Agram
SLAVONIA
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
DOBRUDJA
Kustendji
BLACK SEA
Belgrade
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Vidin
R. Danube
Ruschuk
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Nicopolis
Sistova
Plevna
Shumla
Varna
BULGARIA
Tirnova
Alexinatz
Morava
Shipka Pass
Burgas
DALMATIA
HERZEGOVINA
Novibazar
Sofia
Kazanlik
R. Maritsa
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
Philippopolis
Adrianople
SEA
Antivari
Dulcigno
CONSTANTINOPLE

into the kingdom of Italy, of which he was the head, and the kingdom of Naples, which he had finally bestowed on Murat; while Piedmont, Genoa, Tuscany, and the Papal States[1] he had annexed to France. Naturally the powers had no reason for maintaining this arrangement and determined to restore all the former monarchical states. Tuscany, Modena, the Papal States, and Naples[2] were given back to their former princes, and little Parma was assigned to Napoleon's second wife, the Austrian princess Maria Louisa. The king of Sardinia returned from his island and reëstablished himself in Turin. There were few at the congress to plead for a revival of the ancient *republics* of Genoa and Venice. The lands of the former were therefore added to those of the king of Sardinia, in order to make as firm a bulwark as possible against France. Austria deemed the territories of Venice a fair compensation for the loss of the Netherlands, and was accordingly permitted to add Venetia to her old duchy of Milan and thus form a new realm in northern Italy, the so-called Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.

Switzerland gave the allies but little trouble. Napoleon in 1803 had assumed the rôle of "mediator," and had given the

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[1] Nothing need be said of a half-dozen petty Italian territories—Lucca, San Marino, Benevento, etc.

[2] Modena, as well as Tuscany, became a so-called "secundogeniture" of Austria; for an Austrian archduke had married the daughter of the duke of Modena, who had been dethroned by Bonaparte in 1796. As for southern Italy, it will be remembered that in 1808, when Napoleon shifted his brother Joseph to the throne of Spain, he had made Murat king of Naples. Murat remained a faithful ally of Napoleon until the end of his rule; he distinguished himself in the Moscow campaign, and fought with valor at the battle of Leipzig. At last, however, to save himself and his throne, he entered into negotiations with England and Austria, and signed treaties with them in January, 1814. Louis XVIII and Talleyrand were bent on dethroning him and pressed the matter at Vienna. On Napoleon's return, in 1815, Murat, fearing that he could not maintain himself with the help of his new allies, and believing that the returning emperor would carry all before him, hastened northward with troops to aid him, only to be defeated by the Austrians and driven from Italy. Naturally the conquerors then restored Ferdinand to his ancient kingdom, and when Murat, in the autumn of 1815, made a last attempt to regain it, he was captured and shot.

Swiss a new form of government; he had readjusted the old boundaries of the cantons and instituted a federal diet in which each canton, or state, had its representatives. The Congress of Vienna recognized the cantons as all free and equal, and it established their "neutrality" by agreeing never to invade Switzerland or send troops through her territory. The cantons (which had been joined by the former free city of Geneva) then drew up a new constitution, which bound them together in a federation consisting of twenty-two little states.

Even the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, were involved in the general settlement of 1815. At first Denmark and Norway, which for several centuries had constituted a single state, had kept out of the war, but when, in 1807, rumors reached England of Napoleon's secret treaty of Tilsit, in which he and the Tsar agreed to force Denmark into the Continental System, the English squadron had bombarded Copenhagen, seized the Danish fleet, and carried it off to Portsmouth. This so angered Denmark that she concluded an alliance with Napoleon and remained his faithful ally until his abdication.

Sweden had also for a time maintained neutrality, but Gustavus IV, who came to the throne in 1796, was a bitter opponent of revolution, and in 1804 he was so imprudent as to join England, Austria, and Russia in their coalition against Napoleon. It will be remembered that in the Treaty of Tilsit Napoleon had encouraged the Tsar to extend his territories by seizing Sweden's province of Finland. This Alexander had done in 1809; at the same time the French occupied Swedish Pomerania[1] and added it to the Confederation of the Rhine. The impolitic conduct of Gustavus in joining in the war, together with the loss of the provinces, led to his deposition. As his uncle who succeeded him had no sons, the Swedes hit upon the singular notion of conciliating Napoleon by selecting one of his marshals, Bernadotte, as their crown prince and successor to the throne. After the Russian campaign Bernadotte joined the allies against Napoleon and signed a treaty with the Tsar confirming him in his occupation of Finland on condition that Sweden should be permitted to annex Norway if the war against Napoleon proved successful. He then turned his arms against Denmark and forced her to cede Norway to him.

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[1] A German district on the Baltic which had been awarded to Sweden at the close of the Thirty Years' War.

The Congress of Vienna ratified these arrangements: Finland went to Russia, Norway to Sweden, and Swedish Pomerania was given to Prussia. The Norwegians protested, drew up a constitution of their own, and elected a king, but Bernadotte induced them to accept him as their ruler on condition that Norway should have its own separate constitution and government. This was the origin of the "personal union"[1] of Sweden and Norway under Bernadotte and his successors, which lasted until October, 1905.[2]

In these earlier adjustments all was fairly harmonious; but with respect to the demands of Russia and Prussia there developed at the congress serious differences of opinion which nearly brought on war between the allies themselves, and which encouraged Napoleon's return from Elba. Russia desired the grand duchy of Warsaw, which Napoleon had formed principally out of the territory seized by Austria and Prussia in the partitions of the previous century. The Tsar proposed to increase this duchy by the addition of a portion of Russian Poland and so form a kingdom to be united in a personal union with his other dominions. The king of Prussia agreed to this plan on condition that he should be indemnified for the loss of a large portion of his former Polish territories by the annexation of the lands of the king of Saxony, who, it was argued, merited this retribution for remaining faithful to Napoleon after the other members of the Confederation of the Rhine had deserted him.

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[1] This is the term applied in international law to describe the union of two or more independent states under a single ruler.

[2] This personal union worked very well so long as the joint king was tolerably free from control by the Swedish parliament; for the Norwegians had their own constitution and parliament,—or *Storthing*, as it is called,—and they could regard themselves as practically independent under a sovereign who also happened to be king of Sweden. However, in the course of time, the interests of the two countries diverged more and more widely. With the development of parliamentary government the diets of both countries desired to control the king's choice of ministers and the foreign policy of the two kingdoms. So, after a long period of friction, the two states mutually agreed to separate on October 26, 1905. Sweden retained her old king, Oscar II (1872–1907), while Norway elected as king Prince Carl, second son of Frederick, king of Denmark, and gave him the title of "Haakon VII." The Norwegians retained the constitution which was drawn up in 1814, but it was several times modified by democratic amendments.

Austria and England, on the other hand, were opposed to this arrangement. They did not approve of dispossessing the king of Saxony or of extending the Tsar's influence westward by giving him Poland; and Austria had special grounds for objection because a large portion of the duchy of Warsaw which the Tsar proposed to take had formerly belonged to her. The great diplomat, Talleyrand, now saw his chance to take advantage of the ill will existing between England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. The allies had resolved to treat France as a black sheep and arrange everything to suit themselves. But now that they were hopelessly at odds Austria and England found the hitherto discredited France a welcome ally. Acting with the consent of Louis XVIII, Talleyrand offered to Austria the aid of French arms in resisting the proposal of Russia and Prussia; on January 3, 1815, France, England, and Austria joined in a secret treaty against Russia and Prussia, and even went so far as to draw up a plan of campaign. So France, the disturber of the peace of Europe for the last quarter of a century, was received back into the family of nations, and the French ambassador joyfully announced to his king that the coalition against France was dissolved forever.

A compromise was finally reached, however. The Tsar was allowed to create a kingdom of Poland out of the grand duchy of Warsaw, but only half of the possessions of the king of

Saxony were ceded to Prussia. As a further indemnity Frederick William III was given certain districts on the left bank of the Rhine which had belonged to ecclesiastical and petty lay princes before the Treaty of Lunéville. This seemingly innocent adjustment proved one of the most tremendous in its consequences of all the decisions of the Congress of Vienna. In ratifying it England and France had no suspicion that they were furnishing material for a far more terrible conflict than that from which they were emerging. Before Napoleon's time Prussia held only two or three bits of territory on the Rhine, north of Cologne. As the allies contemplated the feeble Frederick William III, they could hardly have suspected that a future Prussian king would, a century later, become the active head of a united Germany and would take advantage of the fact that his boundaries were contiguous to those of Belgium, Luxembourg, and France. Furthermore, if one hundred years later the diplomats at Vienna could have revisited the sleepy little towns of the Ruhr valley, which they so casually handed over to Prussia, they would have seen them transformed into busy centers for the production of the great modern machinery of commerce and war. In Essen, Barmen, Düsseldorf, and Elberfeld they would have found hundreds of thousands of workers devoting their energy to the creation of Germany's national wealth and military preëminence.

If one compares the map of Europe as it was reconstructed by the plenipotentiaries of the great powers at Vienna with the situation after the Treaty of Utrecht a hundred years before, one discovers several very important changes. A general consolidation had been effected. Holland and the Austrian Netherlands were united under one king. The Holy Roman Empire, with its hundreds of petty principalities, had disappeared, and a union of thirty-eight states and free towns had taken its place. Prussia had greatly increased the extent of its German territories, although these remained rather scattered. The kingdom of Poland still appeared on the map, but had lost its independence and been reduced in extent. Portions of it had fallen to Prussia and Austria, but the great mass of Polish territory was now brought under the control of the Tsar, who was no longer regarded by the Western nations as an Eastern potentate but was regularly admitted to their councils. Austria had lost her outlying province of the Netherlands, which had proved so troublesome, but had been indemnified by the lands of the extinct Venetian republic; her future rival in Italy, the king of Sardinia, had been strengthened by receiving the important city of Genoa and the adjacent territory. Otherwise, Italy remained in her former state of disruption and more completely than ever under the control of Austria.

The gains of Great Britain resulting from the Napoleonic conflict, like all her other acquisitions since the War of the Spanish Succession, were colonial. The most important of these were Ceylon, off the southeastern coast of the Indian peninsula, and the Cape of Good Hope, which had been wrested from the Dutch (1806) while they were under Napoleon's influence. The latter territory, which had been settled by the Dutch as a halfway post for their ships bound to India and the Spice Islands, had a population of about sixty thousand, two thirds of whom were slaves, and the rest Dutch "Boers," or farmers, with a few French Huguenots, who, fleeing from the wrath of Louis XIV, had found homes in these wilds. Only a small area was then occupied, and all the country northward now comprised in the Orange River Colony, Transvaal, and the Natal regions was an unexplored wilderness. This seemingly insignificant conquest proved, however, to be the basis of the British expansion which has secured her the most valuable portions of southern Africa.[1]

In spite of the loss of the American colonies on the eve of the French Revolution, England possessed in 1815 the foundations of the greatest commercial and colonial power which has ever existed. She still held Canada and the vast northwestern part of the North American continent, except Alaska. Important islands in the West Indies furnished stations from which a lucrative trade with South America could be carried on. In Gibraltar she had a sentinel at the gateway of the Mediterranean, and the possession of the Cape of Good Hope afforded not only a basis for pressing into the heart of the most habitable part of Africa but also a halfway port for vessels bound to distant India. In India the beginnings of empire had already been made in the Bengal region and along the east and west coasts. Finally, in Australia, far away in the southern Pacific, penal settlements had been established which were in time to be supplanted by rich, populous, and prosperous commonwealths. In addition to her colonial strength England possessed the most formidable navy and the largest mercantile marine afloat.

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[1] Besides, England received from France the island of Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean, east of Madagascar; Tobago, a small island north of the mouth of the Orinoco River, and Saint Lucia, one of the Windward Islands. From Spain, England got the island of Trinidad, near Tobago, and from Denmark the island

The Congress of Vienna marks the official repudiation of one of the most atrocious practices which Europe had inherited from an indefinite past, namely, the slave trade.[1] The congress itself did no more than declare the traffic contrary to the principles of civilization and human right; but under the leadership of England the various states, with the exception of Spain and Portugal, were already doing away with the trade in human

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of Heligoland (later ceded to Germany), commanding the mouth of the Elbe. In the Mediterranean, England held Malta and, as a protectorate, the Ionian Islands, off the coast of Greece, thus securing a basis for operations in the eastern Mediterranean.

[1] The slave trade, which had prevailed among the Greeks, Romans, and other ancient peoples, had been greatly stimulated by the discovery that African slaves could be profitably used to work the mines and plantations of the New World. The English navigator Hawkins had carried a cargo of three hundred negroes from Sierra Leone to Hispania in 1562, and so introduced English seamen to a business in which Portugal, Spain, and Holland were already engaged. It is estimated that previous to 1776 at least three million slaves had been imported into French, Spanish, and English colonies, while at least a quarter of a million more had perished during the voyages.

beings. The horrors of the business had roused the conscience of the more enlightened and humane Englishmen and Frenchmen in the eighteenth century. The English Quakers had been specially urgent in their protests, and in France, Montesquieu, Necker, Lafayette, Brissot, and Mirabeau had helped to rouse popular opinion against it. Wilberforce and Clarkson carried on a systematic campaign in England, with a view to forcing Parliament to prohibit the trade in which England had been particularly prominent. Finally, in March, 1807, three weeks after the Congress of the United States had forbidden the importation of slaves,[1] Parliament prohibited Englishmen from engaging in the traffic. Sweden followed Great Britain's example in 1813, and Holland a year later. Napoleon, on his return from Elba, in order to gain, if possible, the confidence of Great Britain, abolished the French slave trade.

France a Limited Monarchy

When, in 1792, the Austrian and Prussian armies had advanced toward Paris with the object of freeing Louis XVI from the restrictions placed upon him by the National Assembly, the French, roused to fury, had deposed and executed a ruler who was convicted of plotting with foreign powers to maintain his authority. In 1814 the allies placed on the throne the brother of Louis XVI, a veteran emigré, who had openly derided the Revolution and had been intriguing with other European powers for nearly twenty years to gain the French crown. Yet there was no demonstration of anger on the part of the nation, no organized opposition to the new king. The French were still monarchical at heart and had quietly submitted to the rule of Napoleon, which was no less despotic than that of Louis XIV.

There was, however, no danger that Louis XVIII would undo the great work of the Revolution and of Napoleon. He was no fanatic like his younger brother, the count of Artois. In his youth he had delighted in Voltaire and the writings of the philosophers; he had little sympathy for the Church party; and six years' residence in England had given him some notion of liberal institutions. His sixty years, his corpulence, his gout, and a saving sense of humor prevented him from undertaking any wild schemes of reaction which might be suggested to him by the emigrant nobles, who now returned to France in great numbers. Even if he had been far more inclined to absolutism than he was, he could hardly have been tempted to alter the administration which Napoleon had devised with a view to securing control of everything and everybody. The prefects and subprefects, the codes, the Church as organized under the Concordat of 1801, the Legion of Honor, the highly centralized University, even the new nobility which Napoleon had created, were all retained with little or no change.

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[1] This act of Congress took effect January 1, 1808. England abolished slavery throughout all her colonies in 1833.

The *Constitutional Charter* which he issued in June, 1814, was indeed a much more liberal form of government than that which Napoleon had permitted the French to enjoy. It is true that it shocked the sensibilities of the liberals by declaring that the whole authority in France resided not in the people but in the person of the king. The constitution was therefore not an expression of the wishes of the nation, but was *granted* to his subjects by the king of his own free will "in view of the expectations of enlightened Europe." Nevertheless, the king bound himself by a solemn oath to observe the limitations on his power which it prescribed.

In the organization of the government the Charter suggests in some ways the British constitution. The power of making laws was vested in the king and a parliament consisting of two chambers,—a house of peers chosen by the king, and a chamber of deputies elected by the wealthier citizens. The king alone could propose laws, but the chambers were empowered to petition the sovereign to lay before them any specific measure which they thought desirable. Provision was made for the annual assembling of the chambers, and they were given the right to impeach the royal ministers. Limited as this legislature was, it nevertheless possessed a greater control over taxation and lawmaking than any which had existed under Napoleon's rule.

In addition to establishing representative government, the Charter guaranteed almost all the great principles of reform laid down in the first Declaration of the Rights of Man. It proclaimed that all men were equal before the law and equally eligible to offices in the government and army; taxation was to be apportioned according to the wealth of each citizen; personal and religious liberty was assured, though the Roman Catholic faith was to be the religion of the State; freedom of the press was guaranteed, but subject to such laws as might be passed for the purpose of checking the abuses of that freedom.

Formation of the German Confederation

The chief effects of the Napoleonic occupation of Germany were three in number. First, the consolidation of territory following the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France had, as has been explained, done away with the ecclesiastical states, the territories of the knights, and most of the free towns. Only thirty-eight German states, including four free towns, were left when the Congress of Vienna took up the question of forming a confederation to replace the defunct Holy Roman Empire.

Second, the external and internal conditions of Prussia had been so changed as to open the way for it to replace Austria as the controlling power in Germany. A great part of the Slavic possessions gained in the last two partitions of Poland had been lost; but as an indemnity Prussia had received half of the kingdom of Saxony, in the very center of Germany, and also the Rhine provinces, where the people were thoroughly imbued with the revolutionary doctrines that had prevailed in France. Prussia now embraced all the various types of people included in the German nation and was comparatively free from the presence of non-German races. In this respect it offered a marked contrast to the heterogeneous population of its great rival, Austria.

The internal changes in Prussia were no less remarkable. The reforms carried out after Jena by the distinguished minister Stein and his successor, Hardenberg, had done for Prussia somewhat the same service that the first National Assembly had done for France. The abolition of the feudal social castes and the liberation of the serfs made the economic development of the country possible. The reorganization of the whole military system prepared the way for Prussia's great victories in 1866 and 1870, which led to the formation of a new German Empire under her headship.

Third, the agitations of the Napoleonic period had aroused the national spirit. The appeal to the people to aid in the freeing of their country from foreign oppression, and the idea of their participation in a government based upon a written constitution, had produced widespread discontent with the old absolute monarchy.[1]

When the form of union for the German states came up for discussion at the Congress of Vienna, two different plans were advocated. Prussia's representatives submitted a scheme for a firm union like that of the United States, in which the central government should control the individual states in all matters of general interest. This idea was successfully opposed by Metternich, supported by the other German rulers. Austria realized that her possessions, as a whole, could never be included in any real German union; for even in the western portion of her territory there were many Slavs, whereas in Hungary and the southern provinces there were practically no Germans at all. On the other hand, she felt that she might be the leader in a very loose union in which all the members should be left practically independent. Her ideal of a union of sovereign princes under her own headship was almost completely realized in the constitution adopted.

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[1] See pages 405 and 407.

The confederation was not a union of the various *countries* involved, but of "the Sovereign Princes and Free Towns of Germany," including the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia for such of their possessions as were formerly included in the German Empire; the king of Denmark for Holstein; and the king of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxemburg. The union thus included two sovereigns who were out-and-out foreigners, and, on the other hand, did not include all the possessions of its two most important members.[1]

The assembly of the confederation was a diet which met at Frankfurt. It was composed (as was perfectly logical), not of representatives of the people, but of plenipotentiaries of the rulers who were members of the confederation. The diet had very slight powers; for it could not interfere in the domestic affairs of the states, and the delegates who composed it could not vote as they pleased, since they had to obey the instructions of the rulers who appointed them, and refer all important questions to their respective sovereigns. Powerless and dilatory, this assembly became the laughing-stock of Europe.

The members of the confederation reserved to themselves the right of forming alliances of all kinds, but pledged themselves to make no agreement prejudicial to the safety of the union or of any of its members, and not to make war upon any member of the confederation on any pretense whatsoever. The constitution could not be amended without the approval of *all* the governments concerned. In spite of the obvious weaknesses, the confederation of 1815 lasted for half a century, until Prussia expelled Austria from the union by force of arms and began the formation of a German empire.

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[1] Observe the boundary of the German Confederation as indicated on the map, pp. 416–417.

Restoration in Spain and Italy

The restoration in Spain was more violent and thoroughgoing than in any other country involved in the revolutionary conflicts. Napoleon's efforts to keep his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne had led to a war which had continued to bring misery and demoralization upon the country until the autumn of 1812, when Wellington drove the invaders beyond the Pyrenees. During this entire period the Spanish people steadily resisted French dominion and maintained the semblance of an independent government in the form of a *Junta*, or improvised assembly, which was loyal to the Bourbon, Ferdinand VII, one of the most unworthy of modern princes.[1] However, it was impossible for the Junta to maintain intact the system which had existed prior to the Revolution. In the disorder, press censorship was relaxed, Spanish officers and soldiers came into contact with Frenchmen and Englishmen, and political questions were discussed in Spain as never before. Napoleon himself had struck a severe blow at the old régime, as has already been noted, by abolishing the feudal dues and the internal customs lines, reducing convents to one third their former number, suppressing the Inquisition, and establishing freedom of industry.

It was under these conditions that the Spanish people, deprived of their legitimate sovereign, undertook to frame a constitution of their own. The Junta in 1809 summoned the *Cortes*, or national parliament, which met in the autumn of the following year and adopted, in 1812, a constitution on the model of the French constitution of 1791. Knowing the devotion of the people to the monarchy, it did not abolish the kingly power, but proclaimed the sovereignty of the nation and reduced royal authority to a shadow by requiring that it be exercised through a ministry. The legislature was to consist of a single chamber, to be elected biennially by universal suffrage. While declaring Catholicism to be the only religion of the nation, the constitution abolished press censorship, feudal obligations, and the privileges of the nobility.

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[1] See page 397 and note.

When Ferdinand VII (who had spent the previous six years in France surrounded by Napoleon's guards) was, in 1814, restored to power by the strength of English arms, he repudiated entirely this liberal government. He declared that the Cortes which had drawn up this instrument had usurped his rights by imposing on his people "an anarchical and seditious constitution based on the democratic principles of the French Revolution." He accordingly annulled it and proclaimed those who continued to support it guilty of high treason and worthy of death. With the old absolute government, he restored the Inquisition, feudal privileges, and the religious orders. The Jesuits returned, the press was strictly censored, free speech repressed, monastic property returned to the former owners, and liberals imprisoned in large numbers or executed.

The Congress of Vienna left Italy, as Metternich observed, merely "a geographical expression"; it had no political unity whatever. Lombardy and Venetia, in the northern part, were in the hands of Austria, while Parma, Modena, and Tuscany belonged to members of the Austrian family. In the south the considerable kingdom of Naples was ruled over by a branch of the Spanish Bourbons. In the center, cutting the peninsula in twain, were the Papal States, which extended north to the Po. The presence of Austria, and the apparent impossibility of inducing the Pope to submit to any government but his own, seemed to preclude all hope of making Italy into a true nation. Yet fifty years later the kingdom of Italy, as it now appears on the map of Europe, came into existence through the final exclusion of Austria from the peninsula and through the conquest of the States of the Church by Victor Emmanuel.

Although Napoleon had governed Italy despotically, he had introduced many important reforms. The vestiges of the feudal régime had vanished at his approach; he had established civil equality and an orderly administration, and had forwarded public improvements. Moreover, he had held out the hope of a united Italy, from which the foreign powers who had plagued and distracted her for centuries should be banished. But his unscrupulous use of Italy to advance his personal ambitions disappointed those who at first had received him with enthusiasm, and they came to look for his downfall as eagerly as did the nobility and the dispossessed clergy, whose hopes were centered in Austria. It became clear to thoughtful Italians that Italy must look to herself and her own resources if she was to become an independent European state.

The king of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel I, entered his capital of Turin on May 20, 1814, amid great rejoicing, but immediately proceeded to destroy with a stroke of his pen all the reforms which the Revolution had accomplished in Piedmont during his absence. He gave back to the nobility their ancient feudal rights and jurisdictions, and reinstated them in their former military commands; he restored to the clergy their property, their courts, and their press censorship. The penalty of death for profaning the Sacrament was revived, religious freedom abolished, the university placed under clerical supervision, and books savoring of liberal philosophy locked up in the libraries. So bitter was the hatred of revolutionary principles that a botanical garden at Turin was destroyed because it had been planted by the French; and the municipal council was able to save a bridge which the French had built only by erecting a church near by.

The same reactionary policy was adopted in the States of the Church, where, in 1814, an edict was issued which abolished French legislation and restored the old order. In the zeal to destroy the work of the French, root and branch, vaccination and street-lighting at Rome were abolished as revolutionary innovations. The government, which had been placed in the hands of laymen, was again turned over to the ecclesiastics.

The Inquisition was reintroduced, and more than two thousand monasteries and convents were reëstablished.

The restoration in the kingdom of Naples was not so thorough as in other parts of Italy. French law was retained; the nobles were not reinvested with their feudal rights; the number of bishoprics and convents remained reduced; and the Church was given back only that part of its former property which had not been sold. The king, however, refused to drive along a street that Murat had laid out, and stopped the Pompeian excavations which French scientists had been carrying on.

In Lombardy and Venetia, where Austrian sovereignty was established, the reforms instituted during the Napoleonic period were practically nullified. In order securely to fasten their government on these provinces, the Austrians instituted a public and secret police system which constantly interfered with individual liberty in the most arbitrary fashion; moreover, the courts and the administration were largely in the hands of the hated "Germans." Although the Austrian sovereign did not restore the ancient feudal exactions of the nobility, he introduced customs duties which were regarded by his Italian subjects as quite as galling.

In addition to his Lombardo-Venetian kingdom in the northern part of Italy, the Austrian emperor enjoyed a protectorate over Modena; by treaty the duke of Tuscany practically surrendered his duchy to him; Maria Louisa of Parma turned the administration of her domain over to his officers; and Ferdinand of Naples was bound to him in a defensive and offensive alliance. In short, only the king of Sardinia and the Papal States retained their freedom from "German" domination.

Though dismembered and subjected to a foreign yoke, the Italy of 1815 was not the Italy which Napoleon had found when he first entered it at the head of the French army in 1796. Despite the restoration, traces of the Revolution were everywhere apparent, not only in law and government but, above all, in the minds of men. National aspirations had been awakened which the Austrian police could not stamp out; Italians, high and low, came to know and appreciate French reforms at first hand, though they might loathe the memory of Napoleon as a conqueror and a tyrant.

Metternich the Chief Foe of Revolution

In June, 1815, the Congress of Vienna brought together the results of all the treaties and arrangements which its various members had agreed upon among themselves, and issued its "Final Act," in which its work was summed up for convenient reference. A few days later the battle of Waterloo and the subsequent exile of Napoleon freed the powers from their chief cause of solicitude during the past fifteen years. No wonder that the restored monarchs, as they composed themselves upon their thrones and reviewed the turmoil and wars which had begun with the French Revolution and lasted more than a quarter of a century, longed for peace at any cost, and viewed with the utmost suspicion any individual or party that ventured to suggest further changes! The word "revolution" had acquired a hideous sound, not only to the rulers and their immediate advisers, but to all the aristocratic class and the clergy, who thought that they had grounds enough for abhorring the modern tendencies as they had seen them at work.

There was good reason, however, for suspecting that the Congress of Vienna had only checked the revolution in France to awaken it in other countries. The Belgians chafed under their forced union with Holland; the inhabitants of the Rhine districts which had been taken from France disliked the traditions of Frederick the Great's kingdom, of which the Congress of Vienna had made them a part; many Germans were disgusted that no firm national union had been established; while the Italians resented the dominance of Austria in their affairs, and the Poles rebelled against being driven under the yoke of the hated Russia.

It was clear that the powers which had combined to reëstablish order must continue their alliance if they hoped to maintain the arrangements they had made and stifle the fires of revolution which were sure to break out at some unexpected point unless the most constant vigilance was exercised. Alexander I proposed a plan for preserving European tranquillity by the formation of a religious brotherhood of monarchs that was given the name of "the Holy Alliance." The plan was accepted by the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, and published in September, 1815. In this singular instrument their majesties, "in view of the great events which have taken place in Europe during the past three years, and especially in view of the benefits which it has pleased Divine Providence to confer upon those states whose governments have placed their confidence and sole hope in him, have reached the profound conviction that it is essential to base the policy of the powers, in their mutual relations with one another, upon the sublime truths which are taught by the eternal religion of God our Savior." They solemnly declare "that the present act has for its only aim to manifest to the whole world their firm purpose to have no other rule in the administration of their states and their relations with other governments than the precepts of this holy religion." The monarchs agree, accordingly, to regard one another as brothers and compatriots, as "delegates of Providence to govern three branches of the same family." All the other European rulers who were willing to recognize the sacred principles of the act were to be welcomed cordially and affectionately into "this holy alliance."

The Tsar and Frederick William took the alliance seriously, but to most of the diplomats who had had any share in the scramble for the spoils at Vienna, and who looked back upon the habits of monarchs in dealing with one another, it was an amusing vagary of the devout Tsar. Metternich declared it "verbiage"; Castlereagh called it "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense." Alexander's well-meant league amounted, in fact, to nothing. It was not, as has often been supposed, a conspiracy of despotic monarchs to repress all liberal movements. It contained no definite allusions to the dangers of revolution or to the necessity of maintaining the settlement of Vienna. The name "Holy Alliance" came nevertheless to be carelessly and popularly applied by the liberal newspapers and reformers to a real and effective organization of the powers opposed to change. In this case the monarchs did not unite in "the name of the Most High" to promote Christian charity, but they frankly combined to fight reform under the worldly guidance of Clement Wencelaus Nepomuk Lothaire, prince of Metternich-Winneburg-Ochsenhausen.

Metternich, who was destined to succeed Napoleon as the most conspicuous statesman in Europe, was born in 1773 and had followed the course of the French Revolution from the beginning. He had observed its excesses and the devastating wars which had grown out of it, and he saw only evil in the great changes which were taking place. As a member of a noble family he was opposed to liberal ideas and boasted that the reasoning of the French philosophers had left his stanch old beliefs untouched. The views of kingship entertained by James I and Louis XIV seemed to him perfectly sound; for men had no natural right to govern themselves or to decide upon their religious beliefs. All talk about constitutions and national unity was to Metternich revolutionary and highly dangerous.

He was doubtless much strengthened in his hostility to reform by the situation of Austria, whose affairs he had been guiding since 1809. No country, except Prussia, had suffered more from the Revolution, which it had been the first to oppose in 1792. Should the idea of nationality gain ground, the various peoples included in the Austrian Empire—Germans, Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Italians, and the rest—would surely revolt and each demand its own constitution. Liberal ideas, whether in Austria, Italy, or Germany, foreboded the destruction of the highly artificial Austrian realms, which had been accumulated through the centuries by conquest, marriage, and inheritance without regard to the great differences between the races that were gathered together under the scepter of Francis I. Consequently, to Metternich the preservation of Austria, the suppression of reformers and of agitators for constitutional government, and "the tranquillity of Europe" all meant one and the same thing.

Shortly after the signing of Alexander's "Holy Alliance," a secret agreement was entered into by Austria, Prussia, England, and Russia (November, 1815) which frankly declared that the tranquillity of Europe depended upon the maintenance in France of the royal authority which the allies had restored, and, furthermore, that it was their purpose to prevent renewed disturbance of the peace of Europe. In order to effect their ends the powers agreed to hold periodical meetings with a view to considering their common interests and taking such measures as should be expedient for the preservation of general order. Thus a sort of international congress was established for the purpose of upholding the settlement of Vienna.

The first formal meeting of the powers under this agreement took place at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818, to arrange for the evacuation of France by the troops of the allies, which had been stationed there since 1814 to suppress any possible disorder. France, once more admitted to the brotherhood of nations, joined Metternich's conservative league, and that judicious statesman could report with complacency that the whole conference was a brilliant triumph for those principles which he held dearest. He was, indeed, the soul of the alliance and later used it, as we shall see, to crush dangerous reform movements in Italy and Spain; but he did not enjoy the permanent support of England, or even of France. In spite of his efforts, world affairs continued to alter.

Spain's American Colonies Revolt

Metternich's grand scheme for keeping order in Europe was soon given a severe test by unexpected events, and, strangely enough, it was challenged by the President of the United States, Monroe, who, in the doctrine that bears his name, informed the world that the United States was the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere (see page 442). The very thoroughness with which Metternich's ideas were carried out in the Mediterranean states led to renewed attempts on the part of the liberals to abolish despotism. It was not, therefore, in Germany or France, as the allies had feared, but in Spain and in Italy that the spirit of revolution was first to reawaken.

Spain itself was, of course, but a small part of the vast Spanish empire, which included Mexico (and the regions to the northwest later acquired by the United States), Central America, and large portions of South America, besides her island possessions. The Spanish colonies had from the first been the victims of the selfish commercial policy of the mother country, which forced them to carry on all their trade with one or two favored Spanish ports. That enlightened despot Charles III had somewhat reduced the restrictions upon trade by permitting free intercourse between the colonies and all the Spanish ports; as a result, the commerce of the Spanish dependencies increased nearly sevenfold from 1778 to 1788. The advantages of greater freedom and the success of the North American colonies in throwing off the yoke of England both served to suggest ideas of independence; these suddenly developed into downright revolt when the news reached the colonies that Napoleon had placed his brother on the Spanish throne and proposed to control the Spanish commerce in his own interests.

Beginning in 1810, the colonies of Mexico, New Granada (now Colombia), Venezuela, Peru, Buenos Aires, and Chile, while they still professed to be loyal to Ferdinand VII, took their government into their own hands, drove out the former Spanish agents, and finally rejected Spanish rule altogether. At first the revolt was put down with great cruelty; but in 1817, under the leadership of Bolivar, Venezuela won its independence, and during the following five years the Spaniards lost New Granada, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Mexico, and lastly (in 1825) Upper Peru, which was renamed Bolivia, after its liberator.

Ever since his restoration Ferdinand VII had been sending thousands of men to die of fever and wounds in the vain attempt to subdue the insurgents. He had called upon the other powers to help him, on the ground that his colonies were guilty of the revolutionary crimes which it was to the interest of all the allied monarchs to aid in suppressing. He was disappointed, however. England did not wish to lose the profitable trade which had grown up with the South American ports since they were freed from the restrictions of the mother country. The Tsar expressed his sympathy for Ferdinand, but gave him no aid except to sell him a fleet of unseaworthy vessels.

At last (January, 1820) the soldiers who were waiting in Cadiz to be sent to America, well aware of the sufferings of the regiments which had preceded them, were easily incited to revolt by two adventurous officers who had become disgusted with Ferdinand's tyranny and incapacity. The revolutionists proclaimed the restoration of the constitution of 1812, which Ferdinand had abolished on his return. Their call was answered by the liberals in the larger towns, including Madrid, where a mob surrounded the palace (March 9) and forced the king to take the oath to the constitution. The people also broke into the prison of the reëstablished Inquisition, and destroyed the instruments of torture that they found there. But Ferdinand had no idea of keeping his oath, and simply bent before what he believed to be a passing storm.

News of the Spanish revolt spread quickly throughout Italy, where the spirit of insurrection had been at work among the secret societies which had everywhere been organized. These societies assumed strange names, practiced mysterious rites, and plotted darkly in the name of Italian liberty and independence. By far the most noted of them was that of the *Carbonari* (that is, charcoal-burners). Its objects were personal liberty, constitutional government, and national independence and unity; these it undertook to promote by agitation, conspiracy, and, if necessary, revolution.

The Italian agitators had a superstitious respect for a constitution; they appear to have regarded it not so much as a form of government, to be carefully adapted to the needs of a particular country and time, as a species of talisman which would bring liberty and prosperity to its happy possessor. So when the Neapolitans heard that the king of Spain had been forced by an insurrection to accept a constitution, they made the first attempt on the part of the Italian people to gain constitutional liberty by compelling their king (in July, 1820) to agree to accept this same Spanish constitution of 1812.[1] However, at the same time that he was invoking the vengeance of God upon his own head should he violate his oath of fidelity, the king of Naples was casting about for foreign assistance to suppress the revolution and enable him to return to his former ways.

He had not long to wait. The alert Metternich invited Russia, Prussia, France, and Great Britain to unite, in order to check the development of "revolt and crime." He declared that the liberal movement would prove "not less tyrannical and fearful" in its results than that against which the allies had earlier combined. "Revolution" appeared to him and his conservative sympathizers as a fearful disease which not only destroyed those whom it attacked directly but also spread contagion wherever it appeared. Therefore, prompt and severe measures of quarantine, and even of violent extirpation, were justified, in view of the necessity of stamping out the devastating plague. In addition to his detestation of revolution, Metternich entertained an especial contempt for the Neapolitans. He exclaimed, on hearing the news of the revolt, "A semibarbarous people, of absolute ignorance and boundless credulity, hot-blooded as the Africans, a people that can neither read nor write, whose last word is the dagger—such a people offers fine material for constitutional principles!"

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[1] Even in the New World, men did honor to this famous constitution; for at St. Augustine, Florida (which was not transferred to the United States until 1821), a monument still stands in the Plaza de la Constitución, erected to commemorate its adoption in 1812.

Under these circumstances a congress of the powers was called at Troppau in October, 1820, to consider the European situation. England and France refused to participate formally, on the ground that the revolutions were domestic concerns and did not justify international intervention. Austria, Russia, and Prussia, however, drew up a protocol in which they declared the indisputable rights of the powers to take common measures of safety against states in which government was overthrown by rebellion.

Another conference was called at Laibach, in January, 1821, for the purpose of agreeing on a policy to restore absolutism in southern Italy. To this conference King Ferdinand of Naples was summoned. After taking renewed oaths to maintain the constitution which he had granted his people, he started northward; but on the way to Laibach he repudiated his promises to his subjects, and at the conference heartily concurred in the plan to send an Austrian army to Naples to abolish the noxious constitution. In March this decision was carried out with no considerable resistance on the part of the Neapolitan revolutionists, who were thoroughly disorganized. The leaders of the revolt were executed, imprisoned, or exiled, and the king was freed from the embarrassments of the constitution.

While the Austrian forces were moving southward toward

Naples an insurrection broke out in Piedmont. The Italian patriots there planned to combine with the discontented subjects of Austria in Lombardy and to free their country by attacking the rear of the Austrian army. There were, however, plenty of Austrian troops in Venetia to suppress this movement promptly. All hopes for reform in Italy now appeared at an end.

Meanwhile the revolution in Spain had developed into a civil war. Ferdinand VII was supported in his opposition to reform by the clergy and other friends of the old system. The representatives of the great powers, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and England, met at Verona in 1822 to discuss their common interests and to decide what should be done about Spain. The Tsar was eager to send an army into Spain to aid Ferdinand to rid himself of the popular constitution which had been forced upon him, but France made it clear that she would not permit a Russian army to cross her territory. England refused to interfere in any way; so finally it was left to Louis XVIII, urged on by the clerical and ultra-royalist party, to send an army over the Pyrenees "with the purpose of maintaining a descendant of Henry IV on the throne of Spain." This interference in the affairs of a neighboring nation which was struggling for constitutional government disgusted the French liberals, who saw that France, in intervening in favor of Ferdinand VII, was doing just what Prussia and Austria had attempted in 1792 in the interests of Louis XVI. But, unlike the duke of Brunswick, the French commander easily defeated the revolutionists and placed Ferdinand in a position to stamp out his enemies in such a ferocious and bloodthirsty manner that his French allies were heartily ashamed of him.

While France was helping to restore absolutism in Spain, the Spanish colonies, as we have seen, were rapidly achieving their independence, encouraged by the United States and England. At the Congress of Verona all the powers except England were eager to discuss a plan by which they might aid Spain to get the better of her rebellious colonies, since it was the fixed purpose of the allies to suppress "rebellion in whatever place and under whatever form it might show itself."

Recognizing the possible perils of Metternich's policy, President Monroe, in his message to Congress, December, 1823, called attention to the dangers of intervention as practiced by the European alliance of great powers, and clearly stated what has since become famous as the "Monroe Doctrine," namely: "We owe it therefore to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and these powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and have maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." To this statement President Monroe added that the American continents were not to be regarded "as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

About the same time the British foreign secretary, Canning, informed the French ambassador in London that any attempt to bring the Spanish colonies again under their former submission to Spain would prove unsuccessful, and that, while Great Britain would remain neutral in the troubles between the mother country and her American dominions, the intervention of a third party would constitute a cause for action on the part of the British government. Toward the close of 1824 Great Britain recognized the independence of Buenos Aires, Mexico, and Colombia and paid no heed to the remonstrance of the Continental powers that such an action "tended to encourage the revolutionary spirit which it had been found so difficult to restrain in Europe."

It was clear by 1823 that Metternich's international police system, designed to keep Europe "settled" and to prevent innovation and revolution, was a failure. The action of Great Britain and the United States had given it a staggering blow, and there were already at work in Europe powerful forces destined to destroy the territorial arrangements made at Vienna and to reassert the revolutionary principles of political democracy which had been suppressed or sadly limited by the statesmen of 1815. At the end of fifty years the map of Germany, Italy, and southeastern Europe had been remade, and the final triumph of the doctrine of manhood suffrage had been assured by many revolutions and agitations.

CHAPTER XII

PREVAILING OF "THE PEOPLE"

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

Nearly all the Continental leaders who took part in the Vienna settlement detested the theory and practice of representative government; if they accepted the system in France it was because they had to yield to necessity. To the rulers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia the very terms "representative government," "democracy," "manhood suffrage," "ministerial responsibility,"—let alone "republic,"—were odious beyond description. In trying to put in order the affairs of Europe in 1815, they did their best to suppress or check the advances of such ideas in any shape or form. Although English statesmen adhered to the principle of parliamentary government, they insisted on loyalty to the monarchical principle and were as eager as Metternich to stamp out all agitation in favor of extreme democracy in the form of manhood suffrage.

Those leaders who brought about the settlements in the respective countries were often keen and experienced men; but history was to reverse their judgment and assure the complete triumph of reforms which they fought. Within a little less than sixty years France underwent three more revolutions and established the republic which endures today; England, after many agitations and threatened violence, almost reached the goal of manhood suffrage; the internal affairs of Germany, Italy, Spain, and Austria were profoundly altered. In western Europe, representative government and manhood suffrage, the terrible specters of 1791, were apparently assured by 1870, while in central and southern Europe important steps had been taken in that direction. Metternich himself, who did not pass from the political scene until 1859, lived to witness the practical victory of everything that he feared and hated, and the ruin of all upon which he had fixed his hopes and affections. "Universal democracy," wrote the petulant Carlyle in 1834, "whatever we may think of it, has declared itself an inevitable fact of the days in which we live; and he who has any chance to instruct or lead in his days must begin by admitting that: new street-barricades, and new anarchies, still more scandalous if still less sanguinary, must return and again return, till governing persons everywhere know and admit that." Nothing could have been truer as a statement of fact or as a prophecy. The political history of fifty years is summed up in this declaration and warning.

When the French had begun to inscribe *Liberty*, *Equality*, *Fraternity* on their public buildings, they entered a protest against the ancient despotisms, social ranks, privileges, and class distinctions which had hitherto prevailed. They formulated their ideals in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The successive French assemblies passed laws and drew up constitutions which abolished not only kingship but the aristocracy, and greatly reduced the former powers of the clergy. While Napoleon reëstablished the old order to a considerable extent, he resorted to a general vote of the people at large when he desired to secure sanction for an important alteration in the form of government. Then came the reaction after the Congress of Vienna. But new and strange forces were in operation which conspired to increase the number of voters in the various European states, until finally all men—and in many states all women as well—were invited to go to the polls.

The prevailing of democracy has, however, by no means been confined to the right to vote. Old distinctions in dress have disappeared, so that today the king of England or of Spain wears the same kind of clothes as does a clerk in a New York department store. The queen of Holland can hardly be told by her gown from a maidservant on a holiday. Schools have everywhere been established, to teach all boys and girls to read and write. Innumerable newspapers bring the same news to a British lord and to his butler. Everybody can talk about the same ball game, scandal, or murder at the same time. Big business has promoted brotherhood by its anxiety to win customers. Politicians flatter the people to gain votes. Hence it should be very interesting to follow the changes which lie back of the tremendous differences between the opening of the nineteenth century and its close. For the French dream of Liberty, Equality, and Brotherhood has been realized to a degree far outrunning the imagination of the National Assembly when it drafted the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789.

Our modern democratic governments are doubtless, to a certain extent, the outcome of the labors and agitations of revolutionists and liberals in general. But underlying their success in extending the right to vote were the tremendous effects of the introduction of machinery and the growth of great cities which broke up the habits of the past and brought people into wholly new relationships. It will be best to consider these vast changes briefly before following the development of democratic institutions in the European states.

THE COMING OF MACHINERY

While the governments of Europe were absorbed in the events of the French Revolution and the audacious exploits of Napoleon, a silent but mighty revolution was taking place in England which was to make her in the nineteenth century the foremost manufacturing and exporting country in the world. This revolution was destined, moreover, to spread and affect mankind more widely and permanently than any of the political changes which for the time being seemed so momentous; for it was to create the modern industrial world as we know it today.

This far-reaching change, which had its beginning in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was due to the discovery that mechanical energy could be brought into the service of man on an unprecedented scale; that machines could be devised which would rapidly and tirelessly perform many of the tasks which had been done slowly and painfully by hand; that the steam engine would supply power not only to drive machines for the manufacture of goods but to propel trains and ships which would carry these goods across land and sea.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the people of western Europe had made little progress in practical invention; for the most part they continued, like the rest of the world, to till their fields, weave their cloth, and saw and plane their boards by hand, much as the ancient Egyptians had done. Merchandise was still transported in slow, lumbering carts, and letters were as long in getting from London to Rome as in the time of Constantine. The series of ingenious devices which were invented in England eclipsed the achievements of centuries and ultimately revolutionized every branch of business. The change which overtook industry as a result of the introduction of machinery is popularly known as the Industrial or Mechanical Revolution. These mechanical inventions, beginning in a humble way in the eighteenth century, have continued to grow in number and complexity down to our own time, until today we live in a world of such perfected and standardized accomplishment that we are scarcely aware of the gradually accumulated knowledge and skill which lie behind the most familiar processes of our everyday life.[1]

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[1] A discussion of the complexity of our present conditions of living would carry our story too far afield, but even a little reflection will serve to show the marvelous progress that has been made since Napoleon's time in increasing the number of comforts and luxuries within the reach of those of even very moderate means. The trifling sum which we pay for the daily delivery, at the door, of the morning newspaper, which brings to our knowledge the striking events that have happened throughout the world within the past few hours; the distances

Among the first of these inventions were those which completely changed the process of the manufacture of cloth (see pages 244–245).

About 1793 Eli Whitney, in the United States, invented a rotary "gin" which enabled one man to clean the seeds from fifty pounds of cotton a day instead of five or six pounds, which had been the average for a hand worker. Previous to this time linen and woolen cloth had been used almost exclusively for clothing, but the invention of the cotton gin soon made it possible to produce cotton goods more cheaply than other materials and led to the widespread use of cotton clothing. The cotton gin has been greatly improved since Whitney's time, and a modern machine run by steam will clean three or four thousand pounds of cotton a day.

At first the new machines were run by water power, and consequently mills or factories were placed near waterfalls or streams. This, however, often proved an inconvenience, and it was necessary to have a more powerful and reliable driving force than wind or stream if the factory system was to prevail. James Watt, an instrument-maker of Glasgow, was, as we have seen, the first to improve the early, crude steam engine (known as Newcomen's engine) so that it could be utilized to furnish power for the factories. In 1785 the steam engine was first employed to operate spinning machinery in a factory in Nottinghamshire. Arkwright (see page 244) adopted it in 1790, and in England, by the end of the century, steam engines were generally replacing the old windmills and water mills.

While new methods of spinning and weaving were being introduced, other inventors were improving the ways of melting and forging iron out of which machines could be made. New processes were found for extracting the iron from the ore

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which the various articles of food have traveled to reach our breakfast table; the ride to business in an electrically driven street car or train; and the telephone which enables us to communicate with a friend many miles away — these are but a few of the results of the patient research of scientists and inventors who produced the great revolution of the nineteenth century.

and working it up into a durable material for machines, bridges, railroads, steamships, and even buildings. After 1750 coal began to be used instead of charcoal as fuel for the furnace, and the old-fashioned bellows were supplanted by blast furnaces. Steam hammers weighing hundreds of pounds were invented, to beat the hot iron into shape.

Effects of the Factory System

Having seen how machinery was introduced into England in the latter part of the eighteenth century and how steam came to be utilized as a motive power, we have now to consider in some detail the momentous results of these inventions in changing the conditions under which people lived and worked. Up to this time the term "manufacture" still meant, as it did in the original Latin (*manu facere*), "to make by hand." Artisans carried on a trade with their own tools in their own homes or in small shops, as the cobbler does today. Instead of working with hundreds of others in great factories and being entirely dependent upon his wages, the artisan—in England, at least—was often able to give some attention to a small garden plot, from which he derived a part of his support.

As the Industrial Revolution progressed, these hand workers found themselves unable to compete with the swift and tireless machines. Manufacturing on a small scale with the simple old tools and appliances became increasingly unprofitable. The workers had to leave their cottages and spend their days in great factories, established by capitalists who had sufficient money to erect the huge buildings and to install in them the elaborate and costly machinery and the engines to run it. As an English writer has concisely put it, "The typical unit of production is no longer a single family or group of persons working with a few cheap, simple tools upon small quantities of raw material, but a compact and closely organized mass of labor composed of hundreds or thousands of individuals co-operating with large quantities of expensive and intricate machinery through which passes a continuous and mighty volume of raw material on its way to the consuming public."

One of the principal results of the factory system is that it makes possible a minute division of labor. Instead of giving his time and thought to the whole process, each worker concentrates his attention upon a single stage of it, and by repeating a simple set of motions over and over again acquires wonderful dexterity. At the same time, the period of necessary apprenticeship is shortened, because each separate task is comparatively simple. Moreover, the invention of new machinery is increased, because the very subdivision of the process into simple steps often suggests some way of substituting mechanical action for that of the human hand.

An example of the greatly increased output rendered possible by the use of machinery and the division of labor is given by the distinguished Scotch economist Adam Smith, whose great work, *The Wealth of Nations*, appeared in 1776. Speaking of the manufacture of a pin in his own time, Adam Smith says: "To make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business, to whiten the pin is another. It is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper, and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations." By this division, he adds, ten persons can make upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. This was when machinery was in its infancy. A recent writer reports that an English machine now makes one hundred and eighty pins a minute, cutting the wire, flattening the heads, sharpening the points, and dropping the pin into its proper place. In a single factory which he visited seven million pins were made in a day, and three men were all that were required to manage the mechanism.

Another example of modern mechanical work is found in printing. For several centuries after Gutenberg had issued his first book, the type was set up and inked by hand, and each sheet of paper was laid by hand upon the type and then printed by means of a press operated by a hand lever. Nowadays our newspapers, in the great cities at least, are produced almost altogether by machinery, from the setting of the type until they are dropped, complete, and counted out by the hundreds, at the bottom of a rotary press. The paper is fed into the press from a great roll and is printed on both sides and folded at the rate of five hundred or more newspapers a minute.

This great revolution in the methods of manufacturing produced also a sharp distinction between two classes of men involved. There were, on the one hand, the capitalists who owned the buildings and all the mechanism, and, on the other, the workmen whom they hired to operate the machines. Previous to the eighteenth century those who owned large estates had been, on the whole, the most important class in political and social life. But, alongside of the landed aristocracy, a powerful mercantile class had arisen, whose wealth, gained by commerce and trade, gave them influence in the affairs of the nation. With the improvements in machinery there was added the new class of modern capitalists who amassed fortunes by establishing great manufacturing industries.[1]

The workingman necessarily became dependent upon the few who were rich enough to set up factories. He could no longer earn a livelihood in the old way, by conducting a small shop to suit himself. The capitalist owned and controlled the necessary machinery; and so long as there were plenty of workmen seeking employment in order to earn their daily bread, the owner could fix a low wage and long hours. Although an individual employee of special ability might himself become a capitalist, the ordinary workman had to remain a workman. The question as to the proportion of the product which should go to the employees, and that which may properly be taken by the capitalist who makes a successful business possible, lies at the basis of the great problem of capital and labor. While there will be references to socialism and socialists in the following pages, it has seemed best to the writers to defer the consideration of socialism to the second volume, because it was not until after the World War that socialists actually came into control of any of the European states.

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[1] The industrial capitalist began to appear even before the days of Arkwright and Watt, since there were already employers who in some cases collected ten, twenty, or more looms in a town and employed workmen who had no tools of their own, thus creating something like the later factory system.

The destruction of the domestic system of industry had also a revolutionary effect upon the work and the lives of women and children. In all except the heaviest of the mechanical industries, such as iron-working or shipbuilding, the introduction of simple machines tended greatly to increase the number of women and children employed as compared with that of men. For example, in the textile industry in England during the fifty-year period from 1841 to 1891, the number of males engaged increased 53 per cent, and the number of female workers 221 per cent. Before the invention of the steam engine, when the simple machines were worked by hand, children could be utilized only in some of the minor processes, such as preparing the cotton for spinning. But in the modern textile factory, labor is largely confined to watching machines, piecing broken threads, and working levers, so that both women and children can be used as effectively as men, and much more cheaply.

Doubtless the women were by no means idle under the old system of domestic industry; but their tasks were varied and performed at home, whereas under the new system they must flock to the factory at the call of the whistle, and labor monotonously at a speed set by the foreman. This led to so many grave abuses that, as we shall see, the State has been called upon to remedy them by factory legislation, designed to save the women and children from some of the worst hardships. On the other hand, thousands of women belonging to the more fortunate classes have been relieved of many of the duties that devolved upon the housewife in the eighteenth century, when various things were made at home which can now be better and more cheaply produced on a large scale.

Before the Industrial Revolution no sudden change in the life and habits of the workers commonly occurred, since the same tools had been used in the same way, often by the same family, from generation to generation. When invention began, change began, and it seems likely to become more and more rapid, inasmuch as more profitable ways of doing things are discovered daily. Old methods give way to new ones, and the workman of today may successively engage in a considerable variety of occupations during his life as industries rise, are transformed, and decline under the stress of competition and invention. This serves to shake the workingman out of the old routine, encourages him to move from place to place as circumstances dictate, and so widens his experience and broadens his mind. He has also learned to combine with his fellows into national unions; and even international congresses of workingmen are held, to promote their common interests.

To these changes still another may be added, that is, the expansion of commerce. In spite of the development of trade before the eighteenth century, a great part of the goods produced were destined to be consumed in the neighborhood; whereas, after the invention of machinery, it became customary to manufacture goods which might be sold in any part of the world, so that one would find the products of Manchester or Birmingham in Hongkong, Melbourne, or Bulawayo. According to official estimates, the exports of England, which amounted to less than fourteen million pounds sterling in 1783, exceeded twenty-nine millions thirteen years later.

Although England had been the first to develop the modern industrial system, it was, of course, impossible for her to prevent the gradual introduction of the new inventions on the Continent. Napoleon, in his effort to ruin England's commerce by excluding her from the European markets, was led to foster and protect French industries. He encouraged a society for the promotion of national prosperity, and called to the direction of French internal affairs Chaptal, a manufacturer, inventor, and active administrator, who organized an exposition at Paris as early as 1801 and invited manufacturers to send their products for exhibition. Nevertheless, it can hardly be said that the Industrial Revolution began on the Continent until after Napoleon's fall. It is true that steam engines from the works of Bolton and Watt in Birmingham had long been used for pumping water, but not until the year in which Napoleon suffered his terrible reverse in Russia was a small engine of ten horse power set up in a cotton factory at Mulhouse, in Alsace. The backward state of French industry was due to the lack of capital and operatives; for Napoleon's military enterprises drained the country of millions of francs and drafted into the army hundreds of thousands of men who might otherwise have proved industrious and efficient workmen.

After the final establishment of peace in 1815 French industry rapidly underwent the revolution that had been accomplished in England half a century before. By 1847 there were in France nearly five thousand steam engines, with a capacity of sixty thousand horse power. The consumption of raw cotton was multiplied fivefold in thirty years, and in 1847 there were over one hundred thousand spinning-machines, with three and a half million spindles at work. Cotton thread, which sold for nearly fifteen francs a kilogram when Louis XVIII came to the throne, fell to three francs by 1850.

It was during this period that the iron industry was revolutionized by the use of coal instead of wood for smelting. About 1825 there was a general reëquipment of French iron works with cylinder blast apparatus and improved machinery for casting and handling heavy bars. In 1841 the steam hammer was introduced at the great Creusot works.[1] But perhaps the best test of the development of industry in France is the number of patents issued. In spite of the efforts of Napoleon, and the prizes offered by the government and industrial societies, the number issued was not over one hundred a year during the Empire. After the Restoration it increased rapidly and in 1834 reached five hundred. Ten years later it was nearly fifteen hundred, and after the patent-law reform of 1884 it immediately rose to about two thousand annually.

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[1] Schneider, the proprietor of the great iron works at Creusot, got the idea from Nasmyth, the English inventor, while on a visit to England in 1840.

The change in the methods of production had a marked effect on the development of the towns and on the growth of an industrial class as distinguished from the peasantry. Between the years 1836 and 1846 the population of France increased by about two millions, and the towns of over two thousand inhabitants absorbed the entire increment; that is, the country population remained stationary, while the manufacturing towns drew to themselves about two millions, mostly belonging to the working class. Paris alone had three hundred and forty-two thousand working people of both sexes in 1847, and other cities, such as Lyon, Marseille, Lille, Bordeaux, and Toulouse, had their great factories and whole quarters peopled by the factory laborers.

After the July revolution of 1830 (see next section) the workingmen began to form unions, in spite of the fact that the law forbade all associations designed to force employers to pay higher wages. While it is true that employers were likewise forbidden to form associations to control wages or prices, they could more readily conceal their agreements on account of their small numbers.

Notwithstanding the law and the frequent prosecutions for its violation, the workingmen continued to organize in order to enforce their demands for higher wages. For example, in 1833 there was a general strike among the carpenters, who demanded four francs a day and who attempted to coerce those that were willing to continue at the old wages. When the leaders were arrested they were warned that only prisons and poverty awaited trade unionists. Nevertheless, strikes, disorders, and arrests seem to have continued; for among the unions brought before the courts in the year 1843–1844 were the weavers of Bernay and Rennes, the hat-makers of Lyon, the carpenters of Bourges, and the lightermen, masons, trench-diggers, carpenters, and leather-dressers of Paris. In addition to punishing workmen for forming unions and quitting work in a body, the government refused to listen to their demands for legislation to protect women and children in the factories. Discontented with their lot, they continued to meet in secret clubs, where they listened to socialist schemes for bettering their condition.

It will be perceived that a history of modern democracy is a very complicated story, to which many strange, new changes in human affairs contributed. We have seen that after the French Revolution and Napoleon's disturbing career the European leaders were set against further changes and desired to keep things as they were. We must now review briefly the events which unsettled the settlement of Vienna by reducing the power of the kings and nobles and by increasing the number of citizens who had a right to express an opinion respecting the choice of their rulers. The struggle between kingship and representative government which had begun in England in the seventeenth century continued throughout the nineteenth and reached a sort of consummation at the close of the World War.

The achievement of democracy assumed different forms in the various countries of Europe. But everywhere there was a strong urge to draw up constitutions granting to an ever-increasing number of citizens the right to elect their government officials. This was the "liberalism" of the nineteenth century. It seems best to the writers to give up a strictly chronological order of presentation and to study, in turn, the development of democracy in the leading countries of western Europe. We shall first take up the history of democracy in

France from the restoration of Louis XVIII to the establishment of the French republic which exists today. We shall then review the reforms in Great Britain during the nineteenth century—reforms which were greatly affected by the introduction of the factory system. Finally the course of events in Germany and Italy and Austria—whose fates were intimately associated—will be followed down to the establishment of the German Empire and the kingdom of Italy.

France gains a Bourgeois King

In view of all that France had suffered, it might have been supposed that the moderation of Louis XVIII and the constitutional measures that marked his restoration would have pacified the distracted kingdom; but it was not to be. The granting of a constitution could not bring back that quiet submission to the royal will that had existed during the days of Louis XV. The interest of the people in public questions had been aroused by the Revolution, and, quite naturally, they differed among themselves on current issues, such as the amount of power the king should really be permitted to exercise, the extension of the right to vote to the poorer classes, the authority of the clergy, the position of the ancient nobility, and the like. In this way political parties developed.

The reactionary group, known as the ultra-royalist party, was composed largely of the emigrant nobles and clergy, who believed that their personal and sacred rights had been outraged by the revolutionists. They therefore wished to undo the work of the past twenty-five years and to restore the ancien régime in its entirety. They clamored for greater power for the clergy, for the restriction of the liberal press, for the king's absolute control over his ministers, and for the restoration of the property that they had lost during the Revolution. This party, though it was small in numbers, was composed of zealots whose bitterness had waxed strong through long nursing abroad; and with the king's brother, the count of Artois, at their head, they constituted an active and influential minority.

The most valuable and effective support for the king, however, came from a more moderate group of royalists who had learned something during the last quarter of a century. They knew that the age of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette could not return; and consequently they urged the faithful observance of the Constitutional Charter of 1814, and sought, on the one hand, to induce the reactionary nobility and clergy to accept the results of the Revolution and, on the other hand, to reconcile the people to the restored monarchy. These moderates did not propose, however, to weaken the power of the king in any way by allowing the Chamber of Deputies to control the ministers, as the House of Commons did in England, or by extending the franchise. The two royalist parties—extreme and moderate—doubtless made up the greater portion of the nation; at all events, they carried the election of 1815 by a large majority.

A third party was composed of liberals who, though loyal to the king, did not regard the Charter as containing the last word on French liberties. They favored a reduction of the amount of property which a man was required to own in order to vote, and they maintained that the king should be guided by ministers responsible to the chambers.

Finally there was a large group of persons who were irreconcilable enemies of the Bourbons and everything savoring of Bourbonism. Among them were the Bonapartists, soldiers of Napoleon, who remembered the glories of Austerlitz and Wagram and were angered by the prestige suddenly given to hundreds of Frenchmen who had borne arms against their country, but who now crowded around the king to receive offices, rewards, and honors. While Napoleon lived they longed for his return to power; and after his death, in 1821, they placed their hopes upon his youthful son,[1] "Napoleon II,"—to them the rightful ruler of France.

On the other hand, there were the republicans, who detested Bonapartism no less than Bourbonism and longed to see a restoration of the republic of 1792. In 1824 they formed a secret society for the purpose of overthrowing the monarchy, declaring that might was not right, and that the nation was entitled to choose its own ruler, whereas Louis XVIII had been foisted on the French people by the armed powers of Europe.

As long as Louis XVIII lived, the party loyal to him grew stronger. Though a thorough believer in divine right, he was determined not to endanger his crown by arbitrary measures which would increase the numbers in the opposing parties; and at the time of his death, in 1824, the restored Bourbon line seemed to have triumphed completely over its enemies. Had his brother, who succeeded him as Charles X, been equally wise, he too might have retained the throne until his death. But he frankly declared that he would rather chop wood than be king on the same terms as the king of England. He had already shown his real character by the zeal with which he labored for the ultra-royalist cause during his brother's reign, and had received the name of "King of the Emigrés." The high office to which he was called meant to him merely an opportunity to restore the crown, the nobles, and the clergy to the rights and powers which they had enjoyed before the Revolution.

An old-fashioned law was passed in 1826, providing the death penalty for offenders guilty of profaning the sacred vessels in a church or of insulting the Host. Though this law was not enforced and was principally designed to show that the State was a defender of the Church, it aroused great bitterness. A bishop was made Grand Master of the University, and teachers were subjected to the oversight of the clergy. Monastic corporations were still prohibited by law[1]; but thousands of monks had flocked back to France, and the Jesuits were especially active under the favor and encouragement of the king. A royal edict restoring rigid supervision of the press was designed to stifle opposition to the new measures. The Duke of Wellington declared that "Charles X is setting up a government by priests, through priests, and for priests."

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[1] The son of Napoleon and Maria Louisa, born in 1811, to whom his father gave the title "King of Rome," was taken to Vienna after Napoleon's overthrow, and given the title of "Duke of Reichstadt." He lived at his grandfather's court until his death in 1832.

Seeing the clergy rapidly regaining their former prestige, the nobles who had suffered losses during the Revolution set about recovering their estates. But most of the former manors had long been broken up and sold, often in very small parcels, so that a restoration of the ancient family domains would have displaced enough peasants and new landlords to constitute a formidable political party. Under these circumstances the nobles had to content themselves with forcing through a measure appropriating a thousand million francs as indemnity for their losses.

As might have been anticipated, these measures aroused violent antagonism. At the elections of 1827 the opposition party, composed of the various discontented elements, was victorious; but this ominous warning was not heeded by the king. Charles X confided the direction of the government to ultra-royalist ministers, and prorogued the chambers for remonstrating. This only served to strengthen popular resistance, and the elections of 1830 resulted in a decided addition to the number of deputies opposed to the king's policy.

Before this newly elected parliament met, Charles determined upon a bold stroke. Acting under a provision of the Charter which empowered him to make regulations for the security of the realm, he and his ministers issued a series of "ordinances" limiting the freedom of the press and the rights of the chambers and of the voters. The first ordinance sus-

[1] See pages 281 f., 308–309 and note.

pended the liberty of the press and provided that no newspaper or journal should be published without the government's authorization. Other ordinances reduced the number of voters by making the payment of a land tax a qualification, thus excluding merchants and manufacturers; revived the clause of the Charter confining the initiation of laws to the king—a provision which had been neglected in practice; and dissolved the newly elected chamber before a single session had been held. These ordinances practically destroyed the last vestiges of constitutional government and left the French people without any guarantee against absolutism.

The day following the promulgation of these ordinances, July 26, 1830, the Paris journalists published the following protest, which became the signal for open resistance to the king: "Since the government has violated the law, we are under no obligation to obey it; we shall endeavor to publish our papers without asking permission of the censors. The government has this day lost the character of legality which gave it the right to demand obedience. For our part we shall resist it; it is for France to judge how far her resistance shall extend." The Paris deputies in the parliament also declared that the king's ordinances were illegal and calculated to throw the whole state into confusion.

Protests, however, do not make a revolution. The journalists could print resolutions more easily than carry them out; the ensuing revolt which brought about the overthrow of Charles X was not their work but that of the fearless though small republican party, which faithfully cherished the traditions of 1792 but had been regarded by the government as insignificant. On July 27 they began tearing up the paving stones for barricades, behind which they could defend themselves in the narrow streets against the police and soldiers. The king, who was at his country residence at St. Cloud, regarded the insurrection as a mere street fight which the troops could easily put down, and played whist in the evening according to his custom.

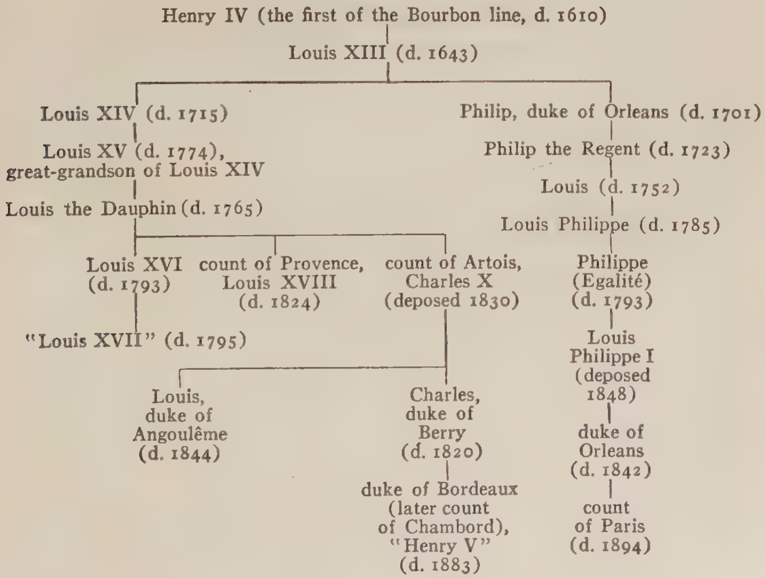
But on July 29 the entire city of Paris was in the hands of the insurgents. The king, now realizing the seriousness of the situation, opened negotiations with the deputies and promised to repeal the obnoxious ordinances. It was, however, too late for concessions; a faction of wealthy bankers and business men was busily engaged in a plan to place upon the throne Louis Philippe, a prince of the royal house, long known as a believer in the more moderate principles of the Revolution.

Louis Philippe was the son of that duke of Orleans who had supported the popular cause in the early days of the first revolution and had finally been executed as a "suspect" during the Reign of Terror. The son had been identified with the Jacobins and had fought in the army of the republic at Valmy and Jemappes. He was later exiled, but did not join the ranks of the allies against France because he could not get the officer's commission which he desired. He then visited America and on his return to England became reconciled with Louis XVIII. When he returned to France after the Restoration he did not, however, join the reactionary party, but sought popular favor by professing democratic opinions, affecting the airs of a plain citizen, entertaining bankers and financiers at his home in Paris, and sending his children to ordinary schools instead of employing private tutors. He was therefore the logical candidate of those who wished to preserve the monarchy and yet establish the middle class in power in place of the nobles and clergy.

As the first step toward making Louis Philippe king, the deputies in Paris appointed him lieutenant general of the realm. Charles X, despairing of his ability to retain the crown for himself, abdicated in favor of his grandson, the duke of Bordeaux. He then charged Louis Philippe with the task of proclaiming the young duke as King Henry V, and fled with his family to England. Though this arrangement might very well have met the approval of the nation at large, Louis Philippe was not inclined to execute the order of Charles X. On the contrary, he began to seek the favor of the republicans who had done the actual fighting and had already formed a provisional government with the aged Lafayette at its head.

This committee occupied the City Hall and was surrounded by the insurgents who supported it. Louis Philippe forced his way through the throng and, in a conference with Lafayette, won him over to his cause by fair promises. The two men then went out on a balcony, and Lafayette embraced his companion before the crowd as a sign of their good understanding, while the duke, on his part, showed his sympathy for liberal doctrines by waving the tricolored flag,—the banner of the Revolution, which had not been unfurled in Paris since the last days of Napoleon. The hopes of the republicans who had borne the brunt of the revolt were now at an end; for they realized that they formed too small a party to prevent Louis Philippe's accession to the throne.

The Bourbon Dynasty


Henry IV (the first of the Bourbon line, d. 1610)
Louis XIII (d. 1643)
Louis XIV (d. 1715)
Philip, duke of Orleans (d. 1701)
Louis XV (d. 1774), great-grandson of Louis XIV
Philip the Regent (d. 1723)
Louis (d. 1752)
Louis the Dauphin (d. 1765)
Louis Philippe (d. 1785)
Louis XVI (d. 1793)
count of Provence, Louis XVIII (d. 1824)
count of Artois, Charles X (deposed 1830)
Philippe (Egalité) (d. 1793)
"Louis XVII" (d. 1795)
Louis Philippe I (deposed 1848)
Louis, duke of Angoulême (d. 1844)
Charles, duke of Berry (d. 1820)
duke of Orleans (d. 1842)
duke of Bordeaux (later count of Chambord), "Henry V" (d. 1883)
count of Paris (d. 1894)

Louis Philippe, as lieutenant general, convoked the Chamber of Deputies on August 3 and announced the abdication of Charles X, carefully omitting any allusion to the fact that the dethroned king had indicated his grandson as his successor. Four days later the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution —which was ratified by the Chamber of Peers—calling Louis Philippe to the throne as King of the French; he accepted their invitation, declaring that "he could not resist the call of his country."

The deposition of Charles X and the accession of Louis Philippe seemed not to require the convocation of a constitutional convention to draft a new constitution. So the parliament merely made certain necessary changes in the existing Charter which Louis XVIII had granted, and required the new king to accept it before his coronation. The preamble of the Charter was suppressed because it wounded "national dignity in appearing to *grant* to Frenchmen the rights which essentially belonged to them." The clause under which the July ordinances were issued was altered so that the king had no power to suspend the laws. Freedom of the press and the responsibility of the ministers to the Legislative Assembly were expressly proclaimed. Lastly, the provision establishing the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the State was stricken out.

The Revolution of 1830 gave the final blow in France to the divine right of kings. The sovereignty of the people was proclaimed in the revised Charter which Louis Philippe accepted from the parliament. He added to the former title—"King of the French by the Grace of God"—the significant phrase "and the Will of the Nation." The white flag, the old banner of the Bourbons and the symbol of absolutism, was replaced by the tricolor, the flag of the Revolution. But in spite of these externals, only a small fraction of the nation had any part in the new government. The two hundred and nineteen deputies from whom Louis Philippe accepted his crown represented only about eighty thousand voters out of a population of thirty million; and the revised election law under the new Charter, which reduced the voting age from forty to thirty years and the property qualification by one third, still excluded the majority of Frenchmen from political life. In short, both the republicans and the old aristocracy had been forced to give way before the wealthy middle class—the *bourgeoisie*.

Unpopularity of Louis Philippe's Government

The king himself announced that his policy would be the golden mean between conservatism and liberalism. He was himself an excellent *bourgeois*: he lived without the pomp of royalty and was fond of going shopping, almost unattended, carrying his green umbrella under his arm. He was cautious and not inclined to risk any innovations; grasping and avaricious, he regarded his kingdom as a kind of business enterprise which interested him mainly for the sake of the profits to be derived from it. As time wore on he grew more and more conservative, and his reign of eighteen years was a period of political stagnation.

The so-called "July monarchy" was therefore stoutly opposed by two types of extremists: the adherents of the older Bourbon line—or "legitimists," as they were called—and the republicans. As for the former, the flight of Charles X from his kingdom had not deprived them of all hope of again coming into power; for Charles had left a grandson whom, under the title of "Henry V," they regarded as their lawful king. This party was numerically small; it was mainly recruited from the nobility and clergy, and found its chief supporters among the peasants of the Vendée, where traditional faithfulness to the royal family was still the rule. The legitimists were not, however, given to violent measures, such as throwing up barricades and seizing public buildings, and Louis Philippe did not feel his throne greatly endangered by them.

It was an altogether different matter with the republicans, who cherished the memories of 1792, and continued to threaten France with another violent revolution. This party carried on its work mainly through secret societies, similar to the Carbonari in Italy, which spread rapidly in the new manufacturing towns. The most powerful of these organizations was the "Society of the Rights of Man," which was divided into lodges of twenty members each. Remembering the ease with which they had overturned the throne in 1830, the republicans made several futile attempts to organize insurrections, which were easily put down, however, by Louis Philippe's troops.

In addition to their other efforts to destroy the monarchy, the republicans published a number of papers which attacked the government and even ventured to make sport of the king. The administration therefore determined to suppress entirely this revolutionary party. A law was passed forbidding the formation of any association whatever which had not previously submitted its rules and by-laws to government officials for approval, and members as well as leaders of unauthorized societies were made liable to severe penalties. Exceptional measures were also taken against the press, including a censorship of drawings and caricatures. It was made a crime to attack the institution of private property or the established government, or to incite the people to revolt. The most violent paper, *The Tribune*, was prosecuted one hundred and eleven times; its editor was condemned to prison on twenty different occasions, and fines aggregating 157,000 francs were imposed upon him. By these vigorous methods the republicans, as a political party, were reduced for a time to insignificance.

Meanwhile there was growing up in the large industrial cities a new party, which no mere change of rulers or extension of the suffrage would satisfy. Its ideas were vague and its leaders divided among themselves; but its appeal was mainly to workingmen, and its program was socialistic in character. Its members had seen the Republic, the Empire, and the Bourbon monarchy come and go, and constitutions made and unmade, leaving the poverty of the peasants and workingmen unalleviated. On the other hand, they had seen the nobles deprived of their privileges and the clergy of their property; and it was only natural that bold thinkers among them should demand that the triumphant middle class, who owed their wealth to commerce and the new machinery, should in turn be divested of some of their riches and privileges in the interest of the working classes.

Denunciations of private property and of the unequal distribution of wealth had been heard during the first French Revolution and even earlier, but they had attracted little attention. Babeuf (1760–1797) had declared in the days of the Terror that a *political* revolution left the condition of the people practically unchanged. "When I see the poor without the clothing and shoes which they themselves are engaged in making, and contemplate the small minority who do not work and yet want for nothing, I am convinced that government is still the old conspiracy of the few against the many, only it has taken a new form." His proposal to transfer all property to the State, and so administer it that everyone should be assured employment, speedily found adherents, and a society was formed to usher in the new order. The organization was soon suppressed and Babeuf himself executed; but his writings were widely circulated, and after the July revolution in 1830 some of his old followers began to renew their agitation against private property.

In addition to the followers of Babeuf there were other writers and agitators who all advocated more or less complete abolition of private property, although they disagreed fundamentally as to the methods to be employed in order to achieve their ends. The general aims of these various groups were set forth in a manifesto of 1832 as follows: "We have in view not so much a political change as a social reformation. The extension of political rights, electoral reform, universal suffrage, may all be excellent things, but simply as means to an end. Our object is the equal division of the burdens and benefits of society, the complete establishment of the reign of equality."

The work of formulating a practical program for these contentious factions was undertaken by Louis Blanc, whose volume on *The Organization of Labor*, published in 1839, gave definiteness to the vague aspirations of the reformers. Blanc proclaimed the right of all men to employment, and the duty of the State to provide it. He proposed that the government should furnish the capital to found national workshops which should be managed by the workmen, who were to divide the profits of the industry among themselves, thus abolishing the employing class altogether. "The organization of labor" became the battle cry of the labor leaders. It was heard even in the Chamber of Deputies; for as early as 1840 Arago declared in that body that the organization of labor was necessary in order to put an end to the miseries of the working classes. A journal called *Progress* was founded by Louis Blanc, and the agitation in favor of a social revolution was actively carried on, especially among the workingmen. Nevertheless, there was no well-organized party ready to enter the political field or to work for a definite aim; there were plenty of theories and agitators, but discipline and leadership were wanting.

The political power at this time was really in the hands of two groups of statesmen, one headed by Thiers, and the other by Guizot, both famous as historians and men of letters. Thiers wished to have a constitution like that of England, where, as he was wont to say, "the king reigns but does not rule." Guizot wished the king to exercise real power; he did not want the throne to become an "empty armchair," and regarded further change in the constitution as undesirable. He resisted all compromise with the republicans and radicals, and labored to strengthen the monarchy as established and to conciliate the powers of Europe, who looked askance at revolutionary France. In 1840 he became prime minister, and he and the king together ruled France for eight years.

In order to keep up the pretense of government by parliamentary majority, Guizot resorted to a regular system of corruption which recalls the practices of Walpole. Owing to the centralized administration established by Napoleon, all the government officials throughout France—the mayors, prefects, and subprefects—were appointed and dismissed by him, and he could thus use them to coerce voters. Though personally honorable, Guizot placed the government on a thoroughly corrupt basis and then attempted to stifle protest by police measures and the prosecution of newspaper editors. Having made himself master of the kingdom, he steadily refused to recommend any legislation for the benefit of the working classes and opposed all efforts to extend the suffrage, maintaining that there were not more than one hundred thousand persons in all France "capable of voting with good judgment and independence."

The Second French Republic

Thiers and the other politicians who were opposed to Guizot devised a plan of holding banquets where, over their cigars and wine, the enemies of the unpopular minister could denounce his policy and dwell on the great things they would do if they were in power. Invitations had been issued to one of these banquets, to be held in Paris on February 22, 1848. The government, however, intervened and forbade the guests to assemble. After some hesitation they decided to obey; but a crowd of workingmen and republicans gathered in the neighborhood of the banqueting hall, and before long there was friction between them and the police. As the excitement grew, the national guard was called; but the soldiers, sympathizing with the people, joined in their cry for reform. Barricades were erected, and gunsmiths' shops ransacked for arms.

The king was now thoroughly frightened and agreed to the formation of a new ministry. The next day (February 23) Guizot tendered his resignation in the Chamber of Deputies, and Louis Philippe called to office the politicians of the opposition. But it was too late. He and Guizot had calmly ignored the vast mass of the nation, and in the next few days they were to learn how intense was the hatred their irresponsible rule had engendered.

What seemed to be the happy ending of a popular demonstration was really the beginning of a revolution. The politicians were satisfied with getting rid of Guizot, but the leaders in the street disturbances wanted far more than a change in the ministry. During the evening of the twenty-third they made an attack on the Foreign Office, where the unpopular minister resided; thereupon the soldiers on guard fired upon and killed several of the rioters. This roused the anger of the populace to fever heat; the bodies of the victims were placed on a cart and carried through the boulevards in a weird torchlight procession. Before the dawn of February 24 the eastern part of the city was covered with barricades. In the narrow streets a cart or two and a heap of cobblestones formed an effective fortification, while the tall houses enabled a few revolutionists to check a considerable body of soldiers.

Owing to a disloyal national guard and insufficient police force the entire city was soon in the hands of the insurgents, and Louis Philippe in despair abdicated in favor of his grandson, the count of Paris. The Chamber of Deputies was powerless to check the rising tide of revolution. Both the republicans and the labor party seized the occasion to institute provisional governments; but they soon saw the necessity of uniting their forces in order to oppose the supporters of the monarchy. Determined to have no more royalty, at any rate, they proclaimed a republic on the afternoon of the twenty-fourth of February, 1848, subject to the ratification of the people in a national assembly to be summoned immediately.

In spite of the momentary victory, the success of the provisional government was by no means assured. It was divided against itself, for it consisted of two factions whose aims were really entirely different. The moderate republicans were quite satisfied with merely abolishing the monarchy, whereas the workingmen, whose active coöperation had put the revolutionists in power, had set their hearts on introducing the whole scheme advocated by Louis Blanc. Thus by a peculiar combination of circumstances the radical leaders of the working classes, though a mere minority, were able to force upon the provisional government measures for which the people of France were not prepared.

On the day after the proclamation of the republic the radicals compelled the government to assume the obligation of guaranteeing employment to all citizens and also to recognize the right of workingmen to form unions—a right which had hitherto been denied them. A decree soon followed, ordering the establishment of national workshops and charging the minister of public works with carrying the plan into execution. This measure was accepted by the majority of the provisional government merely to avoid a division in their ranks, which at the moment might have led to a renewal of disorder in Paris.

As a further concession to the labor element the provisional government declared that it was necessary without delay to assure to the people the legitimate fruits of their labor, and established in the Luxembourg Palace a committee charged with the special task of looking after the interests of the working classes. This was really a shrewd move on the part of the opponents of the "socialists," whom it sent away from the City Hall to waste their time in making fine speeches and expounding theories for the execution of which no money had been appropriated.

The Luxembourg committee, headed by Louis Blanc and a leader of the workingmen named Albert, began its sessions on March 1, and at once proceeded to organize a labor parliament composed of delegates from each craft. This was opened on March 10 with a speech by the eloquent Blanc. He declared that as he beheld the workmen assembled in the Hall of the Peers, hitherto the sanctuary of privilege, in which so many laws directed against them had been made, he felt an emotion which he could with difficulty repress. "On these same seats," he exclaimed, "once glittering with embroidered coats, what do I see now? Garments threadbare with honorable toil, some perhaps bearing the marks of recent conflict."

The labor parliament, however, accomplished very little. It temporarily persuaded the provisional government to reduce the working hours from eleven to ten in Paris, and from twelve to eleven in the country, and to abolish the payment of wages in goods instead of money.

Since the government had furnished them with no capital, Louis Blanc and his supporters were powerless to carry out their plan for coöperative workshops, which they regarded as the most vital of all their reforms. Only some exceptional circumstances permitted even a partial trial of their theories.

The provisional government had, it is true, ordered the establishment of national workshops and issued a decree guaranteeing employment to all, but with very different motives from those of the labor committee. Louis Blanc and his followers sought to organize the various trades into permanent, self-supporting coöperative industries, financed in the beginning by the State, but managed by the workingmen themselves. The provisional government, on the contrary, desired merely to allay the restlessness of the unemployed by fair promises. It opened relief works, accordingly, which offered more or less useless occupation to the idle men who thronged to Paris. The minister of public works was hostile to Louis Blanc and the socialists. He made no attempt to assign the workmen to their proper trades or to establish factories. He merely formed brigades of the unemployed, and set them to digging ditches and building forts at a uniform wage of two francs a day.

This crude temporary expedient was put into operation on March 1, and in fifteen days six thousand men had enrolled in the government employ. In April the number reached a hundred thousand, and several million francs were being expended to pay these labor gangs. The plan, however, realized the original object of the government—it kept the idle busy and prevented disorder until the conservative classes could regain their usual ascendency.

On May 4 the provisional government gave way to a National Assembly, elected by practically universal manhood suffrage, which was called upon to draft a new republican constitution for the country. The majority of the deputies were moderate republicans who were bitterly opposed to all socialistic tendencies. The rural districts, which had taken no part in the Revolution, could now make themselves felt, and it was clear enough that the representatives of the peasants did not sympathize in any way with the projects and demands of the Paris workingmen.

Before it could proceed to consider seriously the form of the new constitution, the National Assembly was forced to take decisive measures in regard to the "national workshops," to which crowds continued to flock, draining the treasury to pay for their useless labor. When Louis Blanc proposed in the assembly that a minister of labor should be created to deal with the situation, he was met with the cry of "No, no socialism for us!" In vain did he urge that the sudden discharge of so many idle men would mean bloodshed, and perhaps revolution, unless some provision were made for their employment. The assembly decided on closing the "workshops," and ordered the men either to join the army or leave the city.

The people at once set up the cry of "Bread or blood!" and the most terrible street fighting that Paris had ever witnessed ensued. The streets of the districts inhabited by the working classes were again torn up for barricades, and from Friday, June 23, until the following Monday a desperate conflict raged. The assembly, fearing the triumph of the labor party, invested General Cavaignac with dictatorial power to crush the revolt. Victory was inevitably on the side of the government troops, who were well disciplined and well equipped, while the insurgents fought irregularly and were half starved. In its hour of triumph the government's retaliation was most unjustifiably severe: about four thousand citizens were transported without trial, thirty-two newspapers were suppressed, and the leading writers among the radicals were imprisoned. Order was restored, but the carnage of the "June days" left a heritage of hatred between workingmen and capitalists.

After this "solution" of the labor problem the assembly turned with more freedom to the work of drawing up a constitution. In spite of a strong royalist minority, the assembly had declared itself in favor of a republic on the very first day of meeting. It revived the motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," and urged all Frenchmen to forget their former dissensions and "to constitute henceforth but a single family."

After six months of debate a new constitution was promulgated. It proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and guaranteed religious freedom and liberty of the press. The government was vested in a single chamber of seven hundred and fifty members elected by popular vote, and a president to be chosen, also by popular vote, for a term of four years. The only trace of the violent labor agitation was embodied in a clause of the preamble, which declared that the republic, within the limit of its resources, was bound to assure the maintenance of indigent citizens by furnishing them with work or aiding those unable to work.

With the establishment of the constitution, interest centered in the first presidential election, held on December 10, 1848. Three leading candidates entered the contest: Ledru-Rollin, representing the labor party; General Cavaignac, who had so ruthlessly suppressed the June insurrection; and Louis Napoleon, a nephew of Napoleon I.

The last of these candidates had up to this time led a varied and interesting life. He was born in Paris while his father, Louis Napoleon, was king of Holland, and the great emperor had stood as his godfather at his baptism. After his uncle's downfall, when he was six years old, he was expelled from France with his mother, who wandered about with him for some time, and then settled down in Augsburg, where his education was begun in a German school. Later they moved to the shores of Lake Constance, where the young Louis began a special study of the French Revolution under a Swiss tutor. His mother continually impressed upon his youthful mind the fact that one who bore the illustrious name of "Bonaparte" was destined to accomplish something in the world, and he came firmly to believe that it was his mission to reëstablish the Napoleonic dynasty on the throne of France.

After the death of Napoleon I's son in 1832[1] he put himself forward as the direct claimant to the imperial crown, and four years later he attempted to provoke a military uprising at Strasbourg, designed to place him on the throne of France. This proved a miserable failure, and only the clemency of Louis Philippe saved him from being punished as a traitor. He then settled in England, where he published in 1839 a volume on *Napoleonic Ideas*, in which he represented Napoleon as the servant of the principles of the Revolution, his empire as the guardian of the rights of the people, and his fondest

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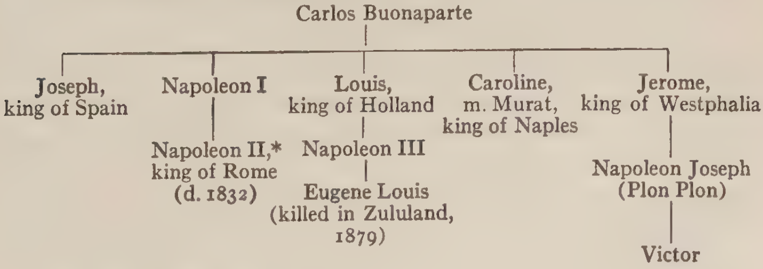
[1] Chief members of the Napoleonic House.


Carlos Buonaparte
Joseph, king of Spain
Napoleon I
Napoleon II,* king of Rome (d. 1832)
Louis, king of Holland
Napoleon III
Eugene Louis (killed in Zululand, 1879)
Caroline, m. Murat, king of Naples
Jerome, king of Westphalia
Napoleon Joseph (Plon Plon)
Victor

*See note on page 459.

desire the progress of democracy. In short, he created a fictitious Napoleon who had hoped and labored only for the good of the people, and who had been overthrown by tyrants.

This volume proved very opportune; for the next year the remains of the emperor were brought back to France from the lonely island of St. Helena and entombed with great pomp on the banks of the Seine. It seemed to Louis Napoleon that the time was ripe for another attempt to win the coveted crown. He landed with a few companions at Boulogne, bringing with him a tame eagle as an emblem of the Empire. This second enterprise, like the first, proved a fiasco, and this time Louis Napoleon was shut up in the fortress at Ham, from which, in 1846, he escaped to England to await the good fortune to which he still firmly believed himself destined.

The insurrection in 1848 offered just the opportunity he desired, and four days after the proclamation of the republic he announced his presence in Paris to the provisional government, pledged himself to support it, and declared that he had no other ambition than that of serving his country. Shortly afterward he was elected a member of the National Assembly and soon found favor with the populace.

He had for years professed himself a democrat and proclaimed his belief in the sovereignty of the people. He had written several essays in which he had expressed sympathy with the working classes, and he was known to have interested himself in the projects of Louis Blanc. He now offered himself as a candidate for the presidency and issued a campaign manifesto, as adroitly worded as many of his famous uncle's proclamations, in which he promised the working classes special laws for their benefit; but, on the other hand, he distinctly repudiated all socialistic schemes, and reassured the middle classes by guaranteeing order and the security of property. He did not forget the soldiers, to whom he recalled the glories of the Empire and offered an assured existence in return for their long and faithful services to their country. This time his plans worked admirably; for he was elected president by an overwhelming majority of five and a half million votes to less than one and a half million cast for the two other candidates combined.

Louis Napoleon and the Second French Empire

It soon became clear that the man whom the French had put at the head of their second republic was bent on making himself emperor. His first step was to destroy the republican party itself; this was the more easily done because the peasantry and shopkeepers had been turned against it by the hard times and the disorders of 1848. As a result of their discontent almost two thirds of the deputies elected in 1849 were monarchists, so that the president's plans coincided with the sentiments of the assembly. The newspapers of the republicans were closely watched and their public meetings prohibited. A new electoral law was then passed on May 31, 1850, which was cleverly arranged to exclude from the suffrage nearly three million workingmen—the class most interested in maintaining the republic.

President Napoleon now began to work for a revision of the constitution which would extend his term of office from four to ten years. He selected his ministers from among his personal friends, courted the favor of the army and the government officials, and by journeys through the country sought to arouse the enthusiasm of the people for the restoration of the Empire. Nevertheless, his proposition to revise the constitution was defeated in the Assembly, whereupon he endeavored to gain popularity by declaring that he had never sympathized with the electoral law of May 31 restricting the suffrage, and demanded its repeal.

As the Assembly refused to coöperate in his plans, he finally determined to risk a *coup d'état* which he had been meditating for some time. After a social function held in his palace on the evening of December 1, 1851, he gathered about him a few of his most trusted advisers and confided his designs to them. One of his supporters, to whom he delegated the publication of a series of decrees, immediately repaired with an armed force to the government printing-office and compelled the workmen to print the required proclamations. Another confidential agent was instructed to see that a number of the president's chief opponents in the Assembly were arrested and imprisoned before sunrise. A third was intrusted with the task of preventing any trouble in the army. When the morning of December 2—the anniversary of the famous victory of Austerlitz—broke, the walls of Paris were placarded with copies of a decree issued by the president, dissolving the Assembly, reëstablishing manhood suffrage, and ordering a new election.

This decree was accompanied by an appeal to the people, in which the president declared that the Assembly had become the "center of conspiracies where weapons of civil war were being forged," and added that it was his duty to "preserve the republic and save the country." He stated that he no longer desired an office which he was powerless to use for good. He appealed, consequently, to the people, and proposed certain fundamental constitutional changes, including an increase in the president's term of office to ten years and the establishment of a ministry responsible to the president alone. Like his distinguished uncle, he was willing to allow everybody to vote if he could retain the right of initiating all laws himself through his council of state.

Finally he submitted to the people of France the following proposition: "The French people desire the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and delegate to him the necessary powers in order to form a constitution on the basis announced in his proclamation of December 2." Every Frenchman twenty-one years of age was permitted to vote "yes" or "no" on this proposition, and the result was officially estimated at 7,740,000 for the measure and 646,000 against it. The coup d'état was thus approved by the people, and what may be called the constitutional absolutism of the first Napoleon was again introduced into France.

Save for a little bloodshed in Paris on December 4, this revolution was accomplished very quietly. About a hundred thousand opponents of Napoleon throughout the country, including the leaders of the opposition in the Assembly,—Thiers, Cavaignac, and Changarnier,—were arrested, and nearly ten thousand were deported, but the people at large accepted the situation without protest. As Victor Hugo said, "Workingmen read the appeal and went quietly to work. Perhaps one in a hundred took the trouble to say: 'The law of May 31 abolished? That is good. Universal suffrage again restored? That is fine. The reactionary majority driven off? Excellent! Thiers imprisoned? Splendid! Changarnier collared? Hurrah!'" In short, the workingmen merely rejoiced in the overthrow of the politicians who had waged war on them in the bloody June days of 1848.

The president was now master of France. He appointed officers, initiated laws, declared war, made peace, and, in fact, himself constituted the real power of the government. Though already an emperor in reality, he was not satisfied until he secured the title; and it was evident that the country was ready for the fulfillment of his hopes, for wherever he went he was greeted with cries of "Long live the Emperor!" Part of this public sentiment was doubtless inspired by the president's officials; but the name "Napoleon" awakened glorious memories, and there was a genuine desire throughout France to see the Empire reëstablished.

Toward the close of 1852 Louis Napoleon, in a speech at Bordeaux, at last openly announced his belief that France was ready for the abolition of the Second Republic. The final step was easy; for the constitution which he had devised after the coup d'état of 1851 empowered the senate to regulate everything that had not been provided for by the constitution, and furthermore to propose constitutional amendments. Now, since the members of the senate were chosen by Louis Napoleon himself, they readily agreed to pass a decree making him Napoleon III, Emperor of the French. This decree was submitted to popular vote (November, 1852) and ratified by an overwhelming majority. The dream of Louis Napoleon's life was at last realized—the Napoleonic dynasty was restored.

For almost ten years his government was a thinly veiled despotism. Though the imperial constitution confirmed the great principles of the Revolution, a decree abolishing the liberty of the press was immediately issued. No periodical or newspaper treating of political or social economy could be published without previous authorization on the part of the government. Papers of such character published abroad could not be circulated without the consent of the government, and lithographs, engravings, and prints could not be exposed for sale without the approval of the police authorities. Moreover, the government officers could suppress journals at will. Although Napoleon III had promised liberty of instruction, he compelled the teachers in the university to take an oath of allegiance to himself. Instruction in history and philosophy was discouraged, and the university professors were commanded to shave their mustaches "in order to remove from their appearance, as well as from their manners, the last vestiges of anarchy."

Though the forms of a democratic government were maintained, the will of the emperor was really supreme. While all male citizens could vote, the government took care to secure the election of its own candidates for parliament. The representatives of the people met every year in Paris; but they could introduce no bills (for that was reserved to the emperor's council of state), and their debates were rarely open to the public when anything of interest was under consideration.

The despotic character of Napoleon III's rule inevitably evoked an intense opposition which smoldered for ten years and then brought about a number of radical reforms. The laws against the press and meetings were finally moderated, and in 1870 a revision of the constitution was effected. The senate was changed from an imperial council into a regular legislative chamber, and the ministers were made responsible to the parliament. This was but the preliminary to a complete overthrow of the Empire. Later in that very year Napoleon became involved in a war with Germany (see Chapter XIV) which ended in his utter defeat and loss of power.

The Revolt of the Paris Commune

On September 3, 1870, Napoleon III telegraphed from Sedan to Paris, "The army is defeated and captured, and I am a prisoner."[1] This meant an immediate collapse of the empire which he had established some twenty years before. The Chamber of Deputies was invaded by a mob shouting for the republic, and a motion was made to dethrone Napoleon and his dynasty. Next day Gambetta and the deputies representing the city of Paris betook themselves to the old revolutionary storm center, the City Hall, and there proclaimed the reëstablishment of a republic. This was sanctioned by an overwhelming majority of the Parisians. In the meantime other large cities, such as Bordeaux, Marseille, and Lyon, took similar action.

The terrible defeat at Sedan and the capture of the emperor did not bring the war to a close. The German invaders pressed on to Paris, which was reduced to the point of starvation after a terrible siege, and capitulated, January 28, 1871.

Since the dissolution of the government of Napoleon III early in September, France had had no opportunity to work out a new constitution, and had drifted on under a provisional "Government of the Public Defense" which Gambetta, Favre, and others among the former deputies had improvised. It was questionable whether this revolutionary body was authorized to conclude a peace, and accordingly it was arranged, upon the surrender of Paris, that the French should elect a national assembly which would legally represent the nation in dealing with the victorious enemy. The result of the elections was surprising; for only two hundred *republican* candidates were chosen as against about five hundred *monarchists* of various kinds, namely, legitimists, Orleanists, and a few Bonapartists. This was largely due to the fact that Gambetta and other prominent republicans had talked so fervidly of continuing the war at any cost that the mass of the people was fearful lest if put in power they might prolong the disastrous conflict which was ruining the country. The National Assembly, aware that Paris was strongly republican in its sentiments, determined to meet in Bordeaux, where it held its first session on February 12.

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[1] After the conclusion of peace between France and Germany the Germans set Napoleon III free, and he retired to England, where he died in 1873.

Foremost among the brilliant men who composed this body was Adolphe Thiers, the historian, journalist, and politician, who for more than forty years had been a prominent figure both in literature and in affairs of State. He had aided in the expulsion of Charles X in 1830 and had zealously championed the cause of Louis Philippe, whom he had served as minister for some time. Amid the subsequent political changes he managed by shrewd conduct, which his opponents often denounced as unscrupulous, to win a certain degree of favor even in the eyes of his political enemies. Though he was a critic of the Second Empire, his twenty-volume history of the *Consulate and Empire* elicited high praise from Napoleon III; though a monarchist, he called himself "a son of the Revolution" and had long prophesied the inevitable establishment of a republic. In the grave crisis in which France found herself in February, 1871, he appeared, therefore, to be the natural leader. His popularity was now demonstrated by the fact that in the elections for the National Assembly he had received over two million votes.

The National Assembly therefore appointed Thiers "Head of the Executive Power of the French Republic" and provided that he should exercise his authority through ministers of his own choice. This was, of course, a temporary arrangement, and the vital question whether France was to remain a republic or to be reconverted into a monarchy was deferred until a settlement could be made with the Germans. France, as Thiers urged with a statesman's insight, had been precipitated into a war without serious motive or adequate preparation; she had seen her armies destroyed, half her territory occupied by the enemy, and hundreds of thousands of her children torn from their labors to defend the fatherland. Surely, in the face of such a situation, all enlightened and patriotic citizens, whatever their individual views of government, should unite to free France from the invader and restore her to her former prosperity.

The first step in the realization of this policy was the conclusion of a final peace with the Germans; for the armistice which had been agreed upon at the capitulation of Paris had almost expired. On February 21 Thiers hurried to Versailles to open negotiations with the German emperor and Bismarck, and on the twenty-sixth, after many stormy scenes, the terms of the preliminary treaty were formulated (see next chapter).

As soon as the peace was arranged the republican minority urged that the National Assembly should dissolve itself, since it had now fulfilled its purpose. The majority, however, insisted upon continuing to govern France and proceeding to draw up a constitution. The Assembly refused to remove to Paris, the "headquarters of sedition and the center of revolution," where the monarchists had good reason to fear the strong republican sentiment; so they chose Versailles as their place of meeting.[1] Louis Blanc warned the members that if they thus neglected the claims of Paris as the seat of government, there might arise "from the ashes of a horrible war with the foreigner a still more horrible civil conflict." His fears proved only too well founded, for Paris rose in revolt against an assembly which it regarded as made up of obstinate and benighted "rustics" who still clung to monarchy and had no sympathy with the needs of the great cities.

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[1] Not until 1879 did the French legislature again return to Paris.

Trouble had been brewing in Paris for several months. The siege had thrown tens of thousands out of work and had produced general demoralization. During the war many men had received a franc and a half a day for acting as national guardsmen; but the Assembly at Versailles now ordered that this payment, upon which the otherwise unemployed were relying, be discontinued. The guardsmen thereupon selected a committee to defend their interests and those of the republic. This committee united with a newly elected city council, which was very revolutionary in its make-up, and determined to govern Paris as a practically independent city; together they bade defiance to the National Assembly, which they accused of usurping power that had not been delegated to it by the nation.

The revolutionary group who now tried to govern Paris included ardent republicans, socialists, communists, anarchists, and some who could scarcely be said to have had much interest in anything except disorder. Many of the leaders were men of unquestionable integrity, who had resolved to defend the republic, even by the sacrifice of their lives, as the "only form of government compatible with the rights of the people and the development of a free society." They all agreed in demanding that every commune, or municipality, should be left free to manage its own affairs in the interests of its own people. France would then become a sort of federation of communes, each community electing its own officers and introducing freely such social reforms as suited local conditions. In this way "militarism," "officialism," and "privilege" would disappear. The idea of keeping all France under a single strong empire or monarchy was denounced as despotic and unintelligent. It was this exalted confidence in the commune, or local government, that gained for the leaders the name *communards*.[1]

The doctrines of the communards failed, however, to gain any considerable support in the other cities of France, and the Assembly at Versailles decided to reduce rebellious Paris to subjection. Toward the close of April, 1871, Thiers ordered a bombardment of the fortifications on the outskirts of the city preparatory to its capture. This was the beginning of a desperate struggle. The Versailles troops, under orders, refused to accord the communards the rights of soldiers, and shot, as traitors and rebels, all who fell into their hands. After three weeks of fighting on the outskirts, the forces of the Assembly entered Paris by an unguarded gate on May 21, and then began a terrible week of war, murder, and arson in the city itself. Beautiful public buildings, like the City Hall and the palace of the Tuileries, were sacked by excited mobs; residence districts were raked with bursting shells, and the streets filled with maddened soldiers, crying "No quarter," against whom the desperate communards struggled with passionate despair. For a whole week the fratricidal strife raged, until finally, on May 28, Marshal MacMahon, who was in command of the troops, was able to announce the close of the conflict and the restoration of order. The slaughter, however, was not yet at an end; for the monarchists set up courts martial and, with scarcely the semblance of a trial, shot hundreds of prisoners. Unlike the government of the United States after the close of the Civil War, that of France under the leadership of Thiers —once a revolutionist himself—forgave no one. Seventy-five hundred insurgents were banished to the penal colony in New Caledonia, and thirteen thousand condemned to imprisonment with hard labor or sent into exile.

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[1] The word "communist" is often unhappily applied to the communards. But "communist" is best reserved for those who advocate the more or less complete abolition of private property and maintain that society as a whole should own and control, in the interests of all, what is now left in the hands of individuals. Many of the communards were communists, but the terms are not synonymous.

The Third French Republic

The National Assembly was at last free to turn to the vexed question of settling upon a permanent form of government. There would have been little difficulty in reëstablishing the monarchy if the monarchists had not been hopelessly divided among themselves (see table, p. 463). Some of them, known as the "legitimists" because they regarded the older Bourbon line as the lawful one, were in favor of bestowing the crown on the count of Chambord, a grandson of Charles X who had been deposed by the Orleanist revolution in 1830. The "Orleanists," who wished to see a restoration of the House of Orleans, which had been overthrown in 1848, had a strong candidate in the person of the count of Paris, a grandson of Louis Philippe. These two groups of monarchists had nothing in common but their opposition to a republic; their hatred of each other was bitter and uncompromising. The legitimists could not bring themselves to look upon the Orleanists as anything more than usurpers who had been responsible for the insurrection of 1830, while the Orleanists regarded the legitimists with scarcely less ill feeling.

In view of these divisions all factions were willing to postpone for a time the final solution of the problem, each hoping meanwhile to gain strength by delay. This policy was sanctioned by Thiers, who urged the Assembly to devote its attention to the pressing task of strengthening the army and restoring the prosperity of France. Smarting under the humiliation of their defeat by the Germans, the Assembly passed a new army law modeled upon that of Prussia, which bound every Frenchman to military service for five years in the active service and for fifteen years in the reserve force. The frontier defenses were strengthened, the army equipped with the most improved instruments of war, and the war department completely reorganized.

At last, in December, 1872, Thiers, who had been an Orleanist, declared himself for the republic, contending that its overthrow would mean a new revolution. His conservative republicanism, however, did not save him from attacks by Gambetta and the radical republicans of the extreme left; while the monarchists, angered by his defection, determined on his downfall. In May, 1873, they secured a majority vote in the Assembly for a resolution condemning Thier's policy; and he thereupon resigned, leaving the government in the hands of the monarchists, who chose Marshal MacMahon as president and formed a coalition ministry representing Orleanists, legitimists, and Bonapartists, under the leadership of the duke of Broglie, a member of the Orleanist group.

The various monarchist parties now agreed to combine for the purpose of overthrowing the republic. The large cities, especially Paris, were placed under martial law, republicans were dismissed from government positions, republican newspapers were watched by the police, and the clergy were exhorted to use their influence in the cause of monarchy. In spite of these measures, when elections were held to fill the vacancies in the Assembly, republican candidates were chosen for the most part, and the monarchists saw that they must arrange a compromise if they wished to restore the monarchy. Accordingly the Orleanists and legitimists agreed that the count of Chambord should be recognized as Henry V, and that since he had no children he should be succeeded by the count of Paris, the candidate of the Orleanists. The thorny question whether France should cling to the tricolored flag, which suggested revolution, or adopt the ancient white banner of the Bourbons was deferred until the monarchy should be securely established.

In this adjustment of affairs the parties had not reckoned with the character of the count of Chambord. He was then over fifty years of age and had spent most of his life as an exile in Scotland, Germany, Austria, and Italy. He had been educated by pious Catholics and zealous supporters of the legitimist cause, who had imbued him with a passionate devotion to the ancient rights of his house and with an equally passionate hatred of revolution in every form. Immediately after the suppression of the Paris Commune he had issued a manifesto in which he declared, "France will come to me, and I to her, just as I am, with my principles and my flag." Though ardently desiring to be restored to the throne of his ancestors, he could not bring himself to agree to any compromises with plans which he believed to be hostile to the supremacy of the elder Bourbon line and to the claims of the Catholic Church. He consented to negotiate with the count of Paris only on condition that he himself should be recognized as the legitimate head of the family and the lawful king. He then published an open letter in which he declared that he would not renounce the white flag which had so long been the standard of his house.

Enraged by the conduct of the fusion candidate, the Orleanists determined that he should not ascend the throne upon his own terms, and took measures to prevent his coronation, although he had come to Versailles to superintend the preparations. They turned to the Bonapartists and republicans with a proposition to prolong the term of Marshal MacMahon, as president of the republic, for a period of seven years, in the hope that by the time his term expired they might gain sufficient strength to place their own candidate on the throne.

The Assembly meanwhile continued its confused and heated debates, the republicans demanding the establishment, without further delay, of a republican constitution; the legitimists, the retirement of Marshal MacMahon in favor of the count of Chambord; and the Orleanists, the president's continuance in office until 1880. Finally, at the beginning of the year 1875, four years after the election of the Assembly, it at last took up seriously the consideration of a permanent form of government; and on January 29 a motion was carried, by a majority of one, providing that the president of the *republic* should be elected by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, meeting together in a single assembly. Thus the republicans at last carried the day by the narrowest possible margin.

As one reviews the history of France since the establishment of the First Republic in 1792, it appears as if revolutionary changes of government had been very frequent. As a matter of fact, the various revolutions produced far less change in the system of government than is usually supposed. They neither called in question the main provisions of the Declaration of the Rights of Man drawn up in 1789, nor materially altered the system of administration which had been established by Napoleon immediately after his accession in 1800. So long as the centralized administration was retained, the civil rights and equality of all citizens secured, and the representatives of the nation permitted to control the ruler, it really made little difference whether France was called an empire, a constitutional monarchy, or a republic.

The president of the French Republic is elected for seven years by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, meeting together. The real head of the government, however, is the prime minister, who, with the other ministers, forms a cabinet, responsible to parliament as in England. The parliament of France differs from the Congress of the United States (and from the Parliament of Great Britain in former days) in the way it works. Instead of two great parties there are about ten groups of members, each representing certain ideas. A few monarchists still sit on the seats at the extreme right of the speaker's desk. Next to them are the very conservative republicans. The largest group is that of the "radicals," or reformers, and at the left are a number of socialists and communists representing the working classes.

In order to remain in power the cabinet must have the support of a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, as the house of representatives is called. This is elected every four years by universal male suffrage. When the cabinet loses the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies it resigns, and the president appoints a new prime minister. It is his task to form a new cabinet whose policy is likely to win the favor of the Chamber. The Senate is elected for nine years, in a more complicated fashion than the lower house,—one third of the members being elected every third year,—and tends to be more conservative than the Chamber.

France under the Third Republic steadily increased in wealth, the French peasants being noted for their thrift and economy. The savings of the French peasants enabled the great banks to lend money to other nations, particularly to Russia, so that Paris came to rival London and New York as a money center.

A system of national education was introduced. A public-school system was established in which priests and members of religious orders were forbidden to teach; and the private schools, which had been run mainly by religious orders, were placed under strict government inspection. The government granted large sums of money in order to carry on its system of education, and established normal schools for the training of teachers.

By the treaty, or Concordat, of 1801 between Napoleon and the Pope, the bishops were appointed by the government, and the salaries of all the clergy were paid by the State. The clergy—naturally a very influential class because of their religious duties—were therefore, in a sense, government officials as well as clergymen. Many of the republicans had ceased to believe in what the Catholic Church taught, and finally a law was passed in 1905 to separate the Church and State in France. The government discontinued the contributions to the clergy, but placed the churches at the disposal of the priests. The Catholic Church in France is now dependent, like all churches in America, upon the voluntary contributions of those who are interested in supporting it.

CHAPTER XIII

PREVAILING OF "THE PEOPLE" (CONTINUED)

UNDEMOCRATIC ENGLAND AT THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the eighteenth century the English government had been extolled by Montesquieu and others as by far the most liberal and enlightened in Europe. But the reforms and principles of the French Revolution made England appear almost medieval in its backwardness. Its Parliament was, after all, only a council of wealthy landlords, merchants, nobles, and bishops who often gained their seats by bribery and could not be said to represent the nation, which had, indeed, little to do with their election. The English law still prescribed cruel penalties for light offenses; citizens who did not accept the Thirty-Nine Articles were excluded from office; and education was far from the reach of the masses. When the downfall of Napoleon left the English free to turn their attention to the problems which faced them at home, they were forced to undertake a thorough modernization of their institutions, almost as radical as that which was being effected with more turmoil on the Continent.[1]

The leading issue was the reform of Parliament—a matter which had begun to attract the attention of English liberals before the opening of the French Revolution. It is a cardinal principle of modern democratic government that at least one of the houses in the legislative body shall be made up of representatives of the people, fairly apportioned among the various election districts. In England, however, such towns as had in earlier times been instructed by the king to send their two representatives to Parliament still continued to do so at the opening of the nineteenth century, regardless of the number of their inhabitants, and no new boroughs had been added to the list since the reign of Charles II. Mere villages had grown into great cities, and the newer towns which had developed under the influence of the Industrial Revolution, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, had no representatives at all. On the other hand, Dunwich, which had been buried under the waters of the North Sea for two centuries, was duly represented, as well as the famous borough of Old Sarum, which was only a green mound where a town had once stood. There were only twenty-three voters in Truro, nineteen in Helston, and thirteen in Malmesbury; yet each of these places sent two members to the House of Commons.

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[1] The important reforms which England carried through during the nineteenth century with little bloodshed or disorder are sometimes cited as showing the superior political genius of the English. It should be remembered, however, that the supremacy of the Parliament over the king had been established only after a bloody civil war, the execution of one king, and the expulsion of another. Louis XIV's minister, Torcy, regarded the English of his time as fickle and incompetent in governmental matters.

Moreover, it was not only in the towns that representation was wholly unequal. Ten southern counties of England which contained less than three million inhabitants sent 237 members to Parliament, while thirty other counties with over eight million inhabitants returned only 252 members. The county of Cornwall, with a population of a quarter of a million, had forty-four representatives, while all Scotland, with eight times that population, was entitled to only one more member.

A second cardinal principle of modern democracy was violated by the restrictions on the right to vote. In the English towns there was no uniform rule as to the suffrage. In some boroughs all the taxpayers had the right to take part in the elections, but in one of these, Gatton, there were only seven voters. In other boroughs the right of choosing the members of Parliament was exercised by the mayor and town council, who were often not elected by the people.

Many of the boroughs were owned outright by members of the House of Lords or others, who easily forced the few voters to choose any candidate they proposed. The duke of Norfolk chose eleven members of the House of Commons, Lord Lonsdall nine, and Lord Darlington seven, while other peers had one or more representatives in the Commons. In 1828 the duke of Newcastle evicted over five hundred of his tenants because they refused to vote for his candidate; and when this led to a protest in Parliament he replied, "Have I not a right to do as I like with my own?" Some of the lords sold the seats they controlled to the highest bidder, receiving sometimes as much as five thousand pounds from those eager to gain the privilege of membership in the House of Commons.

In the country districts matters were no better. It is true that every person owning land which brought in forty shillings a year was permitted to vote for members of Parliament, but the disappearance of most of the small farmers had reduced the voters to the few who owned large estates. In the Scottish county of Bute, with its population of fourteen thousand inhabitants, there were twenty-one voters of whom all but one were nonresidents. In 1831 the Lord Advocate declared: "At an election in Bute, not beyond the memory of man, only one person attended the meeting except the sheriff and the returning officer. He, of course, took the chair, constituted the meeting, called over the roll of freeholders, answered to his own name, took the vote, and elected himself."

Bribery was prevalent and was fostered by the system of public balloting which will be described presently. By long-established custom the price of a vote at Hull was two guineas (a little over ten dollars); at Stafford, seven. By his own confession, Lord Cochrane once paid ten guineas to each of the voters in Honiton and sent the town crier around to inform them where they could get their money.

Thus, through the gross inequalities in apportioning the votes, the curious methods of balloting, open bribery, and the ownership of boroughs, the House of Commons was ordinarily under the control of a comparatively few men. It was alleged in 1792 that one hundred and fifty-four patrons, forty of whom were peers, returned a majority of the House. A very cautious scholar of our own day estimates that not more than one third of the representatives in the House of Commons were fairly chosen. In short, Great Britain was governed by an oligarchy as little in sympathy with democracy as were the courtiers who crowded around Louis XVI.

The whole system was so obviously unequal and unfair that it is not surprising that objections to it had long been common. As early as 1653 Cromwell attempted parliamentary reform by increasing the number of county members and striking small boroughs from the list. This measure was revoked, however, on the restoration of the Stuarts, and for nearly a hundred years it was almost forgotten. About the middle of the eighteenth century the abuses were again brought forward, and during the democratic agitation which preceded and accompanied the French Revolution several attempts were made to induce Parliament to reform itself. The elder Pitt (Lord Chatham), in 1770, and later his distinguished son, the younger Pitt, advocated changes which were, however, successfully opposed by those who were well content with the existing system.

The excesses of the French Convention during the Reign of Terror put an end to all hope of reform for some little time. Even the more cool-headed and progressive among the English statesmen were discouraged by the apparently disastrous results in France of permitting the people at large to vote. Burke, as we have seen, wrote a furious attack upon the Revolution, and the English government adopted harsh measures to prevent all agitation for reform. The publishers of Thomas Paine's works were many times prosecuted, and the stamp duties on publications were increased to prevent the circulation of cheap literature. Scores of honorable men were fined, imprisoned, or exiled for advocating annual elections and universal suffrage, and it became increasingly difficult for them to get a hearing while the nation was engaged in a death struggle with Napoleon.

The demand for reform was not, however, wholly stifled; indeed, it found a remarkable spokesman in William Cobbett (1762–1835), the son of a yeoman in Surrey. In early life he was an ardent defender of the rights of king and lords, but was drawn into the path of the reformer by a keen realization of the misery of the people and the existing political abuses. He founded a newspaper to forward his views, but was soon imprisoned for venturing to denounce the horrible practice of flogging which prevailed in the army. After his release he spent some time in the United States, where he continued to write articles and pamphlets advocating reform. On his return to England after the close of the Napoleonic wars he became the most formidable adversary of the Tory party and reached a wide circle of readers through his newspaper, the *Weekly Register*, which he sold for three cents, an extraordinarily low price for this period.

Meanwhile other orators, writers, and agitators were busy arousing the working classes to action. Hampden clubs were founded to propagate reform doctrines, and monster demonstrations and parades were organized to prove to the government the strength of the popular feeling. At one such meeting in Manchester, in 1819, the police and soldiers charged the crowd without provocation and killed and wounded a large number.[1] The government followed this up with a series of laws known as the Six Acts, which restricted the rights of free press, free speech, and public meeting.

This attempt at repression proved unavailing, for it was not only the working classes but the rich and powerful merchants and manufacturers as well who demanded the revision of a system which excluded them from political power. Under the leadership of Lord John Russell parliamentary reform was again and again urged in the Commons. The revolution of 1830 in France added impetus to the agitation in England, and that stanch Tory, the Duke of Wellington, was led to resign his premiership under the pressure of a growing public opinion that seemed verging on open violence.

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[1] This assault, known as the "Peterloo massacre," occurred in St. Peter's Field, then on the outskirts, but now in the heart of Manchester.

INCREASE OF BRITISH VOTERS IN 1832

A new ministry was organized, and in March, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced a reform bill into the House of Commons. The violent opposition which the measure encountered at the outset led to a dissolution of Parliament and a general election. The result was a triumph for the reform party, which then carried the bill through the Commons by a substantial majority. It was, however, rejected by the House of Lords. The Commons then replied by passing another bill of the same character as the first, and the country awaited with breathless anxiety the action of the peers. Finally, King William IV granted permission to the prime minister "to create such a number of peers as will insure the passage of the reform bill." The lords, realizing that further opposition was useless, gave way, and in June, 1832, the long-debated bill became a law.

According to its provisions fifty-six "rotten boroughs," each containing less than two thousand inhabitants, were entirely deprived of representation; thirty-two more, with less than four thousand inhabitants, lost one member each; and forty-three new boroughs were created, with one or two members each, according to their respective populations. The counties were divided into election districts, and assigned a representation corresponding more nearly than heretofore with the number of their inhabitants. The suffrage was given in the towns to all citizens who owned or rented houses worth ten pounds a year, and to *renters* as well as *owners* of lands in the country. In this way the shopkeepers and manufacturers and some of the more prosperous people in the country were given the right to vote, but nearly all workingmen and agricultural laborers were still excluded from the franchise.

The great Reform Bill of 1832 was not therefore really a triumph for democracy. It was estimated from official returns in 1836 that out of a total number of 6,023,752 adult males there were only 839,519 voters. The thousands whose parades and demonstrations had frightened the Duke of Wellington and the king into yielding were naturally dissatisfied with the outcome. The fact that those who came into power under the new bill showed little inclination to relieve the condition of the working classes, whose wages were pitiably low and whose homes were miserable hovels, added bitterness to their disappointment.[1]

THE CHARTIST AGITATION

The Reform Bill had scarcely been signed before a veritable flood of pamphlet literature appeared, proposing more radical measures. Translations of Magna Carta and reprints of the Bill of Rights and the acts of the Long Parliament abolishing the House of Lords and the kingship were circulated as leaflets among the working classes. One pamphleteer cited the United States as a model for England, saying, "In republican America, members of parliament are chosen by universal suffrage; few taxes and no tithes are imposed; hereditary pauperism, pensions, and plunder are not suffered; and the chief magistrate lives with dignity on an income from the public of five thousand pounds a year." Another prefaced his leaflet with these lines from Byron:

I have seen some nations, like o'erloaded asses,
Kick off their burden—meaning the high classes.

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[1] The death rate is the most eloquent evidence of the condition of the working classes. In the country it was 18.2 per thousand; in Birmingham and Leeds, 27.2; in Manchester, 33.7; in Liverpool, 24.8. In the last-named city forty thousand people were found living "in cellars, dark, damp, dirty, and ill ventilated." (Report of Royal Commission in 1843)

In 1832 a little book[1] was issued which gives an excellent notion of the demands of a large class of the poorer Englishmen. These were (1) the abolition of aristocratic and exclusive, plundering, and inefficient government, and the substitution of representative and liberal, cheap, and efficient government; (2) the abolition of all taxes imposed on paper, printed and unprinted; (3) the establishment of a system of national education, unfettered and untainted by religious tenets; (4) the abolition of hereditary peerage; (5) the abolition of hereditary nobility, titles, honors, and distinctions; (6) the prevention of the monstrous extravagance of the king; (7) the abolition of the State Church and State religion, leaving priests, parsons, preachers, and ministers to be paid by those who choose to employ them; (8) the establishment of a new code of laws, just, simple, and clearly expressed, so that all may understand them, with a catalogue of every legal cost fixed at the lowest farthing, as in the French code; (9) the abolition of the standing army and the substitution of a national militia; (10) the limitation of the extent of landed property; (11) the abolition of prison sentences for debt; (12) the payment of the national debt; and (13) free press, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments.

The reformers at last agreed on pressing six of their demands, which they embodied in a "charter"; to wit, manhood suffrage, vote by secret ballot, annual parliaments, payment of members of Parliament, abolition of property qualifications for members of Parliament, and equal electoral districts. This charter soon won thousands of adherents, to whom the name of "Chartists" was given. Local Chartist clubs were founded in every manufacturing town, and a national Charter Association was organized for the purpose of federating the various clubs. Leaders of remarkable oratorical ability sprang into prominence; papers were established; Chartist songs and poems were composed; and national conventions assembled.

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[1] *The People's Charter*, London, 1832.

Great meetings and parades were held all over England; the charter was transformed into a petition to which, it was asserted, over a million signatures were obtained. This petition was presented to Parliament in 1839, only to be rejected by a large vote.[1]

Despairing of securing reforms by peaceful means, many of the leaders began openly to advocate revolutionary violence, and rioting spread to such an extent that the government had to resort to extraordinary police measures to suppress it. Birmingham was for a time in the hands of revolutionists, and at Newport, in 1839, twenty Chartists were shot in an attempt to seize the town and start an insurrection. Though the police were successful in quelling these armed uprisings, agitation continued, several Chartists members were elected to Parliament, and another petition was submitted to that body.

The revolution of 1848 in France and the establishment of the Second Republic gave the signal for the last great outburst of Chartist enthusiasm. Owing to the hard times in that year, thousands of workmen were unemployed, and the poor were roused to bitter hatred for a government which replied to demands for reform by police measures. Preparations were made to present to the House of Commons another gigantic petition, to which, it was declared, six million names had been secured; and the Chartist leaders determined to overawe

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[1] The Chartists were violently attacked by the opponents of their democratic proposals, which seem harmless enough today. In 1840 the Reverend E. Jenkins issued a book called *Chartism Unmasked*, in which he made the following observations: "What would you gain by universal suffrage? I am certain that you would gain nothing but universal confusion, universal setting of workmen against each other. . . . All workmen would then become politicians—they would neglect their vocations in life—spend their time, their strength, their talents in what would increase their poverty. Vote by ballot would be nothing but a law for rogues and knaves, nothing but a cloak for dishonesty, insincerity, hypocrisy and lies. . . . With respect to having members of Parliament paid and void of property qualifications—really this is too absurd for an idiot to be the author of it. . . . The famous Chartist doctrine of Equality is diametrically opposed to Nature and the word of God; it is a doctrine taught only by lying prophets—men who are of their father the Devil, for his works they do."

Parliament by a march on London. Though this show of force was frustrated by Metternich's friend, the Duke of Wellington, then commander of the forces policing London, the petition was finally presented to the House of Commons. It was there referred to a committee, which reported that there were less than two million names and that many of these were evident forgeries, such as "Victoria Rex," "the Duke of Wellington," "Pugnose," and "Snooks." The petition was thereby greatly discredited, and Parliament refused to take any action on it. Chartism, as an organized movement, thereupon collapsed.

The British Government at Last a Democracy

The cause of parliamentary reform was not, however, lost with the failure of the Chartist movement. The doctrines of democracy had been spread among the people by the agitation, and from time to time advocates were found to introduce reform measures in the House of Commons. In 1858 the old law requiring members of Parliament to possess a certain amount of property was abolished, but the proposals for increasing the number of voters were easily defeated. Still, there was a steadily growing recognition that some changes were inevitable; and at length, in 1866, Gladstone, as leader of the House of Commons, made the question an issue of practical politics. Mr. Gladstone was then fifty-seven years old. He had entered Parliament as a Tory at the first election after the Reform Bill of 1832, and had quickly shown himself a commanding orator and a capable politician. At the end of a few years his views on public questions began to change, and at length he broke with the conservative traditions of his youth. In a debate on parliamentary reform in 1864 he maintained that the burden of proof rested on those "who would exclude forty-nine fiftieths of the working classes from the franchise." The very next year the veteran reformer of 1832, Lord John Russell, now elevated to the peerage, was called upon to form a new ministry, and he selected Gladstone as leader of the House of Commons.

At the opening of Parliament in 1866 Gladstone proposed a moderate extension of the franchise, which was still based on property qualifications and would add only four hundred thousand voters out of the five millions of adult males excluded under the law of 1832. This measure displeased many of Gladstone's followers because it went too far, and others because it did not go far enough. Consequently the cabinet felt compelled to resign, and a Conservative ministry was formed under the leadership of Lord Derby, who was represented in the House of Commons by Benjamin Disraeli (afterwards created Lord Beaconsfield), one of the most striking figures in the political life of England during the nineteenth century. When a young man of twenty-two he had sprung into prominence as the author of a successful novel, *Vivian Grey*, and at the age of thirty-three he entered upon his political career as a Conservative member of Parliament. His Jewish origin, his obtrusive style of dress, and his florid oratory immediately brought him into conspicuous notoriety; but those who laughed at him at first soon came to recognize him as a leader of great force and a politician of remarkable ability.

The Conservatives, as the old Tory party had come to be called, were alarmed by the general demand for reform and by some rioting which took place in Hyde Park. Disraeli undertook to secure the passage of a reform bill in spite of the denunciations of many of his fellow Conservatives and the smiles of the Liberals, who taunted him with advocating changes which he had long opposed. The new law of 1867 granted the right to vote to every adult male in the larger towns who occupied for twelve months, either as owner or tenant, a dwelling within the borough and paid the local poor tax; also to lodgers who paid ten pounds or more a year for unfurnished rooms. In the country it permitted those to vote who owned property which produced an income of at least five pounds net a year, and all renters paying at least twelve pounds annually. This served to double the previous number of voters.[1]

The Reform Bill of 1867 did not remedy the abuses connected with the system of voting—an incredibly rude and disorderly practice which had come down from earlier times and was largely responsible for the bribery and intimidation at the polls. According to this ancient method the election was held in the open air; the sheriff proposed the names of the candidates one after the other, and the voters indicated their preference by shouting and raising their hands. If the defeated candidate was not satisfied, he could demand a roll call, and each voter then had to register his name in a poll book so that everyone might know how he voted. Not only was this registration a long and tedious process, but it enabled those who had bought votes to see that the "goods" were really delivered.

The system had been defended against the attacks of reformers on the ground that a man should assert his independence by an open vote, and that if he sold his vote under a system of secret ballot he might be guilty of falsehood as well as corruption. However, the Chartists had made a secret ballot one of their demands, and the idea found many supporters among the Liberals. It counted among its champions Grote, the famous historian of Greece, who began his advocacy of this reform in Parliament as early as 1833; but it was not until 1872 that a measure was carried which introduced into England the secret-ballot system invented in the Australian colony of Victoria.

Some years later the question of the suffrage came up again, and in 1884 the Liberal party, again under Gladstone's leadership, resolved to carry still further the reforms of 1832 and

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[1] It may be said here, once for all, that in England, as in other European countries, it is customary to exclude from the suffrage all paupers and criminals, the insane, and certain other classes of persons.

1867, since over two million men, chiefly agricultural laborers, were still denied the right to vote. By extending the suffrage to them the Liberals hoped to gain their support, to offset the control of the rural districts which had hitherto been enjoyed by the Conservatives. The new law which they succeeded in passing provided that the franchise established for the larger towns in 1867 should be extended to all towns, and to the country districts as well, thus introducing general uniformity throughout the United Kingdom. While this measure seemed to establish something approaching the manhood suffrage already common on the Continent, many men were still excluded from voting, especially unmarried laborers who, owing to the low rents in England, did not pay as much as ten pounds (or fifty dollars) a year for unfurnished lodgings. After the World War, as we shall see, the vote was granted to all adult males and, finally, to women. Thus, after a struggle of more than a century, Great Britain became practically a full-fledged democracy from the modern point of view.

Reform of Town Government in England

Parliament was not the only branch of the English government which was characterized by undemocratic features when the age of reform opened. Local government in town and country had grown up in a haphazard fashion during the preceding centuries and, like Parliament, was in the hands of small minorities. The towns usually had, it is true, a mayor, aldermen, and common councilors, but in most instances these dignitaries were not elected by the people. They had been appointed by the king when he chartered the borough some centuries before, and empowered to choose their successors forever. When Henry VIII, for example, chartered a town, he named the first governing body himself, and authorized it to select a new member whenever one died, or surrendered his position through any other cause. In a few towns the governing body was elected by so-called "freemen," but these privileged persons formed a very small part of the inhabitants. Liverpool, with a population of one hundred and sixty-five thousand, had only five thousand freemen, and Ipswich, with twenty thousand inhabitants, had three hundred and fifty resident and seven hundred and sixty nonresident freemen. The qualities, exemptions, and privileges of a freeman were secured by inheritance, marriage, purchase, apprenticeship to a freeman, or a grant from the town government.[1]

Under this system municipal corruption and inefficiency were notorious. Paving and street-lighting were neglected; drainage and water supplies were bad; municipal offices were often sold or made the reward for political work; and town revenues were frequently used by private persons for their own benefit. It was declared in Parliament by Lord John Russell that some of the town councils had borrowed money from year to year to divide among the members. All these rumors were substantiated by the parliamentary commission charged, in 1833, with investigating conditions in the towns. After presenting the long list of abuses they had discovered, the commission stated, "There prevails among the inhabitants of a great majority of the incorporated towns a general and, in our opinion, a just dissatisfaction with their municipal institutions, and a distrust of the self-elected municipal councils whose powers are subject to no popular control and whose acts and proceedings, being secret, are unchecked by the influence of public opinion."

On the basis of this commission's report, Parliament, in 1835, passed a Municipal Corporations Bill which is scarcely less famous than the reform measure enacted three years before. This municipal reform act provided a general constitution for all municipalities; it vested the government in a body consisting of the mayor, aldermen, and common councilors, and abolished the self-elected bodies entirely. It provided that the common councilors should be chosen every three years by those who paid local taxes in the borough, and that the common councilors, in turn, should choose the aldermen to form a sort of second chamber. Finally, the mayor was to be elected annually by the council.[1]

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[1] In 1833, among one hundred and ninety-eight of the chief English towns, the freemen elected the governing body in only twelve; while in one hundred and eighty-six towns it was coöptative, that is, it perpetuated itself.

The Cabinet System

The reforms which we have just enumerated gradually increased the number of those entitled to vote for members of the House of Commons and opened its doors to any man, rich or poor, who could carry an election. They left untouched, however,—at least as far as appearances were concerned,—the ancient and honorable institutions of the king and House of Lords. The sovereign was still crowned with traditional pomp; coins and proclamations still asserted that he ruled "by the grace of God"; and laws were still enacted "by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled." Justice was executed and the colonies were governed in the king's name. The term "royal" was still applied to the army, the navy, and the mail service, the word "national" being reserved, as a wit remarked, for the public debt. Even to this day the old forms are still preserved.

There was a time, of course, when the highest prerogatives were really exercised by the king of England. Henry VIII, for example, appointed his own ministers and dismissed them at will. He made war and peace at his pleasure and exercised such an influence on the elections that Parliament was filled with his supporters. The long struggle, however, between the king and the Parliament in the seventeenth century, and the circumstances of the revolution of 1688, which placed William and Mary on the throne, made Parliament the predominant element in the English government. The king might still, as of old, quite legally refuse to give his sanction to any bill passed by Parliament, but after 1707 he ceased altogether to exercise that right. He could not permanently oppose the wishes of the majority in Parliament; for, if he had ventured to do so, he could have been brought to terms by cutting off the appropriations necessary for carrying on the government. In reality there was nothing left to the crown but the right to suggest, to encourage, and to be consulted, although in the sphere of foreign relations the sovereign continued to be and still is a very important factor.

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[1] Notwithstanding this establishment of democratic government in the towns, the administration in rural districts, counties, and villages remained in the hands of wealthy landowners, who, as justices of the peace appointed by the king or as parish vestrymen, settled questions of roads, public buildings, reformatories, and other matters which are usually under the supervision of the county commissioners in the United States. It was not until after Mr. Gladstone's ministry enfranchised the agricultural laborers in 1884 that this ancient system, which had originated in the Middle Ages, was abolished and rural government vested in the hands of councils elected by popular vote.

The accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, at the early age of eighteen, marked the definite acceptance of parliamentary supremacy and ministerial responsibility. Only a few years before, the king had ventured suddenly to dismiss the ministry and consult the opposition on his own initiative; the youthful queen did not make any such experiments. It is true that she exercised a very considerable influence upon the policies of her ministers, particularly those of the Tory leader, Disraeli, but she never failed to abide by the decisions of the elections and the party caucuses. By 1837 the cabinet system was definitely established, and it has remained to this day unchanged in its broad outlines.

The king of England must now act through a ministry composed of the important officers of the government, such as the first lord of the treasury, the foreign secretary, the colonial secretary, the secretary of the war department, with the prime minister as their head. The development of this ministry, which is known as the cabinet, has been described in an earlier chapter.[1] It was pretty firmly established under George I and George II, who were glad to let others manage the government for them. While the king nominally appoints the members of the cabinet, that body is, in reality, a committee selected from the party that has a majority in the House of Commons or, as in the case of the Labor ministry formed in 1924, from a minority with the toleration and coöperation of enough members to constitute a majority. The reasons for this were also explained in dealing with the English government in the eighteenth century and need not be repeated here.

The party which secures the majority in a parliamentary election is entitled to place its members in all the important government offices. Its leaders hold an informal caucus and agree on a prime minister, who then takes one of the cabinet offices. After the leader is chosen by the party, he is appointed prime minister by the king, who charges him with the task of naming, with the advice of his political associates, the other occupants of cabinet positions, who may be selected from among the lords as well as the commons. Thus it comes about that, unlike the president of the United States and his cabinet, who must communicate with Congress through messages, reports, or other indirect means, the prime minister and the heads of departments in England themselves usually sit in Parliament and can therefore present and defend their own proposals.

The body of officials so constituted draft the more important measures to be laid before Parliament and decide on the foreign and domestic policy to be pursued by the government. At the opening of each session of Parliament the general program of the cabinet is laid before the House of Lords and the House of Commons in the form of the "king's speech," which is read by the sovereign or his representative. In its secret sessions the head of each department presents to the cabinet the measures which he recommends in his particular branch of the government. If, after discussion, these are approved by a majority of the other members, they are submitted to the House of Commons. In all matters the cabinet acts as a unit; and whenever a member cannot agree with the majority on an important point, he is bound to resign. The cabinet therefore presents a united front to Parliament and the country. An interesting illustration of this is to be found in the story told of Lord Melbourne when prime minister. His cabinet was divided on the question of the duty on grain; and, with his back against the door, he declared to them: "Now, is it to lower the price of corn, or isn't it? It does not matter much what we say, but mind, we must all say the same thing."

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[1] See pages 250 f.

Whenever the House of Commons expresses its disapproval of the policy of the ministry, either by defeating an important measure or by a direct vote of censure, the cabinet is bound to do one of two things. It may resign in a body and thus make room for a new ministry made up from the opposite party. If, however, the ministers feel that their policy has popular support outside of Parliament, they may "go to the country"; that is to say, they may ask the king to dissolve the existing Parliament and order a new election, in the hope that the people may approve of their policy by electing their supporters. The further action of the ministry is then determined by the outcome of the election. The return of a majority of members in favor of the ministerial policy is taken as justification for retaining office. On the other hand, a failure to gain a majority is the signal for the resignation of the entire ministry and the transference of power to their opponents.

As the members of the House of Commons are not elected for a definite term of years (though, according to law, elections must be held at least every five years), that body may be dissolved at any time for the purpose of securing an expression of the popular will on any important issue. It is thus clear that the British government is more sensitive to public opinion than are governments where the members of the legislatures are chosen for a definite term of years. For example, in the

United States, representatives are elected for two years and senators for six; consequently, when a crisis arises it usually has to be settled by men who were not chosen with respect to their views on that particular question, while in England a new election can be held with direct reference to the special issue at hand.

The smooth working of the British cabinet system may be attributed, partly at least, to the fact that during the nineteenth century there were only two political parties represented in Parliament, aside from the small Irish group. There were the Conservatives, who dropped the old name of "Tory" after the first parliamentary reform, and the Liberals, who abandoned the name "Whig" about the same time. The leaders of the former party came principally from the aristocracy and the landed proprietors, while the latter found its chiefs among the middle classes. The two parties were alternately in power; both of them had experienced leaders; and it was an easy matter at any time to transfer the government control from one to the other.

Nevertheless the reader will ask, How was it that the British government could be so democratic and still retain in its upper house a body of hereditary peers responsible to no constituents? The explanation is that the House of Commons, by reason of its ancient and exclusive right of initiating all money bills, could control the king and force him, if necessary, to create enough new peers to pass any measure blocked by the House of Lords. In practice the king did not have to do more than threaten such a measure to bring the House of Lords to terms.

Although many bills were defeated in the House of Lords during the nineteenth century, a sort of constitutional understanding grew up that the upper house should yield to an unmistakable and definite expression of public opinion in favor of a measure which it had originally opposed. However, the House of Lords, which had been bitterly attacked during the nineteenth century, finally became so unpopular during the opening years of the twentieth century that in 1911 its power permanently to block measures adopted by the House of Commons was taken away. The events which led to this important change in the British constitution will be discussed in Volume II, along with other reforms not connected with the extension of the suffrage and ministerial control, which have been the subject of the foregoing sections.

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL EUROPE (1815–1848)

Even in Germany and Austria, where Metternich was so long the master of affairs, discontent with the government could not be suppressed. The liberals and the progressive parties in Germany were sadly disappointed by the failure of the Congress of Vienna to weld Germany into a really national state. They were troubled, too, by the delay of the king of Prussia in granting the constitution that he had promised to his subjects. Other indications were not wanting that the German princes were as yet unready to give up their former despotic power and adopt the principles of the French Revolution advocated by the liberals. The "League of Virtue," which had been formed after the disastrous battle of Jena to arouse and keep alive the zeal of the nation for expelling the invader, began to be reënforced, about 1815, by student associations organized by those who had returned to their studies after the war of independence. The students denounced the reactionary party in their meetings, and drank to the freedom of Germany.

On October 18, 1817, they held a celebration in the castle of the Wartburg, to commemorate both Luther's revolt and the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. Speeches were made in honor of the brave men who had fallen in the war of independence, and of the grand duke of Weimar, the first of the North

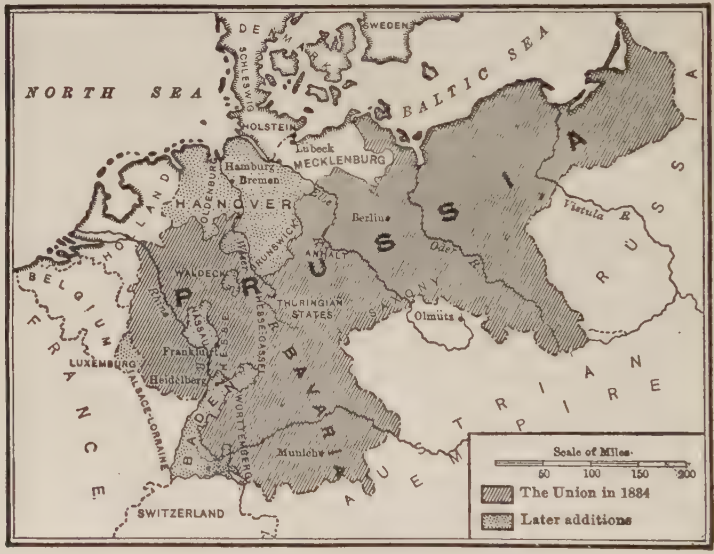
German princes to give his people a constitution. The day closed with the burning of certain reactionary pamphlets.

This innocent burst of enthusiasm excited great apprehension in the minds of the conservative statesmen of Europe, of whom Metternich was, of course, the leader. The murder by Sand, a fanatical student, of a journalist, Kotzebue, who was supposed to have influenced the Tsar to desert his former liberal policy, cast further discredit upon the liberal party. It also gave Metternich an opportunity to emphasize the terrible results which he anticipated would come from the students' associations, liberal governments, and freedom of the press.

The extreme phase in the progress of reaction in Germany was reached when, with this murder as an excuse, Metternich called together the representatives of the larger states of the confederation at Karlsbad in August, 1819. Here a series of resolutions were drawn up with the aim of checking the free expression of opinions hostile to existing institutions, and of discovering and bringing to justice the revolutionists who were alleged to exist in dangerous numbers. These "Karlsbad Resolutions" were laid before the diet of the confederation by Austria and adopted, though not without protest.

They provided that there should be a special official in each university to watch the professors. Should any of them be found "abusing their legitimate influence over the youthful mind and propagating harmful doctrines hostile to the public order or subversive of the existing governmental institutions," the offenders were to lose their positions. The General Students' Union, which was suspected of being too revolutionary, was to be suppressed. Moreover, no newspaper, magazine, or pamphlet was allowed to go to press without the previous approval of government officials, who were to determine whether it contained anything tending to foster discontent with the government. Lastly, a special commission was appointed to investigate the revolutionary conspiracies which Metternich and his sympathizers thought existed throughout Germany.

The attack upon the freedom of the press, and especially the interference with the liberty of teaching in the great institutions of learning which were already becoming the home of the highest scholarship in the world, scandalized all the progressive spirits in Germany. Yet no successful protest was raised, and Germany as a whole acquiesced for a generation in Metternich's system of discouraging reform of every kind.



THE ZOLLVEREIN

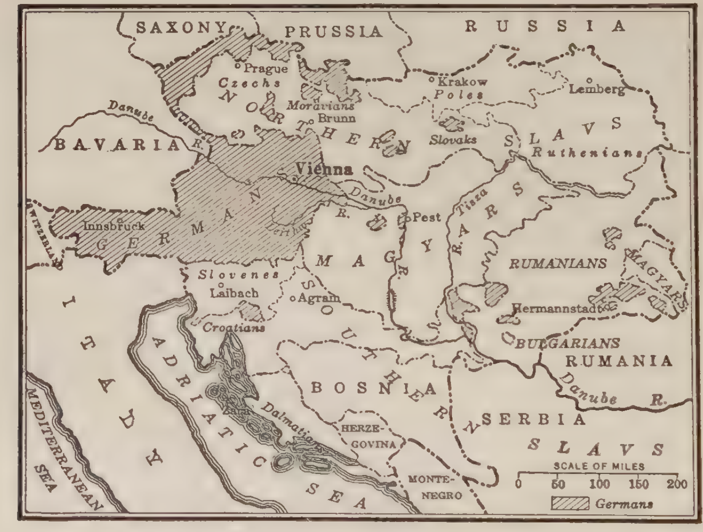
Nevertheless, important progress was achieved in southern Germany. As early as 1818 the king of Bavaria granted his people a constitution in which he stated their rights and admitted them to a share in the government by establishing a parliament. His example was followed within two years by the rulers of Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse. Another important change was the gradual formation of a customs union, which permitted goods to be sent freely from one German state to another without the payment of duties at each boundary line. This economic confederation, of which Prussia was the head and from which Austria was excluded, yielded some of the advantages of a political union and was a harbinger of the future German Empire.

THE FALL OF METTERNICH (1848)

When Metternich heard of the February revolution of 1848 in France, he declared that "Europe finds herself today in the presence of a second 1793." This was not true, however. It was no longer necessary for France to promote liberal ideas by force of arms, as in 1793. For sixty years ideas of reform had been spreading in Europe, and by the year 1848 there were many representatives of democratic and national ideas from Berlin to Palermo. The Europe of 1848 was no longer the Europe of 1793.

The overthrow of Louis Philippe encouraged the opponents of Metternich in Germany, Austria, and Italy to attempt to make an end of his system at once and forever. In view of the important part that Austria had played in central Europe since the fall of Napoleon I, it was inevitable that she should appear the chief barrier to the attainment of national unity and liberal government in Italy and Germany. As ruler of Lombardy and Venetia she practically controlled Italy, and as presiding member of the German Confederation she had been able to keep even Prussia in line. It is not strange that Austria felt that she could make no concessions to the spirit of nationality; for the territories belonging to the House of Hapsburg, some twenty in number, were inhabited by four different races: Germans, Slavs, Hungarians, and Italians. The Slavs (especially the Bohemians) and the Hungarians longed for national independence, as well as the Italians.

On March 13, 1848, the populace of Vienna rose in revolt against their old-fashioned government. Metternich fled, and all his schemes for opposing reform appeared to have come to naught. Before the end of the month the helpless Austrian emperor had given his permission to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia to draw up constitutions for themselves incorporating the longed-for reforms (equality of all classes in the matter of taxation, religious freedom, the liberty of the press, and the rest) and providing that both countries should have a parliament of their own, which should meet annually. The Austrian provinces were promised similar advantages. None of them, however, showed any desire to throw off their allegiance to the Austrian ruler.



THE VARIOUS RACES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The rising in northern Italy, on the contrary, was directed to that particular end. Immediately on the news of Metternich's fall the Milanese expelled the Austrian troops from their city, and soon Austria had evacuated a great part of Lombardy. The Venetians followed the lead of Milan and set up a republic once more. The Milanese, anticipating a struggle, appealed to Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, for aid. By this time a great part of Italy was in revolt. Constitutions were granted in Naples, Rome, Tuscany, and Piedmont by their rulers. The king of Sardinia was forced by public opinion to assume the leadership in the attempt to expel the interloping Austria and ultimately, perhaps, to found some sort of Italian state which should satisfy the longings for national unity. The Pope and even the Bourbon king of Naples were induced to consent to the arming and dispatch of troops in the cause of Italian freedom, and Italy began its first war for independence.

The crisis at home and the Italian war made it impossible for Austria to prevent the progress of revolution in Germany. So spontaneous was the movement that before the fall of Metternich attempts at reform had begun in Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony. Now that Austria was hopelessly embarrassed, the opportunity seemed to have come for reorganizing the German Confederation.

The king of Prussia suddenly reversed his policy of obedience to Austria and determined to take the lead in Germany. He agreed to summon an assembly to draw up a constitution for Prussia. Moreover, a great national assembly was convoked at Frankfurt to draft a new constitution for Germany.

By the end of March, 1848, the prospects of reform were bright indeed. Hungary and Bohemia had been guaranteed constitutional independence; the Austrian provinces awaited their promised constitutions; Lombardy and Venetia had declared their independence of Austria; four Italian states had obtained their longed-for constitutions, and all were ready for a war with Austria; Prussia was promised a constitution; and, lastly, the national assembly at Frankfurt was about to prepare a constitution for a united Germany.

The moderate reformers who had gained these seeming victories had, however, only just reached the most difficult part of their task. They had two kinds of enemies, who abhorred each other but who effectually combined to undo the work of the moderates. These were, first, the conservative party, represented by Austria and the Italian rulers, who had been forced most reluctantly to grant constitutions to their subjects; secondly, the radicals, who were not satisfied with the prospect of liberal monarchy but desired a republican or socialistic form of government. While the princes were recovering from the astonishing humiliations of March, the radicals began to discredit the revolutionary movement and alienate public opinion by impracticable programs and the murder of hostile ministers.

Although for the moment Austria's chief danger seemed to lie in Italy, which was the only one of her dependencies that had actually taken up arms against her, the Italians had been unable to drive out the Austrian army under the indomitable general Radetzky. Charles Albert of Sardinia found himself almost unsupported by the other Italian states. The best allies of Austria were the absence of united action on the part of the Italians, and the jealousy and indifference that they showed as soon as war had actually begun. The Pope decided that his mission was one of peace and that he could not afford to join in a war against Austria, the stoutest supporter of the Roman Church. The king of Naples easily found a pretext for recalling the troops that public opinion had compelled him to send to the aid of the king of Sardinia. Charles Albert was defeated at Custozza, July 25, 1848, and was compelled to sign a truce with Austria and to withdraw his forces from Lombardy.

The Italian republicans, who had imputed to Charles Albert merely personal motives in his efforts to free Italy, now attempted to carry out their own program. Florence, as well as Venice, proclaimed itself a republic. At Rome the liberal and enlightened Rossi, whom the Pope had put at the head of affairs, was assassinated in November just as he was ready to promulgate his reforms. Pius IX fled from the city and put himself under the protection of the king of Naples. A constitutional assembly was then convoked by the revolutionists, and in February, 1849, under the influence of Mazzini, it declared the temporal power of the Pope abolished and proclaimed a Roman republic.

Austria Reëstablishes her Control (1849)

Meanwhile the conditions in Austria began to be favorable to a reëstablishment of the emperor's former influence. Race rivalry proved his friend in his Austrian domains just as republicanism tended to his ultimate advantage in Italy. The Czechs in Bohemia hated the Germans in 1848, much as they had hated them during the time of Huss. The German part of the population naturally opposed the plan of making Bohemia practically independent of the government at Vienna, for it was to German Vienna that they were wont to look for protection against the enterprises of their Czechish fellow countrymen. The Germans wanted to send delegates to the Frankfurt convention and to maintain the union between Bohemia and the German states.

The Czechs determined to offset the movement toward German consolidation by a Pan-Slavic congress, which was to bring together the various discontented Slavic peoples comprised in the Austrian Empire. To this assembly, which met in Prague in June, 1848, came delegates from the Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks, and the Polish population in the north, and the Serbians and Croatians in the south. Its deliberations were interrupted by an insurrection that broke out among the people of Prague and gave the commander of the Austrian forces a sufficient excuse for intervening. He established a military government, and the prospect of independence for Bohemia vanished. This was Austria's first real victory over the revolution.

The eastern and southern portions of the Hapsburg domains were no more homogeneous than were the west and the north. When a constitution was granted to Hungary, it was inevitable that the races which the Hungarians (Magyars) had long dominated should begin to consider how they might gain the right to govern themselves. The Slavs inhabiting Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Serbia had long meditated upon the possibility of a united Slavic kingdom in the south.[1] Both the Serbians and the Croatians under Hungarian authority now revolted against the government at Budapest, fearing that the establishment of Hungarian independence would put them at the mercy of the Magyars.

In October, 1848, the radical party rose in Vienna as it had in Paris after the deposition of Louis Philippe. The minister of war was brutally murdered, and the emperor fled. The city was, however, besieged by the same commander who had put down the insurrection in Prague, and was forced to surrender. The imperial government was now in a position still further to strengthen itself. The emperor, a notoriously inefficient person, was forced to abdicate (December 2, 1848) in favor of his youthful nephew, Francis Joseph I, who ruled for sixty-eight years. Moreover, a new Metternich appeared in the person of Schwarzenberg.

A vigorous campaign was begun against Hungary, which, under the influence of the patriotic Kossuth, had deposed its Hapsburg king, declared itself an independent republic, and chosen him president. The Tsar placed his forces at the disposal of Francis Joseph, and, menaced by an army of one hundred and fifty thousand Russians, who marched in from the east, the Hungarians were compelled, by the middle of August, 1849, to surrender. Austria took terrible vengeance upon the rebels. Thousands were hanged, shot, and imprisoned, and many, including Kossuth, fled to the United States or elsewhere. But within a few years (1866) Hungary won its independence by peaceful measures, and it was able to assume the same footing as the western dominions of Francis Joseph in the dual federation of Austria-Hungary (see pages 555 ff.).

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[1] This ambition was realized only after the World War, in 1918.

It remained for Austria to reëstablish her prestige in Italy and in the German Confederation. In March, 1849, Charles Albert renewed the war which had been discontinued after the defeat at Custozza. The campaign lasted but five days and closed with his crushing and definitive defeat at Novara (March 23), which put an end to the hopes of Italian liberty for the time being. Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel, who was destined before many years to become king of Italy.

After bringing the king of Sardinia to terms, Austria pushed southward, reëstablishing the old order as she went. The ephemeral Italian republics were unable to offer any effectual resistance. The former rulers were restored in Rome, Tuscany, and Venice, and the constitutions were swept away from one end of the peninsula to the other, except in Piedmont, the most important part of the king of Sardinia's realms. There Victor Emmanuel not only maintained the representative government introduced by his father, but, by summoning to his councils men known throughout Italy for their liberal sentiments, he prepared to lead Italy once more against her foreign oppressors.

Failure to Reconstruct Germany

In Germany, as elsewhere, Austria profited by the dissensions among her opponents. On May 18, 1848, the national assembly, consisting of nearly six hundred representatives of the German people, had met at Frankfurt. It immediately undertook the consideration of a new constitution that should satisfy the popular longings for a great, free German state to be governed by and for the people. But what were to be the confines of this new German state? The confederation of 1815 did not include all the German subjects of Prussia and did include the heterogeneous western possessions of Austria,—Bohemia and Moravia, for example, where a great part of the people were Slavs. There was no hesitation in deciding that all the Prussian territories should be admitted to the new union. As it appeared impossible to exclude Austria altogether, the assembly agreed to include those parts of her territory which had belonged to the confederation formed in 1815. This decision rendered the task of founding a real German state practically impossible; for the new union was to include two great European powers who might at any moment become rivals, since Prussia would hardly consent to be led forever by Austria. So heterogeneous a union could only continue to be, as it had been, a loose confederation of practically independent princes.

In spite of her partiality for the old union, Austria was unable to prevent the assembly from completing its new constitution. This document provided that there should be an emperor at the head of the government, and that exalted office was tendered to the king of Prussia. Frederick William IV had been alienated from the liberal cause, which he had at first espoused, by an insurrection in Berlin. He was, moreover, timid and conservative at heart; he hated revolution and doubted whether the national assembly had any right to confer the imperial title. He also greatly respected Austria, and felt that a war with her, which was likely to ensue if he accepted the crown, would be not only dangerous to Prussia, since Francis Joseph could rely upon the assistance of the Tsar, but dishonorable as well, in Austria's present embarrassment. So he refused the imperial title and announced his rejection of the new constitution (March, 1849).

This decision rendered the year's work of the national assembly fruitless, and its members gradually dispersed, with the exception of the radicals, who made a last desperate effort to found a republic. Austria now insisted upon the reëstablishment of the old diet, and nearly came to war with Prussia over the policy to be pursued. Hostilities were averted only by the ignominious submission of Prussia to the demands of Austria in 1850.

Although the revolutions of 1848 seem futile enough when viewed from the standpoint of the hopes of March, they left some important indications of progress. The king of Prussia soon granted his country a constitution which, with some modifications, served Prussia down to the end of the World War. Piedmont also had obtained a constitution. The internal reforms, which these countries speedily introduced, prepared them to head once more, and this time with success, a movement for national unity. Finally there was a general abolition of serfdom in the Hapsburg dominions.

It will be noted that the Revolution of 1848 aimed to do more than the French Revolution of 1789. Not only was the national question (see following chapter) everywhere an important one, but there were plans for the economic reorganization of society. It was no longer simply a matter of abolishing the remnants of feudalism and insuring equal rights to all and the participation of the more prosperous classes in the government: those who lived by the labor of their hands and were employed in the vast industries that had developed with the application of steam machinery to manufacture also had their spokesmen. The relation of the State to the industrial classes, and that of capital to labor, had emerged as vital problems. In 1851 Austria had once more, in spite of the greatest obstacles, reëstablished the system of Metternich. But this victory was of short duration, and it was her last.

The progress of democratic government in central Europe was, after the Revolution of 1848, closely associated with the aspiration to national unity in Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and elsewhere. Therefore the constitutional changes in these countries will be described in the next chapter in connection with the unification of Italy and of Germany and the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian dual federation.

CHAPTER XIV

GROWTH OF NATIONAL FEELING

Rise of Nationalism

Closely associated with the awakening of the masses which we call the rise of democracy was another profound change in European affairs—the awakening of nationalism. If peoples were to govern themselves, should not each race have its own government? The question grew inevitably out of the principles of the French Revolution. Before that Revolution kings went to war without consulting their subjects, and made arrangements with other monarchs in regard to the distribution, division, and annexation of territory without asking the consent of those who lived in the regions involved. Practically no attention was paid to differences in race; for kings gladly added to their realms any lands they could gain by conquest, negotiation, marriage, or inheritance regardless of the particular kind of subjects that they might bring under their scepters. Louis XIV attempted to unite the Austrian Netherlands with France, although a great part of the people spoke Flemish; and he claimed the Palatinate, where German was spoken. Frederick the Great was willing to have Poles among his subjects as well as Silesians, and Austria added Italian Lombardy on the south and Polish Galicia on the north. There was, indeed, no reason why the people should be consulted; for the government was vested in the kings, who were responsible not to them but to God alone. When the people of Tuscany woke up to find themselves under a duke of Lorraine instead of the House of Medici, they had no more right to complain than a herd of cattle which is sold to a new owner.

Bishop Bossuet's notions of the divine right of kings, which he based on the Bible's account of the Hebrew rulers, were still good enough for Prince Metternich in 1815 and for many among the nobility and clergy; but the French Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 had proclaimed, "under the auspices of the Supreme Being," that the law was the expression of the general will and that every citizen had a right, personally or through his representatives, to participate in its formation. The king and his officials were made responsible for their public acts not to God but to the people. This idea that the nation had a right to control the making of the laws and the granting of the taxes, and to choose or depose its ruler, who was responsible to it, served to arouse a general interest in political questions, which could not possibly have developed so long as people were content to believe that God had excluded them from all participation in affairs of State. Political leaders appeared, the newspapers began to discuss public questions, and political societies were formed.

The leaders of the French Revolution had not, however, been much interested in nationality. They believed that they had discovered a system of government, based upon the eternal rights of man, which was suited by nature to all peoples. The French Convention had promised to aid any people which wished to free itself from the tyranny of a despot. They showed no inclination to distinguish very carefully between Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Germans, Swiss, or Italians.

Napoleon was also indifferent to nationalism; and his arbitrary policy in setting up and pulling down monarchies, and in remodeling the states of Europe to suit his fancy, was simply a new, bewildering illustration of the arrogant habits of Louis XIV, Frederick the Great, and Catherine. But the opposition that it called forth, first in Spain and then in Prussia, indicated that the rulers in the nineteenth century would be compelled to consider the sentiments of the people they governed as well as their own individual interests. The various nations became more and more keenly conscious that each had its own language and traditions which made it different from other peoples. Patriotic orators in Germany, Italy, and Greece recalled the glorious past of the ancient Germans, Romans, and Hellenes with a view to stimulating this enthusiasm.

National feeling may be defined as a general recognition that a people should have a government suited to its particular traditions and needs, and should be ruled by its own native officials, and that (if nations were entitled to political rights, as the French Revolution had taught) it was wrong for one people to be dominated by another, or for a monarch to divide, redistribute, and transfer territories with no regard to the wishes of the inhabitants, merely so as to provide some landless prince with a patrimony.

In making the settlement of 1815 the statesmen at Vienna worked according to the traditional rules, disregarding utterly the claims of nations and races for independence and self-government. They united the French-speaking Belgians with the Dutch in order to form a buffer state against France and prevent the French from dominating the Channel ports. They found the Italians divided into many states and left them divided. They found Poland split into three parts, and they rejected the idea of reuniting them. They found Germany broken into some forty monarchies and free cities, and refused to consolidate them, although they could not restore the marvelous anarchy which Napoleon had destroyed by the sword. They saw the Austrian emperor dominating people of ten or twelve different nationalities—Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars, Serbs, Ruthenians, Poles, Slovenians, Croats; and they strengthened rather than weakened his grip upon them. But their work could not last. They could not by mere treaties check the spirit of nationalism, and within sixty years most of their grand designs had been frustrated.

Establishment of the Kingdom of Belgium

The revolution of 1830 in France was the signal for an outbreak in the former Austrian Netherlands, where many grievances had developed since the Congress of Vienna united the region with the Dutch Netherlands under William I (of the old House of Orange). In the first place, the inhabitants of his southern provinces were dissatisfied with William's government. He had granted a constitution to his entire kingdom on the model of the French Charter; but many objected to his making the ministers responsible to himself instead of to the parliament, and also to the restricted suffrage which excluded all but the richest men from the right to vote. Although the southern provinces had over a million more inhabitants than the Dutch portion of the kingdom, they had only an equal number of representatives. Moreover, the Dutch monopolized most of the offices and conducted the government in their own interests.

There were religious difficulties as well. The southern provinces were Catholic; the northern, mainly Protestant. The king was a Protestant, and took advantage of his position to convert Catholics to his own faith; he instituted Protestant inspectors for Catholic schools and founded a college of philosophy at Louvain, where all candidates for the priesthood were compelled to study.

Louis Philippe had been seated on his throne only a few days when the agitation over these grievances broke out into open revolt at Brussels. The revolution spread; a provisional government was set up; and on October 4, 1830, it declared, "The province of Belgium, detached from Holland by force, shall constitute an independent state." The declaration was soon followed by the meeting of a congress to establish a permanent form of government. This assembly drew up a constitution based on the idea of the sovereignty of the people, and decided that the head of the new government should be a king constrained by oath to observe the laws adopted by the people. The Belgians were therefore very much in the same position as the English in 1688 when they made William of Orange their king on their own terms. They finally chose as their sovereign Leopold of Coburg, and in July, 1831, he was crowned king of the new state.[1]

As the independence of Belgium broke in upon the settlement of 1815, and a threatened union with France alarmed England, the affairs of the little realm were made the subject of important international conferences. Indeed, it was only with the sanction of the chief European powers that Belgium was permitted to retain her independence and choose a sovereign. Finally, in 1839, the king of Holland was forced to accept the inevitable in a final treaty of peace and amity. Among the terms of the settlement was a provision respecting Belgian *neutrality* signed by England, Russia, Austria, France, and Prussia. This treaty of neutrality, destined to be so famous in history, bound the signatory powers to respect the territorial integrity of Belgium and pledged them not to violate it or make war upon Belgian soil. At the time the treaty was signed its fateful significance was not fully appreciated. Lord Palmerston, who signed the treaty for Great Britain, said a few years later, of neutralization in general, "It has been agreed by treaty that Belgium and Switzerland should be declared neutral; but I am not disposed to attach very much importance to such engagements, for the history of the world shows that when a quarrel arises and a nation makes war and thinks it advantageous to traverse with its army such neutral territory, the declarations of neutrality are not apt to be very religiously respected." The prophecy proved to be true. In 1914 the German chancellor declared the old pledge of neutrality to be a "mere scrap of paper" as compared with a war between his country and England.

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[1] The constitution which the Belgians drew up for themselves in 1831, with some modifications, is the basis of their government today. The chief problems of the little realm were the contest for nonsectarian education, the extension of the suffrage, and the growth of socialism. The loss of Belgium made no important change in the government of the Netherlands. In 1848 King William II was forced to grant his subjects a new and enlightened constitution in place of the charter which he had issued some thirty years before. On the death of William III in 1890 his daughter Wilhelmina came to the throne; and as the grand duchy of Luxemburg was hereditary only in the male line, it passed to a relative of the deceased king, the duke of Nassau.

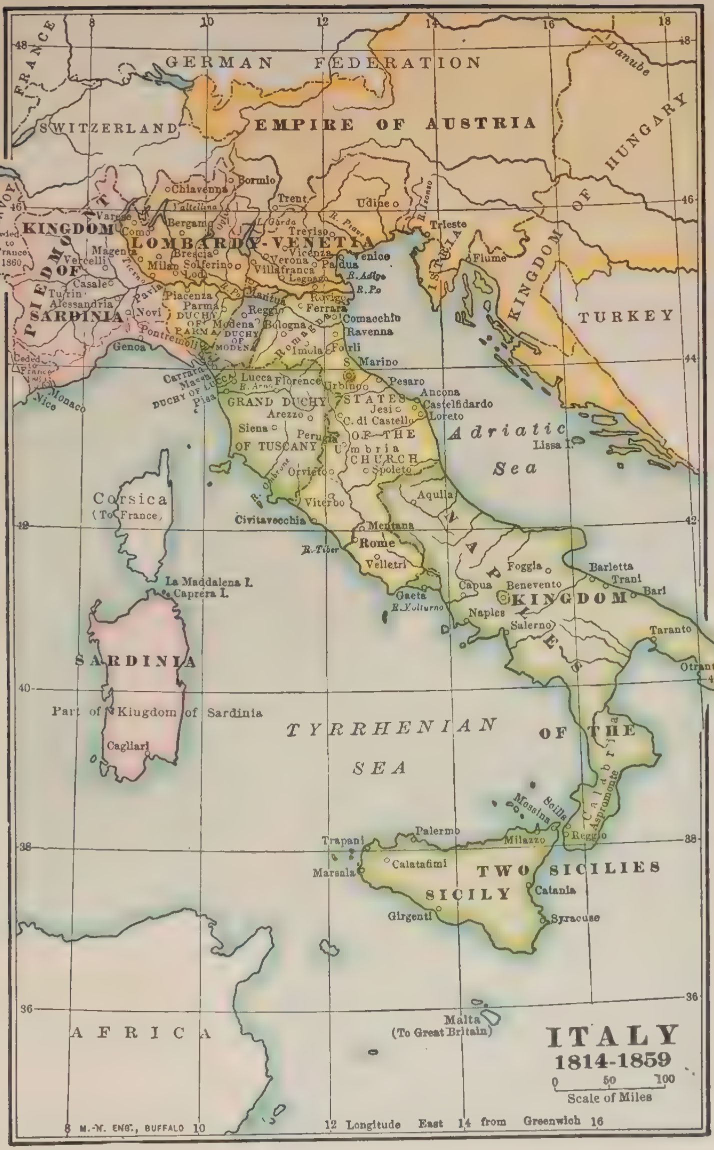
CAVOUR AND ITALIAN UNITY

The efforts of the Italian liberals to expel Austria from the peninsula and establish constitutional governments in the various Italian states in 1848 utterly failed, and for many years it seemed as if the former political conditions were to be maintained indefinitely. The king of Naples broke all the promises which he had made to his subjects, revoked the constitution which he had granted, and imprisoned, exiled, or, in some cases, executed the revolutionists. The Pope, with the assistance of France, Austria, Naples, and Spain, was able to destroy the Roman republic which had been set up, and place the government again in the hands of the ecclesiastics. In northern Italy, Austria was once more in control, and she found faithful adherents in the rulers of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, who looked to her for continued support. The leading spirits of the revolution who had escaped prison or death fled to foreign countries to await a more auspicious opportunity to reach their ends; for they did not surrender the hope that Austria would sometime be driven from their country, and that all the Italian states would be brought together into a federation, or perhaps united into a single monarchy or republic.

However, those who had been interested, since the fall of Napoleon I, in promoting Italian independence and liberty differed from one another as to the best way in which to make Italy a nation. There were the republicans, who became more and more disgusted with monarchy, and believed that nothing could be accomplished until the various rulers gave way to a great democratic republic, which should recall the ancient glories of Rome; others were confident that an enlightened Pope could form an Italian federation, of which he should be the head; lastly, there was a practical party, the adherents of which placed their hopes in the king of Sardinia, who seemed to be the natural leader in the emancipation of Italy. Little as the Revolution of 1848 had accomplished, it had at least given Sardinia a young and energetic king and a new constitution.

Among the republican leaders the most conspicuous was the delicately organized and highly endowed Giuseppe Mazzini. Born in 1805, he had, as he tells us, become a republican on hearing his father discuss the achievements of the French Revolution, and had read eagerly the old French newspapers which he found hidden behind the medical books in his father's library. He joined the secret society of the Carbonari, and in 1830 was caught by the police and imprisoned in the fortress of Savona, west of Genoa. Here he arranged a secret code, which enabled him to keep in communication with the revolutionists.

Becoming disgusted with both the inefficiency and the silly mystery of the Carbonari, Mazzini planned a new association, which he called Young Italy. This aimed to bring about the regeneration of Italy through the education of young men in lofty republican principles. Mazzini had no confidence in princes or in foreign aid. "We are of the people, and will treat with the people. They will understand us," he said. He believed that every nation was destined by the laws of God and humanity to form a community of free and equal brothers, and that true sovereignty resided essentially in the people. He urged that all the Italians should be brought together into a single republic, for he feared that any form of federation would leave the country too weak to resist the constant interference of neighboring nations. Mazzini was not a man to organize a successful revolution, but he inspired the young Italians with almost religious enthusiasm for the cause of Italy's liberation. His writings, which were widely read, created a feeling of



ITALY
1814-1859

loyalty to a common country among the patriots who were scattered throughout the various Italian states.

The priest and theologian Gioberti, while he dreamed of a new Italy, placed his hopes, not in a republic in which the common man should have a voice in the conduct of the government, but in a federation of princes under that most ancient of all Italian princes, the bishop of Rome.[1] And when Pius IX, upon his accession in 1846, immediately began to consult the interests and wishes of his people by admitting laymen to his councils and tribunals, subjecting priests to taxation, granting greater liberty to the press, and even protesting against Austrian encroachments, there seemed to be some ground for the belief that the Pope might take the lead in the regeneration of Italy. But he soon grew suspicious of the liberals, and the revolution at Rome and his temporary exile from the city in 1848 completely alienated him from the popular movement.

The future, however, belonged neither to the republicans nor to the papal party, but to those who looked to the king of Sardinia to bring about the unification of Italy. Only under his leadership was there any prospect of ousting Austria, and until that was done no independent union could possibly be formed. Practical men therefore began to turn to the young Victor Emmanuel, whose devotion to the cause of freedom in the war with Austria in 1848, and whose frank acceptance of the principles of constitutional government, distinguished him from all the other rulers of Italy. His father, Charles Albert, had granted Piedmont a constitution in 1848, which provided for a parliament with two houses and a responsible ministry. This constitution (which was later to become that of a united Italy) Victor Emmanuel maintained in spite of Austria's demand that he suppress it.

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[1] Some notion of the fervid eloquence and vague ideas of Gioberti may be gained from the following: "Let the nations then turn their eyes to Italy, their ancient and loving mother, who will be the source of their regeneration. Italy is the organ of the supreme reason, . . . the fountain, rule, and guardian of reason and eloquence everywhere; for there resides the Head that rules, the Arm that moves, the Tongue that commands, and the Heart that animates Christianity at large. . . . As Rome is the seat of Christian wisdom, Piedmont is today the principal fortress of Italian military strength. Seated on the slopes of the Alps as a wedge between Austria and France, and as a guard to the peninsula of which it is the vestibule and peristyle, it is destined to watch from its mountains and crush in its ravines every foreign aggressor."

Although not a man of great brilliance or energy, Victor Emmanuel was possessed of good judgment and of no little administrative capacity. He was wise enough to call to his aid one of the most distinguished of modern statesmen, Camille Benso, better known as the "Count of Cavour," who had long been an advocate both of constitutional government and of Italian unity. Cavour, who was born in 1810, had given much attention to agriculture and political economy. He had gone to France and had then spent some time on an English estate studying agricultural methods. He visited the factories, inspected the latest machinery, studied the operation of the English poor laws and prison reforms, and became in the process a warm admirer of the English system of government.

Upon his return to Piedmont, Cavour began immediately to advocate those reforms which alone could secure the unity and the independence of Italy. He proposed a great network of railways, radiating from the city of Rome and binding together the entire peninsula. He founded a newspaper called *The Resurrection*, for the purpose of furthering the cause of independence and reform. Although an object of hatred to the conservatives, he gained a large following among the liberal-minded. He was not discouraged by the outcome of the conflict with Austria in 1848 and became a member of the chamber of representatives under the new constitution. In 1852 he was selected by the king as prime minister and found himself at last in a position to carry out his convictions.

Sardinia was a rather insignificant kingdom when compared with the more important countries of Europe. It had a population of less than five millions and consisted of four distinct regions which were more or less hostile to one another. The heart of the kingdom was Piedmont, an agricultural district inhabited by a haughty aristocracy and a mass of ignorant peasantry, who spoke a peculiar Italian dialect and were regarded by the remainder of Italy as a half-foreign people. To the northwest of Piedmont lay Savoy, consisting mainly of a lofty Alpine range, the valleys of which were inhabited by French-speaking peasants who were thoroughly under the control of the clergy and nobility, and who felt no natural interest in Italian unity or even in the reform of the kingdom of Sardinia, to which they seemed hardly to belong. Lying along the shores of the Mediterranean were the former possessions of the republic of Genoa, whose people had never become reconciled to their annexation to Piedmont in 1815. And lastly, far away in the Mediterranean lay the island of Sardinia, a barren region in a backward state of civilization. We have seen how the "deals" of the diplomats had created this kingdom.

The task, therefore, which confronted Victor Emmanuel was a complicated one. He had to bind together the various parts of his own kingdom, and encourage the growth of a commercial and industrial class in order to balance the conservatism of the nobility and clergy, while at the same time he sought to strengthen his army for the inevitable war against Austria. He and his minister Cavour determined to raise the kingdom to a position of importance in European affairs. They encouraged trade by concluding favorable commercial treaties, reduced the number of monasteries, steadily promoted the construction of railways, and increased the army.

Yet Cavour did not sympathize with those enthusiasts who hoped that Italy would achieve unity without foreign aid. He knew that it was impossible to disregard the other powers of Europe, who had so long interfered freely in Italian affairs. He early declared, "Whether we like it or not, our destinies depend upon France; we must be her partner in the great game which will be played sooner or later in Europe."

NAPOLEON III AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

An opportunity soon offered itself for Sardinia to become the ally of France. The Crimean War[1] had broken out in 1854 between England and France, on the one side, and Russia on the other; and in 1855 Cavour signed an offensive and defensive alliance with France and sent troops to her aid in the Crimea. This gave him an opportunity to take part in the European congress which met in Paris in 1856 to conclude a peace. There he warned the powers that Austrian control in northern Italy was a menace to the security of Europe, and succeeded in enlisting the interest of Napoleon III in Italian affairs. It should be remembered that in his younger days the French emperor had sympathized with the Carbonari; moreover, he had a number of Italian relatives who besought his aid in forwarding the cause of Italian unity.

There were other reasons, too, why Napoleon was ready to consider intervention in Italy. Like his distinguished uncle he was, after all, only a usurper. He knew that he could not rely upon mere tradition, but must maintain his popularity by deeds that should redound to the glory of France. A war with Austria for the liberation of the Italians—who, like the French, were a Latin race—would be popular, especially if France could thereby add a bit of territory to her realm and perhaps become the protector of the proposed Italian confederation. A conference was arranged between Napoleon and Cavour. Just what agreement was reached we do not know, but Napoleon no doubt promised to come to the aid of the king of Sardinia should the latter find a pretense for going to war with Austria. Should they together succeed in expelling Austria from northern Italy, the king of Sardinia was to reward France by ceding to her Savoy and Nice, which belonged to her geographically and racially.

By April, 1859, Victor Emmanuel had managed to involve himself in a war with Austria. The French army promptly joined forces with the Piedmontese and defeated the Austrians at Magenta, and on June 8 Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan amid the rejoicings of the people. The Austrians managed the campaign very badly and were again defeated at Solferino (June 24).

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[1] See pages 606 f.

Suddenly Europe was astonished to hear that a truce had been concluded, and that the preliminaries of a peace had been arranged which left Venetia in Austria's hands, in spite of Napoleon III's boast that he would free Italy to the Adriatic. The French emperor was shocked, however, by the horrors of a real battlefield; he believed, moreover, that it would require three hundred thousand soldiers to drive the Austrians from their strongly fortified position, and he could not draw further upon the resources of France. Lastly, he had begun to fear that, in view of the growing enthusiasm which was manifesting itself throughout Italy for Piedmont, there was danger that it might succeed in forming a national kingdom so strong as to need no French protector. By leaving Venetia in the possession of Austria and by agreeing that Piedmont should be increased only by the incorporation of Lombardy and the little duchies of Parma and Modena, Napoleon III hoped to prevent the consolidation of Italy from proceeding too far. He had, however, precipitated changes which he was powerless to check. Italy was now ready to fuse into a single state.

When war had broken out between Austria and Sardinia, the liberals in the duchies of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Romagna (that portion of the papal possessions which lay farthest from Rome) had established provisional governments with a view to supporting Sardinia. During the months of August and September, 1859, the people in the three duchies declared in favor of the permanent expulsion of their respective rulers and for annexation to the kingdom of Sardinia. An assembly in the Romagna repudiated the temporal rule of the Pope and also expressed the wish to be joined to Sardinia. The customs lines were thereupon abolished between these several countries; they adopted the Sardinian constitution, and placed their postal service under the control of Sardinian officials.

The king of Naples stubbornly refused either to form any kind of alliance with the king of Sardinia or to grant his people a constitution. Garibaldi thereupon determined that he would bring him to terms and pave the way for the union of southern Italy and Sicily with the expanding Sardinia. This bold sailor, warrior, and ardent revolutionist had long been following an adventurous career as a champion of republican liberty. He was born in Nice in 1807; while still a youth he joined Mazzini's "Young Italy" and later took an active part in many revolutionary risings in Italy. As a sailor he visited various parts of the world and became interested in the political struggles in South America, where he spent ten years fighting, as he believed, in the interests of the people. After the fall of the Roman republic which he helped to establish in 1848, he went to the United States, where for a year or so he associated himself with a humble Florentine candlemaker on Staten Island; but he was back in Italy in time to lead a band of faithful followers against Austria in the war of 1859.

After the premature conclusion of the war he determined to carry on the work of unifying Italy on his own responsibility, and accordingly set sail from Genoa for Sicily in May, 1860, with a band of a thousand "Red Shirts," as his followers were called from their rough costume. He gained an easy victory over the few troops that the king of the Two Sicilies was able to send against him, and made himself dictator of the island in the name of Victor Emmanuel. He then crossed over to the mainland, and after a slight skirmish he was received in Naples with enthusiasm on September 7.

While Garibaldi's conquest of the kingdom of the Two

Sicilies in the name of Victor Emmanuel was by no means distasteful to Cavour, he was very apprehensive lest the policy of the radical republicans whom Garibaldi represented should lead Napoleon and Catholic Europe to interfere in the interest of the Pope, whose territories Garibaldi proposed next to occupy. He therefore determined to intervene at this point, and dispatched an army into the Papal States with a view to getting control of the situation.

The Pope's forces, composed of Austrians, Irish, Belgians, and French, under a French commander, made only a feeble stand and were quickly dispersed. Nevertheless, Victor Emmanuel did not send his army to Rome itself, since it was too clear that Napoleon III, in view of the strong Catholic sentiment in France, could not possibly permit the occupation of the Pope's capital. The French emperor agreed, however, to Sardinia's annexation of the Marches and Umbria, that is, all the papal possessions except the Eternal City and the region immediately surrounding it.

When the Sardinian army moved on into the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, it easily overcame the slight resistance which the young king, Francis II, could offer. Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi met in Naples, and on November 7, 1860, held a memorable conference. The king of Sardinia refused to grant the request of the revolutionary leader that he be made his representative in southern Italy. Garibaldi thereupon resigned his dictatorship and, refusing all honors and gifts, retired to his house and garden on the island of Caprera. A vote had already been taken, and the people of southern Italy had expressed their desire to have the kingdom of the Two Sicilies added to that of Victor Emmanuel.

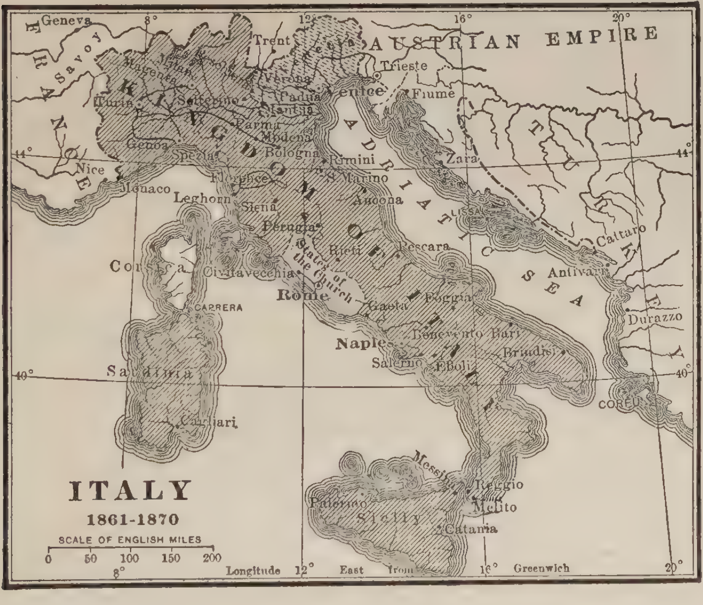
In February, 1861, the first Italian parliament was opened at Turin. Its initial act was to proclaim Victor Emmanuel "King of Italy." Yet the joy of the Italians over the realization of their hopes of unity and national independence was tempered by the fact that Austria still held Venice, one of the most important and famous of the Italian provinces, and that the city of Rome and the neighboring district, which especially recalled Italy's former greatness, were not yet included in the new kingdom.

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY AFTER 1861

The fact that Italian unification was not complete did not cause the patriots to lose hope. In a debate in the very first parliament held in the new kingdom of Italy, Cavour directed the thoughts and energies of the nation to the recovery of both the "Eternal City and the Queen of the Adriatic." "Opportunity," he said, "matured by time, will open our way to Venice. In the meantime we think of Rome. . . . To go to Rome is for the Italians not merely a right—it is an inexorable necessity."

Meanwhile Pius IX stoutly resisted the pretensions of the newly established kingdom and entered a formal protest when the Italian parliament proclaimed Victor Emmanuel "King of Italy." He declared that the ruler of Sardinia had forgotten every religious principle, despised every right, trampled every law under foot, and deprived the head of the Church of the most flourishing portions of his legitimate possessions. He therefore excommunicated the king and his ministers and declared the new constitution to be a creation of revolution, which was a thing to be struck down like a mad dog wherever it showed itself. Any temptation, however, that the Italians may have felt to add Rome to the kingdom of Italy was discouraged by the intervention of Napoleon III, who, at the instigation of the French Catholics, sent a French garrison to Rome with a view to protecting the Pope from attack. On the other hand, Napoleon sought to placate the Italians by advising the emperor of Austria to cede Venetia to the new kingdom; but Francis Joseph not unnaturally refused his assent to a proposition which he regarded as dishonorable.

Help, however, soon came from an unexpected quarter. In the early months of 1866 Prussia and Austria were on the eve of war; and in order to gain the support of Italy, Prussia concluded a treaty with Victor Emmanuel in April of that year. When the war came in July, the Italians as well as the Prussians attacked Austria. The Italians were worsted in the battle of Custozza, but the Prussians more than made up for this defeat by their memorable victory at Sadowa (see page 546). Thereupon Austria consented to cede Venetia to Napoleon III, with the understanding that he should transfer it to Italy. The efforts of the Italians to wrest Trent and Trieste from Austria failed, however; for their fleet was defeated, and they were compelled to content themselves with Venetia, which they owed rather to the victories of others than to their own.



MAP OF THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Four years later, when war broke out between France and Prussia, Napoleon III was compelled to withdraw the French garrison from Rome; and Victor Emmanuel, having nothing further to fear from French intervention, dispatched an ultimatum to Pius IX, demanding that he make terms with the kingdom of Italy. The Pope refused; whereupon the Italian troops blew open the gates of the city and, without further violence, took possession of Rome, while the Pope withdrew to the Vatican and proclaimed himself the prisoner of the Italian government. The inhabitants, however, welcomed the invaders; and, by a vote of one hundred and thirty thousand to fifteen hundred, Rome and the remaining portions of the Papal States were formally annexed to the kingdom of Italy in January, 1871.

Italy was at last free and united from the Alps to the sea, and, as King Victor Emmanuel said at the opening of the parliament of 1871, "It remains only to make our country great and happy." In 1871 the capital was transferred from Florence (where it had been established in 1865) to Rome, and the king made his solemn entry into the city, announcing to the people, "We are at Rome and we shall remain here."

The constitution which had been drawn up for Sardinia in 1848 had been accepted in succession by all the former Italian states. The king was to govern through a ministry responsible to a Chamber of Deputies elected by the people. Like the English monarch, he had the power to veto measures, but never exercised it, and, as a rule, took no active part in the business of government, which he left to his ministers. He could, however, make his influence felt in the selection of his cabinet and in foreign affairs. Besides the Chamber of Deputies, the Italian constitution provided for a Senate, composed of the princes of the royal family and an indefinite number of men, of at least forty years of age, whom the king appointed for life from among those persons who had distinguished themselves in the State, the Church, the army, the navy, or in letters or science.

The real power was vested in the Chamber of Deputies, which, like the English House of Commons, was supposed to control the appointment of ministers, determine the policy of the cabinet, and formulate all important laws.

The suffrage, according to the terms of the original charter of Sardinia, which became the constitution of Italy, was limited to men over twenty-five years of age who paid at least eight dollars a year in direct taxes. Under this restriction there were only about six hundred thousand voters. This provision stood until 1882, when a new suffrage law reduced the age limit to twenty-one and cut down the tax requirement to about one half; these modifications increased the number of voters to about two millions. A further extension of the suffrage was made in 1895; but until the ballot reform that followed the World War, only about one third of the adult males enjoyed the right to vote.

After the World War, Italy fell under the dictatorial leadership of Mussolini, the chief of the Fascist party. This curious situation belongs to Volume II.

Even more difficult than the problem of the constitution for Italy was the settlement of the relations between the Italian government and the head of the Roman Catholic Church, who for a thousand years had regarded the city of Rome as his capital. By a law of May, 1871, the Pope was declared to enjoy perfect freedom in all his spiritual functions, and his person was made sacred and inviolable like that of the king. He was to continue to possess the honors and dignity of a sovereign prince, and to send and receive diplomatic agents like any other sovereign. Within the trifling domain which was left to him—the Vatican and Lateran palaces, Castel Gandolfo, and the gardens attached to them—he might live as an independent ruler, since no officer of the Italian government was permitted to enter these precincts on any business of State. In order to indemnify him decently for the loss of his possessions, the Italian government assigned him over six hundred thousand dollars a year from the State treasury. The Pope, however, not only refused to accept this sum, but he persistently declined to recognize the Italian government, considering himself the "prisoner" of a usurping power.

PRUSSIA ASSUMES THE LEADERSHIP IN GERMANY

The failure of the liberals to bring about the unity of Germany at the congress at Frankfurt in 1848 was due largely to the tenacity with which the numerous German rulers clung to their sovereignty and independence. No fond aspirations for national union formulated by an assembly of lawyers and professors could destroy the spirit of state sovereignty. However, industry and commerce were silently but surely welding the German people into a nation. In 1835 the first railway line had been built, and the era of steam transportation inaugurated; a network of telegraph lines quickly brought the separate states into close and constant touch with one another; and the growth of machine industry compelled them to seek wider markets beyond their borders. A solid foundation for unity was thus laid by expanding business and the development of common interests.

Statesmen as well as leaders in commerce and industry began shortly after the settlement of 1815 to realize the disastrous effects of the existing division of Germany into numerous independent countries. Each of the thirty-eight states had its own customs line, which cut it off from its German neighbors as well as from foreigners. How this hampered trade can be readily seen by examining the map of Germany at that time. The duchy of Anhalt was almost completely surrounded by the territory of Prussia; the grand duchy of Oldenburg lay like a great wedge driven into the kingdom of Hanover, having its only outlet on the North Sea; the grand duchy of Hesse was broken in twain by a narrow strip of the electorate of Hesse; and the important kingdom of Württemberg was surrounded by Baden and Bavaria. Had one traveled in a straight line from Fulda to Altenburg, a distance of some one hundred and twenty-five English miles, he would on the way have crossed thirty-four boundary lines and have been in the dominions of nine sovereign and independent monarchs. A merchants' association complained to the diet of the confederation in 1819 that in order to trade from Hamburg to Austria, or from Berlin to Switzerland, one had to cross ten states, study ten different customs systems, and pay ten tariff charges. They called attention to the fact that a French merchant, on the contrary, could trade from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and from Holland to Italy, without being troubled by a single collector of duties.

The first step toward remedying these evils was taken by Prussian ministers, who swept away the customs lines which separated the different parts of the kingdom, and introduced uniform rates. Having improved their own system, these ministers opened negotiations with those neighboring states which were entirely or partially surrounded by Prussian territory. The independent state of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen was forced to turn over its customs administration to Prussia in 1819, and other minor states soon yielded to the same pressure. In January, 1834, a *Zollverein*, or tariff union, was formed (see page 512), which was composed of seventeen states with a combined population of twenty-three millions. Goods were allowed to pass freely from any one of these states to another, while the entire group was protected against all outsiders by a common tariff frontier. Austria, after some hesitation, decided not to join this union, but other German states were from time to time compelled by their own interests to do so. The marvelous effect of this tariff union was celebrated by a popular writer in some verses in which he declared that matches, fennel, lampreys, cows, cheese, madder, paper, ham, and boots had served to bind together German hearts more effectively than all the political ties which had been formed at the Congress of Vienna. This commercial unity was the forerunner of political union.

As the center of this commercial reorganization of Germany, Prussia gathered strength for the coming conflict with her great rival, Austria; and on the accession of William I, in 1858,[1] a new era dawned for Prussia. A practical and vigorous man was now at the helm, whose chief aim was to expel Austria from the German Confederation, and out of the remaining states to construct a firm union, under the leadership of Prussia, which would then take its place among the most powerful nations of Europe. He saw that war must come sooner or later, and therefore made it his first business to develop the military resources of his realms.

The German army, which owed much of its fame to the reforms of William I, was so extraordinary a feature in European affairs until the close of the World War that its organization merits attention. Fifty years before William I's accession, the necessity of expelling Napoleon had led Scharnhorst to revolutionize the military strength of the kingdom by making military service a universal obligation for all healthy male citizens; they were to be trained in the standing army in all the essentials of discipline, and then retired to the reserve, ready for service at need. The first thing that William I did was to increase the annual levy from forty to sixty thousand men, and to see that all the soldiers remained in active service three years. They then passed into the reserve, according to the existing law, where for two years more they remained ready at any time to take up arms should it be necessary. William wished to increase the term of service in the reserve to four years. In this way the State would claim seven of the years of early manhood and have an effective army of four hundred thousand, which would permit it to dispense with the service of those who were approaching middle life. The lower house of the

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[1] He ruled until 1861 as regent for his brother, Frederick William IV, who had become incapacitated by disease.

Prussian parliament refused, however, to make the necessary appropriations for thus increasing the strength of the army.

The king proceeded, nevertheless, with his plan, and in 1862 called to his side one of the most commanding figures among the statesmen of modern times, Otto von Bismarck. The new minister conceived a scheme for humiliating Austria and exalting Prussia, which he carried out with startling precision. He could not, however, reveal it to the lower chamber; he would, indeed, scarcely hint its nature to the king himself. In defiance of the lower house and of the newspapers, he continued to strengthen the army without formal appropriations, on the theory that the constitution had made no provision in case of a deadlock between the upper and lower house, and that consequently the king, in such a case, might exercise his former absolute power. In one of his first speeches in parliament he said with brutal frankness, "The great questions of the time are to be decided not by speeches and votes of majorities, but by blood and iron." For a time it seemed as if Prussia were returning to a pure despotism; for there was assuredly no more fundamental provision of the constitution than the right of the people to control the granting of the taxes. Yet eventually Bismarck was completely exonerated by public opinion, and it was generally agreed in Germany that the end had amply justified the means.

Prussia now had a military force that appeared to warrant the hope of victory should she undertake a war with her old rival. In order to bring about the expulsion of Austria from the confederation, Bismarck took advantage of a knotty problem that had been troubling Germany, known as the Schleswig-Holstein affair. The provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, though they were inhabited largely by Germans, had for centuries belonged to the king of Denmark. They had been allowed, however, to retain their provincial assemblies, and were not considered a part of Denmark any more than Hanover had been a part of Great Britain.

In 1847, when the growing idea of nationality was about to express itself in the Revolution of 1848, the king of Denmark proclaimed that he was going to incorporate these provinces into the Danish kingdom in spite of the large proportion of Germans in the population. This aroused great indignation throughout Germany, particularly as Holstein was a member of the confederation, and Frederick William IV attempted by force of arms to prevent this absorption of the provinces. The controversy over their relation to Denmark continued, however; and finally, in 1863, Schleswig was definitely united with the Danish kingdom. With some exaggeration an English historian says:

> From this time the history of Germany is the history of the profound and audacious statecraft and of the overmastering will of Bismarck; the nation, except through its valor on the battlefield, ceases to influence the shaping of its own fortunes. What the German people desired in 1864 was that Schleswig-Holstein should be attached, under a ruler of its own, to the German Federation as it then existed; what Bismarck intended was that Schleswig-Holstein, itself incorporated more or less directly with Prussia, should be made the means of the destruction of the existing federal system, and of the expulsion of Austria from Germany. . . . The German people desired one course of action; Bismarck had determined on something totally different; with matchless resolution and skill he bore down all the opposition of the people and of the courts, and forced a reluctant nation to the goal which he himself had chosen for it.
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> C. A. Fyffe

Bismarck was forty-seven years old when, in 1862, he was called to the presidency of the Prussian cabinet, and he had already won a reputation as a shrewd diplomat and an ardent champion of the Prussian monarchy. He was an aristocrat of the aristocrats—a pure type of the conservative landed proprietor of the old régime in Germany. He entertained a profound and sincere contempt for all the revolutionary and liberal ideas that had come into the world since the age of

Frederick the Great; he had refused to join in a vote of thanks to the Prussian king when he promised his subjects a constitution in 1848; and he laughed at the liberals who tried to establish German unity at the Frankfurt congress. In short, his policy was akin to that of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century; Germany was to be united not by the will and the coöperation of the German people, but only by the aggrandizement of Prussia and the exaltation of the Prussian king. He was, moreover, a stanch believer in divine Providence, and declared that "each State that wishes to secure its own permanence, or even desires merely to prove its right to existence, must act upon religious principles. The words 'By the grace of God,' which Christian rulers add to their names, are for me no mere empty sound. On the contrary, I recognize in them the confession that princes aim to wield the scepter with which God has invested them according to his will." Firmly believing in the destiny of the German nation, justifying the means by the end, and frankly disregarding the humanitarian and democratic aspirations of the liberals, Bismarck proved himself just the leader needed to weld a German nation by the heat and violence of war.

WAR OF 1866; THE NORTH GERMAN FEDERATION

Bismarck's first step was to invite Austria to coöperate with Prussia in settling the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty. As Denmark refused to make any concessions, the two powers declared war, defeated the Danish army, and forced the king of Denmark to cede Schleswig-Holstein to the rulers of Prussia and Austria jointly (October, 1864).[1] They were to make such disposition of the provinces as they saw fit. There was now no trouble in picking a quarrel with Austria. Bismarck proposed a plan by which the duchies should be left nominally independent but were actually placed under Prussian control. This plan was, of course, indignantly rejected by Austria; so it was arranged that, pending an adjustment, Austria should govern Holstein, and Prussia should control Schleswig.

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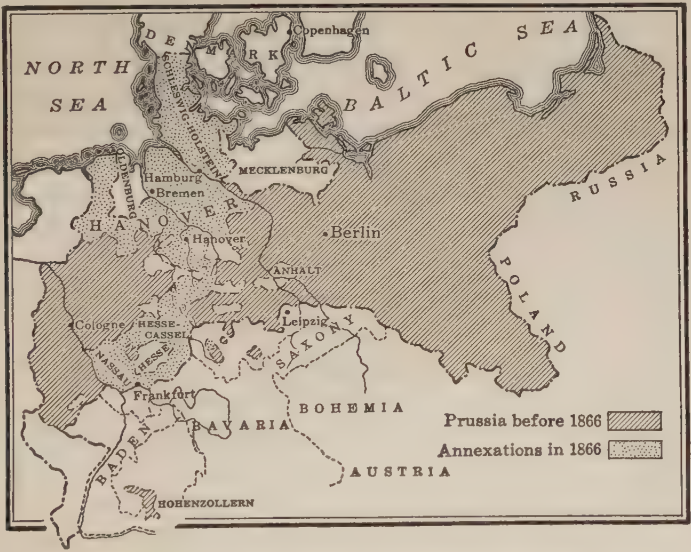
[1] After the war with Austria and Prussia the king of Denmark, sadly in want of money, was compelled in 1866 to conciliate the taxpayers by reëstablishing the constitution which had been drawn up in 1849 and set aside during the reaction that followed. This constitution — which, with amendments, is in force today — provides for an upper house composed of senators, elected indirectly according to a very complicated scheme, and a lower house made up of representatives chosen by the people. The ministry is responsible to the legislature.

Bismarck now obtained the secret assurance of Napoleon III that he would not interfere if Prussia and Italy should go to war with Austria. In April, 1866, Italy agreed that, should the king of Prussia take up arms during the following three months with the aim of reforming the German union, it too would immediately declare war on Austria, with the hope, of course, of obtaining Venice. The relations between Austria and Prussia grew more and more strained, until finally, in June, 1866, Austria induced the diet to call out the forces of the German Confederation for the purpose of making war on Prussia. Prussia's representative in the diet declared that this act put an end to the existing union. He accordingly submitted Prussia's scheme for the reformation of Germany and withdrew from the diet.

On June 14 war was declared between Austria and Prussia. With the exception of Mecklenburg and the small states of the north, all Germany sided with *Austria against Prussia*. Bismarck immediately demanded of the rulers of the larger north-German states—Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel—that they stop their warlike preparations and agree to accept Prussia's plan of reform. On their refusal Prussian troops immediately occupied these territories and war actually began.

So admirable was the organization of the Prussian army that, in spite of the suspicion and even hatred which the liberal party in Prussia entertained for the despotic Bismarck, all resistance on the part of the states of the north was promptly prevented; Austria was miserably defeated on July 3 in the decisive battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa; and within a few weeks after the breaking off of diplomatic relations the war was practically over. Austria's influence was at an end, and Prussia had won the right to dictate to the rest of Germany.

Prussia was aware that the larger states south of the river Main were not ripe for the union that she desired. She therefore organized a so-called North German Federation, which included all the states north of the Main. Prussia had seized the opportunity considerably to increase her own boundaries and round out her territory by annexing such of the north-German states, with the exception of Saxony, as had opposed her in the war. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfurt, along with the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, all became Prussian.



GERMAN STATES SEIZED BY PRUSSIA IN 1866

Prussia, thus enlarged, summoned the lesser states about her to confer upon a constitution that would accomplish four ends. First, it must give to all the people of the territory included in the new union, regardless of the particular state in which they lived, a voice in the government. A popular assembly satisfied this demand. Second, the predominating position of Prussia must be secured, but at the same time, third, the self-respect of the other monarchs whose lands were included must not be sacrificed. In order to accomplish this double purpose the king of Prussia was made "president" of the federation but not its sovereign. The chief governing body was the Federal Council (*Bundesrat*). In this each ruler, however small his state, and each of the three free towns—Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck—had at least one vote; thus it was arranged that the other rulers should not become *subjects* of the king of Prussia. The real sovereign of the North German Federation was not the king of Prussia, but "all of the united governments." The votes were distributed as in the old diet, so that Prussia, with the votes of the states that she annexed in 1866, enjoyed seventeen votes out of forty-three. Lastly, the constitution was so arranged that when the time came for the southern states—Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and South Hesse—to join the union, it would be adapted to the needs of the widened empire. The union was a federation similar to that of the United States, although its organization departed from many of the rules which were observed in the formation of the American union. It was inevitable that a union spontaneously developed from a group of sovereign *monarchies*, with their traditions of absolutism, would be very different from one in which the members, like the states of the American union, had previously been governed by republican institutions.

The Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871)

No one was more chagrined by the abrupt termination of the war of 1866 and the victory of Prussia than Napoleon III. He had hoped that both combatants might be weakened by a long struggle, and that in the end he might have an opportunity to arbitrate, and incidentally to gain something for France, as had happened after the Italian war. His disappointment was the more keen because he was troubled at home by the demands of the liberals for reform, and had recently suffered a loss of prestige among his people by the failure of a design for getting a foothold in Mexico.[1] Napoleon was further chagrined by his failure to secure the grand duchy of Luxemburg, which its sovereign, the king of Holland, would have sold to him if it had not been for the intervention of Prussia. In other diplomatic negotiations also it was believed that Napoleon had been outwitted by Bismarck, and a war fever developed in both France and Germany, which was fostered by the sensational press of Paris and Berlin. Frenchmen began to talk about "avenging Sadowa," and the Prussians to threaten their "hereditary enemy" with summary treatment for past wrongs.

In the midst of this irritation a pretext for war was afforded by the question of the Spanish throne, then vacant as the result of the expulsion of Queen Isabella in 1868. She had succeeded to the throne as a child, on the death of her father, Ferdinand VII, in 1833. Notwithstanding the attempts of her uncle, Don Carlos, to secure the crown, which he claimed could not legally descend to a woman, she managed to maintain her position, through many dictatorships, revolutions, and palace intrigues, until 1868, when all her discontented subjects—liberals who wanted a constitution with a responsible ministry, democrats who wanted universal suffrage, and republicans who wanted to overthrow the monarchy altogether—united in an insurrection which forced Isabella to flee to France.

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[1] This Mexican episode is one of the most curious incidents in the checkered career of Napoleon III. He desired to see the Latin peoples of the western world develop into strong nations, to offset the preponderance of the Anglo-Saxons in North America; and furthermore, like his uncle, he cherished imperial designs outside of the confines of Europe. What appeared to him to be an excellent opportunity to build up a Latin empire under his protection was afforded by disorders in Mexico. In the summer of 1861, at the opening of the great Civil War in America, the Republic of Mexico suspended payments on its debts. Great Britain, France, and Spain made a joint demonstration against Mexico in favor of their subjects who held Mexican bonds. Napoleon then entered into negotiations with some Mexicans who wanted to overthrow the republic, and he offered to support the establishment of an empire on the understanding that Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Austrian emperor, was to be their ruler. Little realizing how few of the Mexican people wanted him for their ruler, Maximilian landed in his new realm in 1864, strongly supported by French troops. As soon as the Civil War in the United States was brought to a close, the American government protested against foreign intervention in Mexican affairs; and as Napoleon III was in no position to wage war with so formidable a power, he withdrew his soldiers and advised Maximilian to abdicate and return to Europe. The new emperor, however, refused to leave Mexico, and shortly afterward he was captured and shot (June, 1867). The whole affair cost France a great deal of money and the lives of many soldiers, and discredited Napoleon's ability as a statesman.

After the flight of the queen a national Cortes was summoned to determine upon a form of government; and as the majority of the assembly believed that Spain was not yet ready for a republic, they voted in favor of establishing a monarchy, but drew up at the same time the most liberal constitution that Spain had ever had. After long deliberations they finally tendered the crown to Leopold of Hohenzollern, a very distant relative of William I of Prussia. This greatly excited the journalists of Paris, who loudly protested that it was only an indirect way of bringing Spain under the influence of Prussia. The French minister of foreign affairs declared that the candidacy was an attempt to reëstablish the empire of Charles V. This belief was entirely unfounded; for, in spite of the apprehensions of the French, the mass of the Spanish people were more anxious to see the restoration of the Bourbon line in the person of Alfonso, the son of Queen Isabella, than they were to have as their ruler Leopold of Hohenzollern, or Amadeus (the son of the king of Italy), who was finally induced in 1870 to accept the crown.

Nevertheless, the war parties in France and Prussia were looking for a pretext for a conflict, and consequently the candidacy of Prince Leopold was given an exaggerated importance. In July, 1870, with the consent of the king of Prussia, he accepted the proffered crown; but when the French government protested, he withdrew his acceptance, also with the approbation of the Prussian king. The affair now seemed to be closed, but the French ministry was not satisfied with the outcome and demanded that the king of Prussia should pledge himself that the candidacy should never be renewed. This William refused to do, and Bismarck, with gleeful malice, so edited the account of the refusal given to the German newspapers as to make it appear that the French ambassador had insulted King William and had been rebuffed. This excited the jingoes in both countries to a state of frenzy; and although the war party in France was a small minority, France nevertheless declared war against Prussia on July 19, 1870.

The French minister announced that he entered the conflict with a "light heart," but it was not long before he realized the folly of the headlong plunge. The hostility which the South German states had hitherto shown toward Prussia had encouraged Napoleon III to believe that so soon as the French troops should gain their first victory, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden would join him. But that first victory was never won. War had no sooner been declared than the Germans laid all jealousy aside and ranged themselves as a nation against a national assailant. The French army, moreover, was neither well equipped nor well commanded. The Germans hastened across the Rhine and within a few days were driving the French before them. In a series of bloody encounters about Metz, one of the French armies was defeated and finally shut up within the fortifications of the town. Seven weeks had not elapsed after the beginning of the war before the Germans had captured a second French army and made a prisoner of the emperor himself in the great battle of Sedan, September 1, 1870.

The Germans then surrounded and laid siege to Paris. Napoleon III had been completely discredited by the disasters about Metz and Sedan; consequently the empire was abolished and France for the third time was declared a republic.[1] In spite of the energy which the new government showed in arousing the nation against the invaders, prolonged resistance was impossible. The capital surrendered on January 28, 1871, and an armistice was concluded.

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[1] See page 481.

In arranging the treaty of peace Bismarck deeply humiliated France by requiring the cession of two French provinces which had formerly belonged to Germany—Alsace and northeastern Lorraine.[1] In this way France was cut off from the Rhine, and the crest of the Vosges Mountains was established as its boundary. The Germans further exacted what seemed at the time an enormous indemnity for the unjustifiable attack which the French had made upon them. This was fixed at five billion francs, and German troops were to occupy France till it was paid. The French people made pathetic sacrifices to hasten the payment of this indemnity, in order that the country might be freed from the presence of the German soldiers. The bitter feeling of the French against the Germans dates from this war, and the longing for revenge was an active force in bringing about the World War. For many years a statue in Paris, representing the lost city of Strasbourg, was draped in mourning.

The German Empire

The attack of France upon Prussia in 1870, instead of hindering the development of Germany, as Napoleon III had hoped it would, only served to consummate the work of 1866. The south-German states,—Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and South Hesse,—having sent their troops to fight side by side with the Prussian forces, consented after their common

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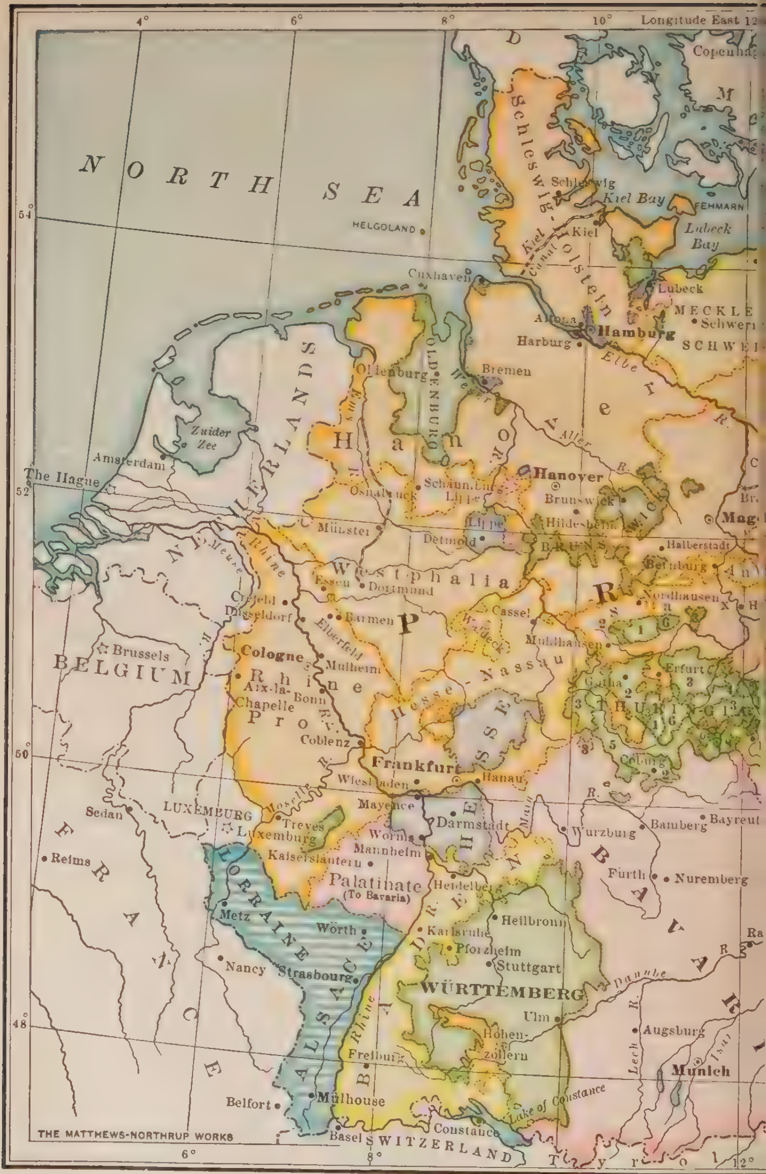
[1] Alsace had, with certain reservations, particularly as regarded Strasbourg and the other free towns, been ceded to the king of France by the Treaty of Westphalia, at the close of the Thirty Years' War. Louis XIV disregarded the reservations and seized Strasbourg and the other towns (1681), thus annexing the whole region to France. The duchy of Lorraine had fallen to France in 1766, upon the death of its last duke. It had previously been regarded as a part of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1871 less than a third of the original duchy of Lorraine, together with the fortified city of Metz, was ceded back to Germany.



4°
6°
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NORTH SEA
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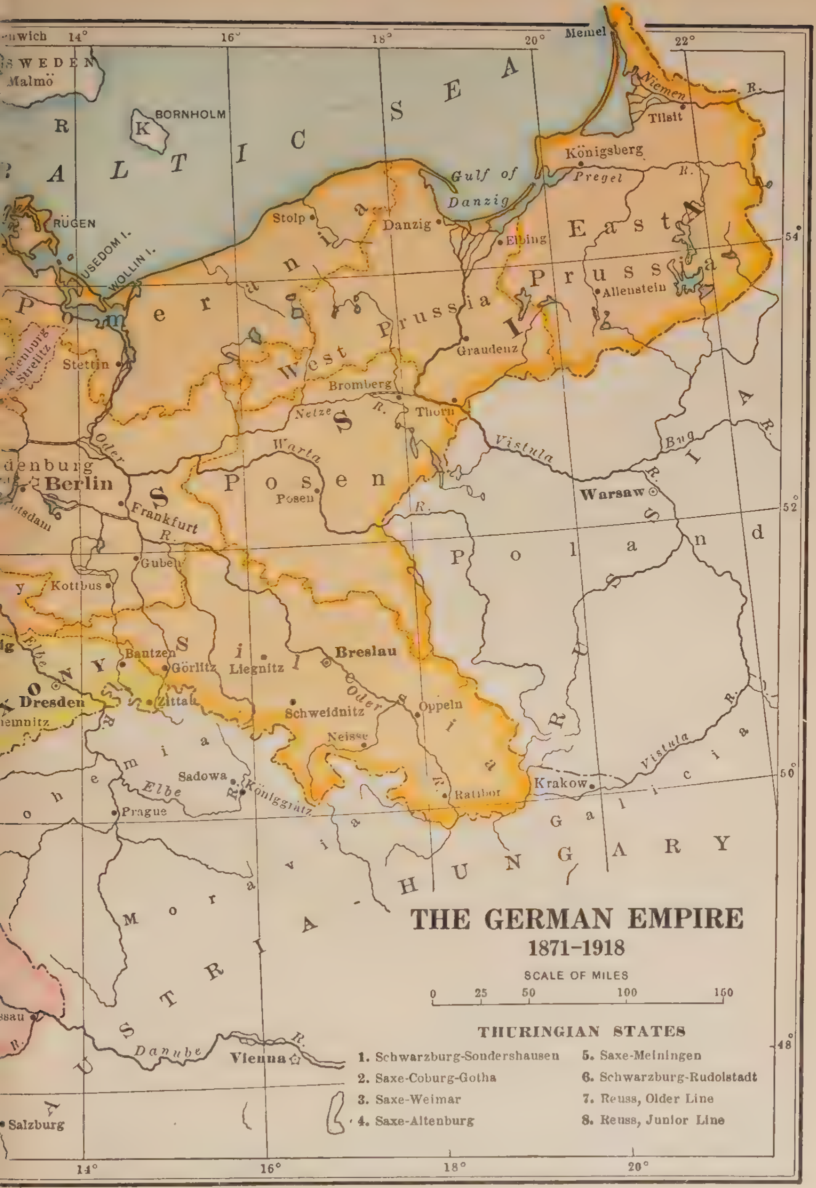
Schleswig-Holstein
Schleswig
Kiel Bay
FEMMARN
Kiel
Kiel Canal
Lubeck Bay
Lubeck
MECKLE
Schwerin
SCHWE
Cuxhaven
Altona
Hamburg
Harburg
Elbe
Bremen
Weser
Oldenburg
OLDENBURG
NETHERLANDS
Zuider Zee
Amsterdam
The Hague
Hanover
Hanover
Ems
Aller
Osnabruck
Schaumburg Lippe
Brunswick
BRUNSWICK
Hildesheim
Mag
Lippe
Detmold
Munster
Halberstadt
Bernburg
Westphalia
Essen
Dortmund
Crefeld
Dusseldorf
Barmen
Elberfeld
Meuse
Rhine
Cassel
Waldeck
Nordhausen
Mulhausen
Brussels
BELGIUM
Cologne
Mulheim
Rhine Prov.
Aix-la-Chapelle
Bonn
Hesse-Nassau
Erfurt
Gotha
THURINGIA
Coburg
Coblenz
Frankfurt
Hanau
Wiesbaden
Mayence
HESSE
Darmstadt
Main
Wurzburg
Bamberg
Bayreut
LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
Sedan
Moselle
Treves
Worms
Mannheim
Kaiserslautern
Reims
FRANCE
LORRAINE
Metz
Palatinate (To Bavaria)
Heidelberg
BAVARIA
Furth
Nuremberg
Worth
Heilbronn
Karlsruhe
Pforzheim
Stuttgart
BADEN
Nancy
Strasbourg
WÜRTTEMBERG
Danube
Ulm
ALSACE
Hohenzollern
Augsburg
Lech R.
Isar
Munich
Freiburg
Belfort
Mulhouse
Lake of Constance
Constance
Basel
SWITZERLAND
Tyrol
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS



THE GERMAN EMPIRE

1871–1918

SCALE OF MILES

0 25 50 100 150

THURINGIAN STATES

1. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen
2. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
3. Saxe-Weimar
4. Saxe-Altenburg
5. Saxe-Meiningen
6. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt
7. Reuss, Older Line
8. Reuss, Junior Line

victory over France to join the North German Federation. By a series of treaties it was agreed, among other things, that the name "North German Federation" should give way to that of "German Empire," and that the king of Prussia, as president of the union, should be given the title of "German Emperor." Surrounded by German princes, William, king of Prussia and president of the North German Federation, was proclaimed German Emperor in the former palace of the French kings at Versailles, January 18, 1871. The long conflict for unity was now at an end; it remained only for Germany to assert its place among the great nations of the world, which it did with particular vigor.

In the new German Empire the dominant position was occupied by Prussia. Her territory comprised nearly two thirds of the whole empire, and her citizens amounted to nearly two thirds of the entire population of Germany. The constitution of 1866 had been drawn up in the expectation that the southern states would later become a part of the union; consequently little change was needed when the empire was established. In accordance with the constitution the sovereignty was vested in the whole body of German rulers who were members of the union, all of whom sent their representatives to the Federal Council, or *Bundesrat*. Prussia's control of the Bundesrat was secured, however, by assigning her king a sufficient number of votes to enable him to block any measure he wished. Moreover, as German emperor (*Kaiser*) he enjoyed many powers exercised by an absolute monarch. He appointed and dismissed the chancellor, who was, next to the Kaiser, the highest official in the government. He commanded the unconditional obedience of all German soldiers and sailors and appointed the principal officers of the army and navy.

The House of Representatives, or *Reichstag*, consisting of about four hundred members, was elected by universal male suffrage for a period of five years. The emperor might, however, with the consent of the Bundesrat dissolve it at any time if it refused to pass the measures of his ministers.

The constitution gave the federal government power to regulate commerce, railways, telegraphs, and the currency. Under Bismarck as chancellor the old systems of the various states were subjected to uniform regulations. The bewildering variety of coins and paper money in the several states was done away with, and the mark (normally worth about twenty-five cents) became the basis for the currency of the whole empire. A tariff system was introduced to encourage home industries by protecting the entire kingdom from foreign competition. The period between 1871 and 1914 was one of rapid development. Large manufacturing towns sprang up, railways were built, and industry made remarkable progress.

A new political party soon appeared, known as the Social Democratic Labor party, which based its platform upon the theories of Karl Marx.[1] Socialism developed in Germany, as elsewhere, with the introduction of machinery and the growth of factories. Bismarck became alarmed, and in 1878 a law was passed to suppress socialistic agitation. To allay the discontent caused by this measure the government undertook to introduce various socialistic measures of its own. The state gradually acquired the ownership of railways and mines until, at the opening of the World War, the national property was valued at about seven billion dollars, with an income of about three hundred million dollars. The federal government also arranged a system of insurance for workingmen against sickness and accident and required the employers to contribute to the expense. Later, similar laws were passed to provide pensions in old age. These measures, however, failed to satisfy the socialists, for they claimed that this kind of "state" socialism did not really alter the conditions of labor for the workingmen or give them greater control of industry.

On the death of Kaiser William I in 1888 his grandson,

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[1] These will be described in Volume II.

not exactly.

William II,[1] the "Kaiser" of the World War, succeeded to the throne. Bismarck soon fell out with the new ruler and resigned in 1890. None of the chancellors appointed by William II, however, exhibited the capacity of the "iron chancellor," as Bismarck was called.

During the reign of William II (1888–1918) Germany increased rapidly in wealth and population. Vast new cities grew up; old ones were improved, and laid out with great boulevards. German steamship lines, heavily subsidized by the government, developed rapidly, and their vessels were soon sailing on every sea. The farmers and the manufacturers flourished, owing to the distant markets opened up by the new German merchant marine.

Moreover, Germany sought colonies and got control of the large provinces of Togo and Cameroons in West Africa. She established a protectorate called German Southwest Africa, far larger than the area of the German Empire. She annexed also a vast region known as German East Africa. In 1897 she seized the port of Kiaochow, in China, and began to look about for additional colonies and protectorates. Few Germans, however, cared to emigrate to the new colonies, and they proved a costly luxury.

From a relatively poor country in 1871, Germany became by 1914 a rich and powerful nation, with thriving industries at home and an almost unrivaled commerce abroad. As one recalls the condition of the ancient Holy Roman Empire in Napoleon's day the revolution of affairs was truly astonishing.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AFTER 1866

The defeat at Sadowa and the formation of the North German Federation had served to cut off Austria from Germany altogether, and she was left to solve as best she might the problems of adjusting her relations with Hungary, reconciling the claims of the various races within her borders, and meeting the demands of the liberals for constitutional government and for reforms in general.

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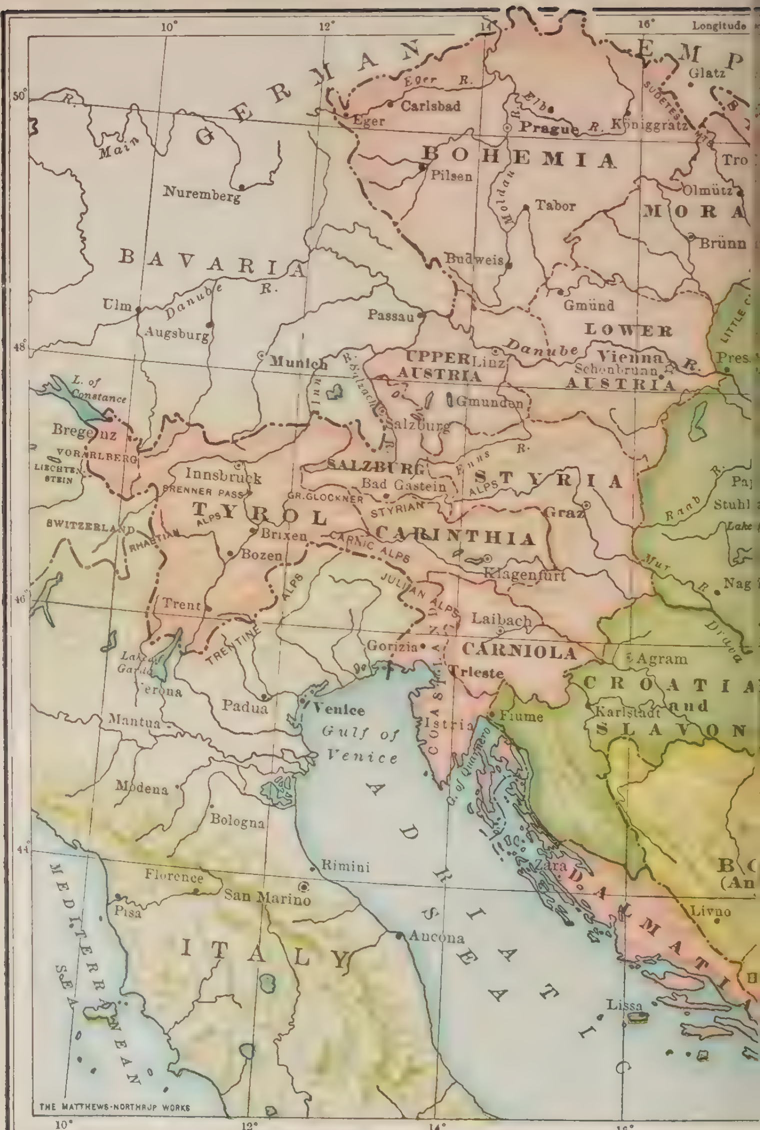
[1] William II's father, Frederick, lived for only a few months after the death of the old Kaiser. The new Kaiser was a grandson of Queen Victoria and spoke and wrote English excellently.

William I died March 9-1888
Frederick III died June 15-1888

An attempt had been made in 1861 to unite the possessions of Francis Joseph into a single great empire, with its parliament at Vienna, but the Hungarians obstinately refused to take part in the deliberations and, by encouraging the Bohemians, Poles, and Croats to withdraw, brought the plan to naught.

Soon after the defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866 the relations between the Austrian Empire and the kingdom of Hungary were finally settled by a compromise (*Ausgleich*, as the Germans call it). Francis Joseph agreed to regard himself as ruling over two separate and practically independent states: (1) the Austrian Empire, which included seventeen provinces, —Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Carinthia, Carniola, and the rest; and (2) the Kingdom of Hungary, including Croatia and Slavonia. While each of these had its own constitution and its own parliament,—one at Vienna, and the other at Budapest,—and managed its own affairs under the guidance of its own ministers, the two governments in dealing with foreign nations, declaring war, and concluding treaties were to appear as one state, to be called Austria-Hungary. They were to have a common army and navy and to be united commercially by using the same coins, weights, and measures, and agreeing upon a common tariff. Although this particular kind of union between two states was a new thing in Europe, it lasted for half a century, until dissolved by defeat and ruin in the World War.

In order to manage the affairs common to the two states, their joint monarch appointed three ministers,—a minister of foreign affairs, a minister of war, and a minister of finance. These ministers were responsible to a curious kind of parliament composed of two *Delegations*, one of which was chosen by the Austrian parliament, and the other by the Hungarian diet.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G E R M A N
E M P
Main
R.
Eger R.
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Carlsbad
Elbe
Prague R.
Königgratz
SUDETES MTS.
Glatz
Tro
Olmütz
Nuremberg
B O H E M I A
Pilsen
Moldau R.
Tabor
M O R A
Brünn
B A V A R I A
Budweis
Danube R.
Ulm
Augsburg
Passau
Gmünd
L O W E R
Danube
UPPER AUSTRIA
Linz
Vienna
Schönbrunn
R.
AUSTRIA
Pres.
LITTLE C.
Munich
Inn R.
Salzach R.
Gmunden
Salzburg
L. of Constance
Bregenz
VORARLBERG
LIECHTENSTEIN
Innsbruck
BRENNER PASS
SALZBURG
Enns R.
S T Y R I A
Bad Gastein
ALPS
GR.GLOCKNER
STYRIAN
Raab R.
Pa
Stuhl
Lake
T Y R O L
ALPS
Graz
SWITZERLAND
RHAETIAN
Brixen
CARINTHIA
CARNIC ALPS
Bozen
ALPS
Mur
Klagenfurt
R.
Nag
JULIAN ALPS
Trent
Laibach
Drava
TRENTINE
Gorizia
CARNIOLA
Agram
Lake Garda
Trieste
C R O A T I A
Verona
Padua
Venice
COAST
Istria
Fiume
Karlstadt
and
S L A V O N
Mantua
Gulf of Venice
Quarnero
Modena
A D R I A T I C
Bologna
G. of Quarnero
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D A L M A T I A
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San Marino
Livno
Pisa
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
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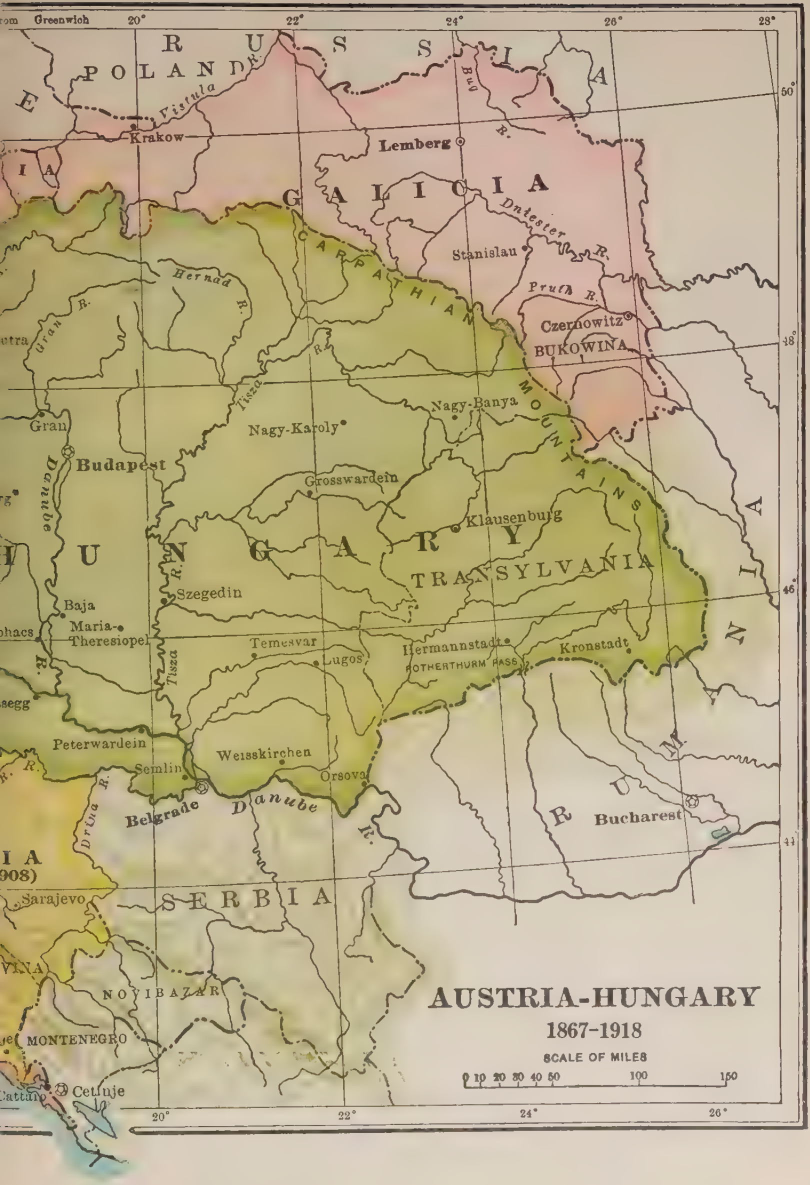
Ancona
Lissa
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS



AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

1867-1918

These Delegations consisted of sixty members each and, to avoid all jealousy, held their sessions alternately at Vienna and at Budapest. They sat as separate bodies, one carrying on its discussions in German and the other in Hungarian, and ordinarily communicated with each other in writing, except in cases of disagreement, when the two Delegations came together and voted as a single body, but without debate.

While the relations were thus being adjusted between Austria and Hungary, the Austrian Empire itself was reorganized by five constitutional laws passed in 1867. The protests of the Poles, Slovenes, Bohemians, and Italians were unheeded; and all the provinces were made subject to the parliament at Vienna, which was to consist of a House of Lords and a Chamber of Deputies, the members of the latter to be selected by the diets of the seventeen provinces. The emperor promised to choose ministers who enjoyed the confidence of the parliament, to conciliate the various nationalities, and to insure equal rights to all in the schools and in appointments to government offices.

In Hungary the liberal constitution of 1848 was revived. The king appointed the ministers, but they were to be responsible to the diet, which consisted of two houses. The Chamber of Magnates was an aristocratic body made up mainly of hereditary nobles. The members of the Chamber of Deputies, on the other hand, which, like the House of Commons in England, was the predominant body, were chosen by the people. Every man over twenty years of age who paid a small direct tax[1] was permitted to vote, and in the case of professional men even the tax requirement was waived.

The problem of satisfying the various races, with their differing languages and their national aspirations, was the most characteristic difficulty which both Austria and Hungary had to face. There were in Austria-Hungary in 1867, Germans,

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[1] This requirement, moderate as it seems to be, excluded about three fourths of the adult males and gave rise to serious agitation for reform.

Magyars (Hungarians), Czechs, Slovaks, Poles (in Galicia), Ruthenians (in eastern Galicia), Slovenes (principally in Carniola), Serbians, Croats (in Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Istria), Italians (in Trieste and in southern Tyrol), and Rumanians (in Bukovina). The Germans held that the German town of Vienna, the old seat of the court, was the natural center of all the provinces, and that the German language, since it was spoken more generally than any other in the Austrian provinces and was widely used in scientific and literary works, should be given the preference everywhere by the government. The Czechs and the Poles, on their part, longed for their old freedom and independence, wished to use their own language, and constantly permitted their dislike of the Germans to influence their policy in the parliament at Vienna. In Hungary the Rumanians, Croats, and Serbs sought with equal zeal to preserve their language and customs against the domineering Magyars.

If all the inhabitants of a given province had spoken the same language, the difficulties would have been less trying; but the various races were hopelessly intermingled, especially the Czechs and the Germans in Bohemia. While the majority of the inhabitants of Austria belonged to some branch of the Slavic race, the Czechs, Poles, Croats, and Ruthenians could not understand one another's language. Consequently the Austrian government seemed forced to order that all commands to its soldiers be given in German; disastrous confusion would otherwise have resulted. But if a Slovenian killed an Italian, what language should be employed in his trial? Where there were two or three different languages spoken in a single parish, should there be a school for each, or should the language of the majority prevail? Should officials be required to speak the several languages or dialects used within their provinces? These and a hundred similar questions vexed the Austrian parliament, caused ill feeling and party divisions, and kept the Dual Monarchy always on the edge of disruption.

In addition to the racial questions, there were also religious difficulties. Austria had always been specially faithful to the Catholic Church, and consented to maintain its ancient supremacy longer than any other European power. But after the settlement of 1867 the German liberal party forced through the parliament a series of laws which restricted the time-honored prerogatives of the Catholic clergy. Every individual was given the right to choose his own religion and to worship as he pleased. Government offices and positions in the schools were thrown open to all citizens, regardless of creed; the State, not the Church, was thereafter to manage the schools; civil marriage was instituted for those who did not wish to have a priest officiate at their marriage, as well as for those whom the priests refused to unite. The Pope vigorously condemned the constitutional laws of 1867, which had guaranteed complete religious liberty; the laws of 1868 he pronounced "abominable," and rejected them as null and void. Nevertheless, the reforms which the enlightened despot, Joseph, had sought to introduce nearly a century before (see pages 275 ff.) were at last established.

Thus in the sphere of international relations, the settlement of 1815 was undone. Many of the territorial boundaries were altered, and new states established on the ruins of the old. Belgium broke away from Holland and secured her independence. Austria was driven out of the German Confederation, and German unity was established in the form of an empire. Schleswig-Holstein was annexed by Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine taken away from France, and the number of German states reduced. The Austrians were driven out of Italy, and the unity of the Italian people was worked out under the leadership of Victor Emmanuel, Cavour, and Garibaldi. The relations between Austria and Hungary were revised and given the form of a dual monarchy. The principle of nationalism was asserted, although there were Italians in Austria, Germans outside of Germany, Danes, Poles, and Frenchmen within Germany, and many nationalities bound together under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. With the territorial changes there came about the establishment of new constitutions which extended, subject to limitations, the principle of representative government throughout central and southern Europe. Thus at the end of fifty years there was little left of the program adopted by the statesmen of Vienna in 1815. A new balance of power had been called into being by the creation of the German Empire and the kingdom of Italy. New rivals were introduced into the sphere of industrial enterprise, expansion, and imperialism. Europe was preparing to enter upon a new epoch.

CHAPTER XV

WESTERNIZING OF EASTERN EUROPE

COMMON NEGLECT OF EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Hitherto we have devoted most of our attention to the western half of Europe, although something has necessarily been said of the vast realms of the Tsar. We shall now go back and examine the origins of those Balkan states which played so disturbing a rôle in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In southeastern Europe and in Russia a momentous struggle for national independence and for democratic institutions took place, but under very different circumstances from those which determined the democratization of the western European states. Our story must now, of necessity, broaden out, and will, before it is done, take in pretty much the whole world; for it has been the incredible achievement of the peoples of western Europe to devise means by which all parts of the globe have been put into easy intercommunication. *Western European history tends to merge into world history.*

In following out this astonishing process the first step is to see the manner in which eastern and western Europe gradually became more and more seriously implicated in each other's affairs. It is a striking fact that it was an issue in eastern Europe which precipitated the World War, in 1914. In this terrific struggle all the eastern European powers took part, together with almost all the western. This fact, and the far-reaching significance of the Russian revolution which opened in 1917, cannot but arouse our curiosity with regard to the historical formation of those states, mainly Slavic in speech, which occupy over half the map of Europe today. In the history of the Slavic portion of Europe, Constantinople played somewhat the same rôle as did Rome in the development of western Europe.[1]

Constantine founded his new capital (A.D. 330) on the borders of Europe and Asia. It lay just within Europe and just outside Asia. But the student of history must not allow himself to be misled by the hoary old distinction between these two "continents." Geographers cannot agree where Europe leaves off and Asia begins. They are really one—*Eurasia*. There are no natural barriers to prevent the wanderings of peoples back and forth. There is a wide gateway between the Ural Mountains on the north and the Caspian and the Caucasus on the south. The Dardanelles and the Bosporus are but narrow straits, easy enough to cross when not guarded by man.

In the movements of conquerors, the ventures of merchants, the dissemination of religions, and culture in general, Europe, Asia, and northern Africa have all had their part, especially in the eastern Mediterranean. The Egyptian Pharaohs extended their rule into Asia; Assyrians and Persians, in their turn, conquered Egypt; Alexander the Great built up an empire including European, African, and Asiatic lands; and the Romans followed his example. Our heritage of stately architecture, sculpture, lovely fabrics and jewels, had its beginnings in Africa; the Bible, Homer, and fundamental elements in our whole religious outlook today came from Asia. In short, we must agree with H. G. Wells that civilization is the common adventure of mankind. Only the ignorant can assign to his own particular people any overwhelming contribution in man's advance. Human beings have moved about far more widely, have intermixed far more freely, have shared their discoveries far more generously for tens of thousands of years, than the narrow patriot, whatever may be his country, is willing to concede. The present cosmopolitanizing of the world has its origins in the distant past.

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[1] The medieval state of which Constantinople was the capital is called by historians the Eastern Roman Empire, the Greek Empire, or the Byzantine Empire, according to their taste. All these names refer to the same thing.

THE ASIATIC HORDES

While there has always been sufficient turmoil in western Europe, accompanying the movements of conquering chieftains and their followers and the bitter rivalry of dynasties, the history of eastern Europe has been still more catastrophic. This has been due to the fact that it was nearer a source of endless restlessness and periodic violence, namely, the wandering peoples of central Asia. From the Ural Mountains to the heights and slopes of the Altai ranges in central Asia—indeed, from the Baltic to the Sea of Japan—there have been from time immemorial nomadic races who accepted the principle of *ubi bene ibi patria.* They did not ordinarily give pledges to fortune by building towns and developing a law of real property. They might keep still for a time and then, converted into a migratory state, under some imaginative and energetic commander suddenly fare forth in search of adventure, carrying their simple equipment and often driving their stock as they went. Neither mountains nor broad streams nor deserts deterred them. They had no respect for the property or the lives of those whom they met. Each wandering army had a high-sounding name for itself. Its leaders generally claimed supernatural origin and assumed lordly titles. Massacre and robbery ceased to be sins and became virtues when practiced on the conquered. In short, matters were worse than among the Christian nations of the West.

Philologists who, in modern times, have looked into such grammatical vestiges as we have of these highly illiterate wanderers include them under one comprehensive name. From the standpoint of their grammar, whether Turks, Hungarians, Finns, Mongolians, or Manchus, they are ranged with the

Ural-Altaics, although they are found far west of the Urals and far east of the Altai ranges. In contrast with the Aryans their language is built up of suffixes rather than by means of prefixes; it emphasizes the objective case rather than the subject. As modern psychologists might say, they were heavily extroverted. These peoples were all too well known to the Chinese, from whose books important information in regard to them is now to be had. It was to prevent their invasions that the Chinese built the Great Wall; for the same Ural-Altaic races that pestered Europe repeatedly invaded China, and the Manchus are but the last instance of earlier oppressions.[1] Chinese historians constantly complain of the ravages of the Hiung-nu, whose name many modern scholars infer is the same that played its part in Europe in the form of "Hun" and "Hungarian."

The name *hordes* is perhaps the least misleading to apply to the various masses of invaders who swept from time to time into eastern Europe. The Huns, the first to appear (late in the fourth century), are described by a Roman general, Ammianus Marcellinus, as heavy, short-legged, beardless savages, who would sit on their horses day and night, who avoided roofed houses as civilized peoples abhorred sepulchers, and who lived on half-raw flesh.

> Homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering with their wagons, which they make their homes, they seem to be a people always in flight. . . . Excited by an unrestrained desire to plunder others, they ravage and slaughter all the peoples they encounter.

We find much the same picture over and over again when a new horde emerges. But each invading host picked up slaves, captured women, and was joined by adventurers from the regions through which it passed. Consequently, whatever may have been the race of the original group, it soon became heavily mixed with alien blood. And after some decades, if no new leader appeared to keep the horde together, it would be dissipated and merged into the surrounding population. A long list could be given of hordes and tribes which, like that of Attila (about A.D. 450), having played their brief and desolating rôle, fade away and appear no more in history. In Europe today there are four states whose inhabitants speak a language belonging to the Ural-Altaic, or Turanian, group of tongues: Finland, little Estonia, Hungary, and what is left of European Turkey. Bulgaria, as we shall see, takes its name from an Asiatic Hun-like horde, the Bulgars, who conquered the region and organized it, but quickly merged into the Slavic population and adopted a variant of their tongue.

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[1] The Ural-Altaic peoples are sometimes called Turanian, sometimes Tatas (or Tartars). The name "Tatar" is derived from that of the Ta-Ta Mongols, living in the fifth century in northeastern Gobi (Manchuria). There were some of these Tatas among the bands who long after reached Russia, and the term "Tartar" is often applied to the Turkish-Mongolian invaders of the thirteenth century. The Tatas of Russia today seem to be much more Turkish than Mongolian in character and habits.

It must not be supposed that the government of the Eastern Roman Empire was in a continual state of war with the Asiatic hordes. It often bought peace with handsome sums of money and agreed to pay a regular tribute; it frequently hired the Huns, Avars, Chazars, Bulgars, and other nomadic peoples to fight its other enemies. Sometimes marriages were concluded between marauding Asiatic chieftains and the reigning family at Constantinople. Every kind of people made every kind of transient alliance, regardless of where they came from or what language they spoke.

Slavs occupy the Balkan Peninsula

By the seventh century the Eastern Roman Empire was confined mainly to what we now call the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor. It included also the eastern Mediterranean coast around into Africa. Justinian the Great, who died in 565, managed to get possession of Italy, for the time being, by conquering the East Goths, and even of the Vandal kingdom in

North Africa; but in general it may be said that the ambitions of the Eastern Roman Empire were confined at that period to holding fast to its Balkan territory, Asia Minor, and so much of Syria as it could defend against the Persian aggressors from the East.

Let us get a somewhat clear idea of the term *Balkan region*, —a recurrent phrase in the discussion of present international relations. The ragged coast of southern Europe juts out into three main peninsulas: the Spanish (including Portugal), the Italian, and, farthest east, the Balkan. The last, which is somewhat less in extent than the Spanish, lies to the south of the river Danube and runs down to Cape Matapan, the southernmost point of the mainland of Greece. It is largely mountainous and takes its name from the range south of the Danube. One of the peaks, Olympus, the residence of the ancient Greek gods, is nearly ten thousand feet high. Politically, since the World War, it has been divided among the following states: Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and Jugoslavia (including Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slovenia). Rumania is often classed as a Balkan state, although it lies for the most part outside the limits of the Balkan Peninsula, and its language is not Slavic but belongs to the Romance tongues.

The Slavic peoples had been wandering into the Balkan Peninsula several centuries before Justinian's time, but their movements were somewhat masked by the more spectacular inroads of the Huns and then of the Avars and Bulgars—belonging to the Asiatic nomads. The Slavs were destined not only to prevail in the Balkan Peninsula but to build up the vast Russian Empire, and to press westward and establish themselves in what is Poland and Czechoslovakia today. The nations of our time who use Slavic languages include about a hundred and fifty million people.

At the opening of the Christian Era the Slavs, whose languages belong to the same great Indo-European group to which

Greek, Latin, Celtic, German, and English also belong, appear to have been settled northeast of the Carpathian Mountains, in what is now southwestern Russia. Their physical appearance varies markedly, showing today the signs of considerable admixture with the peoples with whom they struggled for centuries. They gradually spread in all directions, increasing greatly in numbers. There are three main branches of Slavs: (1) the Russians; (2) the group lying between Russia and Germany—Poles, Bohemians (or Czechs), Moravians, and Slovaks; (3) the Balkan Slavs. Of the latter, some wandered down round the eastern end of the Carpathians, others round the western.

We shall now review very briefly the manner in which each of these groups built up states which appear on the map of Europe today. The Slavic countries have differed much from one another in their history, just as have those which were founded by the Romance and Teutonic peoples. Each has had its particular tale of victories and defeats, of expansion and contraction; its own heroes and saints, its prides and humiliations, its long-standing ambitions and claims, and its shifting resentments against its neighbors. Into all this we cannot go, but must satisfy ourselves with getting some general idea of the way in which the peoples of eastern Europe developed those states which they inhabit today.

Origin of Bulgaria

The earliest Slavic state to emerge was Bulgaria, composed of those Slavic tribes which had been wandering into the eastern Balkan region for two or three centuries before Justinian's time. It was not they, however, who substituted a state for their old loose tribal government, but an invading band of Bulgars. These differed from the Slavs they conquered in language, religion, and customs, for they belonged not to the Aryan but to the Ural-Altaic races and seem to have been distantly related to the Huns and the Avars. They were wild horsemen, governed by their khans. After seriously threatening Constantinople in 679, somewhat more than a century after the death of Justinian, the Bulgars forced the Eastern Roman Emperor to cede them a considerable portion of his realms. These invaders were not very numerous, any more than were the Franks, who had earlier conquered Gaul, or the Normans, who later won England.

The Bulgars organized the Slavic tribesmen into a powerful state and speedily adopted the language and customs of the conquered. In spite of the continued attacks of the Emperor's troops the new Bulgarian nation maintained itself under its tsars. Boris (who reigned 852–884) decided after much cogitation to accept that form of Christianity which prevailed in the Eastern Empire. Under its ruler Simeon (893–927), whose reign overlapped that of Alfred the Great, "Bulgaria assumed," as Gibbon puts it, "a rank among the civilized nations of the earth." This was at a time when England, France, Germany, and Italy were in their beginnings, racked with feudal anarchy. The Bulgarian tsar, finding himself at the head of the most powerful state of eastern Europe, took the exalted title of "Emperor and Autocrat of all the Bulgars and Greeks." His capital, Preslav, is reported (doubtless with much exaggeration) to have rivaled Constantinople in grandeur.

Forty years after Simeon's death new invaders, the Russians, appeared on the scene and ravaged the country, but were expelled with the help of the Eastern Roman Emperor. Incidentally the Emperor's troops got the better of the Bulgarian tsar, and Bulgaria lost its independence and became subject to Constantinople for a great part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Later it enjoyed another revival; and then, after long subjection to the Turks, it regained in the nineteenth century its place on the map of Europe as a small but vigorous nation.

THE MAGYARS AND HUNGARY

Meanwhile another state of eastern Europe, Hungary, was making its début. It had quite a different origin from that of Bulgaria. The Hungarians, or Magyars, as they call themselves, do not belong to the Indo-European peoples in the matter of language, but to the so-called Finno-Ugrians—a western branch of the vast and varied Ural-Altaic group of tongues with which both Turkish and Manchu are classed. When in the year 568 the German tribe of Lombards moved on into Italy, they left the region later to be called Hungary to be occupied by an Asiatic horde, the Avars. These, for two centuries and a half, harassed and despoiled their neighbors. Their depredations extended from the Black Sea to the Alps. The chief of the Avars occupied the old palace of Attila and emulated his ambitions. It was from the West, however, and not from the East that they received their coup de grâce. They were so completely defeated by Charlemagne between 791 and 796 that they disappeared from the map. The region that they had held was gradually permeated by Slavic immigrants.

A century after Charlemagne's defeat of the Avars, the Magyars had moved westward from the position they held in Justinian's time, south of the Ural Mountains. In 895 their wild horsemen hurled themselves amongst the Slavic settlers in the region that was later to become Hungary. They thrust themselves like a wedge between the Slavs to the north and those to the south, *and this situation still endures.* Moreover, the Magyar invaders continued to dislike the Slavic inhabitants under their rule and to oppress them to the time of the World War. For half a century the Magyars were a terrible menace both to the Eastern Roman Empire and to the newly established Western Roman Empire. They ravaged eastern Germany and even crossed the Rhine in their raids. One of the chief glories of the German king Otto the Great was the final defeat which he inflicted upon the Magyars in 955.

After their repulse the Hungarians gave up their roving ways, settled down, and began to accept civilized manners and customs as they learned them from their somewhat better-educated neighbors to the west. For, ignorant and disorderly as western Europe was in the tenth century, the Christian monasteries perpetuated some considerable vestiges of the ancient Roman learning, of which the Hungarian hosts had no least inkling. The first and ever-memorable great ruler of Hungary was Stephen I (997–1038), a saintly warrior, who bears some analogy to Saint Louis of France. The crown of Saint Stephen was long to be worn by the German Hapsburgs and finally, as a result of the World War, to become a mere reminder of a fallen dynasty. King Stephen encouraged the establishment of Western Christianity in his realms. Many foreigners flocked to his land of promise. Towns and monasteries sprang up, and the Benedictines brought such culture as they had to contribute. The Latin alphabet, not the Greek, was used when the Hungarians began to write; and so the face of Hungary was turned westward rather than eastward.

In spite of terrible raids by the unregenerate Petschenegs (1067) and by the Kumans a few years later, Hungary survived and revived. In our modern estimate of all these eastern European nations we must always consider all they have had to undergo. The modern problem of the great estates of the Hungarian landholders, to take a single example, is really a very ancient one. The Magyar nobles were from the first an overwhelming element in the Hungarian situation. The people at large, especially the Slavs, were essentially serfs, and continued to be serfs down to 1848. The Hungarian peasants paid most of the taxes; they had no fair influence in public matters. And thus far this injustice is by no means remedied, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the more liberal party in Hungary.

About the time that Bulgars were conquering the Slavs who had come down round the eastern end of the Carpathians into what was to become Bulgaria, other Slavic immigrants had come into the northwestern portion of the Balkan Peninsula—the Serbs and Croats. They remained for several centuries, however, practically under the rule of their more powerful neighbors—Hungary, Bulgaria, and even the Eastern Empire. It was this group of Slavs who were in our day to form the nucleus of Jugoslavia.

Beginnings of Russia

We may add in this connection a few paragraphs about the beginnings of Russia, although the matter was touched upon in introducing Peter the Great. The greatest of all Slavic empires, Russia, had its beginnings in the gradual expansion to the north and east of Slavic tribes inhabiting the eastern slopes of the Carpathians. Slowly they penetrated the forests of central Russia, made clearings, and founded homesteads, which grew into villages and later into towns. There was some commercial intercommunication between the Black Sea and the Baltic even before the Christian Era. The enterprising Northmen—Swedes in this case—were wont to form companies, something between bandits and merchants, and to make their way southward, especially down the Dnieper River, the great waterway of western Russia. Here they engaged in business and in soldiering, hiring themselves at times to the Eastern Roman Emperor as mercenaries. In this capacity they were called Varangians. It is from another of their names, "Rous" or "Rus," that Russia is supposed to get its name.

There is a tradition that one of these Swedish leaders, Rurik, and his brothers were invited in the year 862 to rule over the Slavs, and that in this way the Russian state definitely originated. There is little evidence for this particular story, as Russian development began two or three centuries earlier. But there can be no doubt that the Swedish leaders exercised a great influence in the history of towns and local principalities, and the early Russian rulers mentioned in the chronicles of this period have Swedish names rather than Slavic. The trading towns of Novgorod, not far from the modern St. Petersburg (now Petrograd or Leningrad), and Kiev grew in size and importance and became the centers of principalities. Kiev, lying halfway between Novgorod and Constantinople, had become important in Charlemagne's time. Its ruler was able to collect a fleet of two hundred vessels to attack Constantinople in 860. The Russians made successive raids on that city and often received tribute from the intimidated Eastern Emperor.

The first Russian ruler whose name need be mentioned here was Vladimir the Great (980–1015). He was still a pagan, although his grandmother, Olga, had accepted Christianity. He agreed to be baptized, and married Anne, the sister of the Eastern Emperor. The Varangians now composed the Emperor's bodyguard. This close connection with Constantinople determined the form of religion which was to prevail in Russia. It was to be the Eastern Orthodox Greek faith, accepting the Patriarch of Constantinople as the head of the Church, not the Pope at Rome.

Vladimir was also involved in a war with Boleslav the Mighty, the king of Poland, who was, in turn, engaged in a conflict with Bohemia.[1] A family alliance was concluded between Vladimir and Boleslav, but later the monarchs fell out over an interesting point. A Polish bishop tried to win over the Russians to the Western, or Latin, Church. This enraged Vladimir; he imprisoned his son, his Polish daughter-in-law, and the bishop who had sought to break the religious tie between the Russians and Constantinople. Boleslav then made an ineffectual attack on Vladimir, having hired German troops and a band of the fierce Asiatic Petschenegs, who had followed into southern Russia the trail of the Avars and Bulgarians. These facts are recalled in order to illustrate the complicated and highly unstable situation in eastern Europe. They are a distant forecast of the many complications and rivalries that have lasted down to the twentieth century.

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[1] The history of the northwestern groups of Slavic peoples is, down to the eleventh century, very obscure. A powerful Bohemian ruler, Vratislav, was recognized as king of Bohemia by Emperor Henry IV in 1088. Later the king of Bohemia was included among the electors who chose the head of the Holy Roman Empire. The dissensions between the Slavic (Czech) and German inhabitants of Bohemia, so bitter in the time of John Huss, continued to the World War. The history of Bohemia belongs to western Europe rather than to eastern, and is intimately associated with that of Germany and Austria.

Of the Poles little can be discovered before the reign of Boleslav the Mighty, who accepted the title of "King of Poland" from the German emperor Otto III in the year 1000. Like the Czechs, the Poles were converted to Western Christianity; Latin was the language of the learned, and the Roman alphabet was employed in writing the vernacular tongues. Lying between Germany and Russia, subject to attack from every side, eager to extend its dominion in every direction, and distracted with dynastic rivalries, Poland offers a more confusing spectacle to the historian than perhaps any other European state.

On the map of Europe about the year 1000 there are the clear beginnings of the eastern Europe of today. Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Russia had staked out claims, over which they have been contending ever since. The Greeks have never forgotten that the Eastern Empire was long called the Greek Empire. The region that was to become Rumania was at that period occupied by the Petschenegs.

Both Serbia and Bulgaria were important kingdoms in the time of the Crusades; for, after a period of subservience to the Greek emperor, Bulgaria had a second period of vitality which reached its height under Ivan Asen (1218–1241). Ivan ruled over much territory to the south and east of Bulgaria, as the term is now used. But meanwhile the Serbian territories had been organized into an extensive kingdom. Under Serbia's most famous ruler, Stephen Dushan (1331–1355), Bulgaria was included within the enlarged Serbian realms. Then came the Turks, overwhelming nearly the whole Balkan Peninsula. When Serbia and Bulgaria emerged in recent times from their centuries of servitude to the Turk, they did not forget how extensive their territories had once been, and accordingly embittered their fate and endangered the peace of Europe in the struggle to reëstablish ancient and transitory boundary lines.

SEPARATION OF THE LATIN AND GREEK CHURCHES

We now come to another very important distinction between eastern and western Europe, one which is not geographical or racial or political, but religious and cultural. Since the early Middle Ages the various nations which arose in Europe ranged themselves definitely either on the side of the Latin Church, with its center at old Rome, on the Tiber, or with the Greek Church, with its focus in new Rome, on the Bosporus. Multitudinous and far-reaching have been the results, both direct and indirect, of these different affiliations. The history of the Christian Church and of the general progress of culture are closely associated with one another. For a long time the clergy were the only teachers in western Europe, and the universities were for centuries essentially ecclesiastical institutions.

Those peoples who looked to Rome as their religious capital were inevitably brought into contact with the Latin language and the Roman literature, with which scholarly priests and monks were familiar and some knowledge of which they imparted to their pupils. Constantinople, lying far to the east, perpetuated the Greek speech, and the ancient Greek authors continued to be read and admired after they had been nearly forgotten in the Latin-speaking West. Moreover, its proximity to Asia set up in Constantinople standards of Oriental luxury unknown in the West. Consequently the peoples, including a great part of the rising Slavic states, which accepted the Patriarch of Constantinople as their head, were deeply influenced by a set of literary and artistic traditions different from those which emanated from Rome.

Just as the idea persisted for centuries, after the practical dissolution of the Roman Empire, that it really remained *one* commonwealth, or *res publica*, so the theory prevailed that all Christendom was properly *one*, no matter how the facts ran counter to this supposition. The Church held together far better than the Empire. The great Church congresses which are reckoned ecumenical, or universal, by the Latin Church, were from the time of Constantine until after Charlemagne's day held either in Constantinople or its neighborhood. It was not primarily the differences of religious opinion or of ceremonies that were finally to set off the Greek Orthodox Church from the Roman Catholic, but the rivalry of the Patriarch of Constantinople (and his supporters) and the Roman bishop.[1] The theory of the papal supremacy was based upon the assumption that the bishop of Rome was the successor to Peter, "the Prince of the Apostles." The Patriarch of Constantinople made no such sweeping claims, but he refused to acknowledge the universal headship of the Pope.

After centuries of discussion, vain negotiations, and compromises the final break came in 1054, when the Patriarch, Michael Cerularius, a hot-headed prelate, infuriated by the rebukes which the Pope ventured to heap upon him, publicly burned a papal bull in order to make clear his repudiation of the papal headship. Just at this date it happened that one of the greatest of all the Popes, Gregory VII, was beginning to influence the policy of the papacy and was putting into practice those unlimited claims of the papal autocracy which he later set forth in the famous *Dictatus*. So it finally came about that Christendom was divided into the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church, and never were they reunited.

[1] There was in the matter of dogma a disputed question as to whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father alone or, as the creeds in the West added, "and from the Son"—*Filioque*. During the eighth century there had been a bitter controversy over sacred images and the degree of reverence to be paid them. An Eastern emperor ordered the destruction of all religious representations (726), but many of his subjects were quite as horrified by his command as was the Latin Church. Before many decades the Greek Christians were permitted once more to resume a form of religious adoration particularly congenial to them, with their ancient habits of depicting the gods in human form. The icons are deemed magical in their workings by great masses of Russian peasants today. There were a few other issues, such as the use in the West of unleavened bread in celebrating the Mass, and the seemingly more important matter of the marriage of the clergy, prohibited in the West but permitted in the East.

The Latin Church did not brand the Greek Church as heretical (for the doctrinal differences did not seem to justify so terrible a term), but used the milder name "schismatic." The theological dispute, together with the rejection of the Pope's supremacy (acknowledged by all Western princes down to the Protestant revolt), aroused a hatred and suspicion between the West and the East which can be traced not only during the Crusades but in many failures to combine against common enemies, especially the Turks.

In the Eastern Empire the various Asiatic invaders as well as the Slavs were originally heathen, with quite primitive religious ideas which had nothing to do with the Gospel. The Slavic nations, with few exceptions, look back to two missionaries, the brothers Cyril and Methodius of Salonika, as their special apostles, who brought to them the Christian religion and laid the foundations of a higher Slavic civilization than that which had previously existed. As a matter of fact these apostles appear to have accomplished little as missionaries but much as linguists. Cyril, the younger brother, born about 827, first dreamed of inducing the Mohammedans to agree with the Christians in regard to the Trinity and then attempted to convert the Kasars, an Asiatic people who had built up a fairly substantial state to the north of the Black Sea. Then came a call to the Eastern Emperor from the ruler of Great Moravia,[1] Rostislav, to send him a missionary to convert his people to Christianity. Rostislav seems to have dreaded the German missionaries, who were active in his short-lived state, and to have preferred a Slavic apostle. Therefore in 862 Cyril, accompanied by Methodius, betook himself to Moravia; but, to make a long and obscure story short, the brothers failed to win Moravia or the neighboring Bohemia permanently away from the Roman Catholic Church and German influence.

Their great work consisted in devising a new alphabet suitable for writing the various Slavic tongues. This so-called

[1] A temporary Slavic dominion of the period.

Cyrillic alphabet is used by Russians, Serbians, and Bulgarians down to our own day and thus serves, with some variations, the purpose of well over a hundred million Europeans. The new letters were based in the main on the Greek, but differ so much from both the ancient Greek and Latin alphabets that they offer a serious initial obstacle in the way of a Westerner, used to the Roman letters, when he tries to learn Russian. The Cyrillic letters were first used in translating the Bible and the ritual into the particular Slavic tongue with which the brothers were familiar (that used in Bulgaria and Macedonia); but later the alphabet was adopted by the Russians for all writing, both religious and secular. Europe had previously relied on the Roman and Greek alphabets (with some use of the Arabic in Spain); now it had still another, which served to give the Slavs a certain sense of unity. But western Slavdom—Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Croatia—adopted the *Roman* letters, with certain diacritical signs to represent their peculiar vocal sounds.

Constantinople attacked by Christians and Mongols

To the momentous process of bringing eastern and western Europe together, strange and unexpected contributions were made during the thirteenth century. In the first place, the Crusaders from western Europe were not content, in the pursuit of their holy designs, to confine themselves to carving out kingdoms and principalities in the Holy Land. In the so-called Fourth Crusade an ill-assorted alliance of French nobles, Norman adventurers (who had subdued southern Italy), Genoese merchants, and, above all, wily Venetians, who always had an eye to the main chance, actually captured Constantinople in 1204. They divided up the eastern Balkan region into duchies and principalities, making Count Baldwin of Flanders "Latin Emperor" over such slight vestiges as remained of the Eastern Greek Empire. This situation did not century, relatively little more was learned of the interior of Asia down to the nineteenth century.

The problem of how far the intercourse with China hastened in Europe the introduction of paper, block printing, the compass, and gunpowder—with all of which the Chinese appear to have been familiar long before the Europeans—seems impossible to solve satisfactorily. We can only say that if we were better informed it might become apparent that the great innovations of the thirteenth century upon which our modern civilization is based were derived from China.

The Coming of the Ottoman Turks; End of the Eastern Roman Empire

The next great event in eastern Europe was the development of a new Turkish power, which conquered more deliberately than the Mongols, penetrated farther into Europe, lasted much longer, and is to this day an element in international entanglements. A Turk may be defined as one who (usually mistakenly) regards himself as a Turk, for the Turks are of many varieties and always heavily mixed with the peoples with whom they happen to have sojourned. They have no distinct physical characteristics. But grammarians flatter themselves that they can tell a Turkish language when they see it, and inform us that it has certain definite traits which distinguish it from the other members of the extensive Ural-Altaic group; for example, Finnish and Hungarian on the one hand, and Manchu and Mongol on the other.

The so-called Mongol hosts were largely Turkish, and a Turkish people had opened relations with Constantinople shortly after the death of Justinian; but for several centuries the temporary states they dominated were in central Asia. Before the opening of the Crusades the Seljuk Turks had established themselves in Syria, and it was their unsympathetic attitude toward the Christian pilgrims that suggested the attempts of the Western knights to recover the Holy Sepulcher. One of the important results of the Mongol invasions was to drive into central Asia Minor a hitherto unnoticed Asiatic tribe, the Ottoman Turks, so called after Othman, an early leader.

The Turks passed through a Mohammedanized region on their way to Europe and so became imbued with the congenial ideas of Islam before they were subject to Christian influences. Consequently, unlike the Hungarians, they were set off from Europe by their alien religion, to which they remain faithful.

By the year 1350, under their early able leaders, the Turks had constructed a small but solid little state just across the Bosporus from Constantinople. And during the following two centuries this little state was to expand westward far into Europe, and eastward and southward so that it finally included not only all Asia Minor but Syria and Egypt as well. In 1356 the Ottoman Turks got their first foothold in Europe by crossing the Dardanelles and capturing Gallipoli. It will be remembered that at this period Serbia had become an enterprising nation under Stephen Dushan, who had just died. So what remained of the shattered Eastern Empire, including Constantinople, was now between two enemies: one advancing from the west, the other from the east; the one Slavic and Christian, the other Turkish and Mohammedan. Slowly but surely the Turks prevailed.

Their conquest of the Balkan Peninsula proceeded steadily under a succession of remarkable rulers, each of whom proved able to cope with the intricate problems of extending the Turkish power both east and west at the same time and with no considerable setbacks. There is hardly another example of such prolonged and consistent conquest, with the exception of the ancient Roman Republic. Only a few episodes in the victorious progress of the Turkish armies need be recalled here. Under Murad I (1359–1389) the Turkish dominions were more than doubled by additions both to the east and to the west.

Adrianople became for a time the European capital of the Turks, and they still continued to hold it after the World War. Serbians and Hungarians, joined by the two peoples who were later to be fused into modern Rumania—the Wallachians and Moldavians—vainly combined to drive back the Turk. In 1389 the allies were decisively defeated in the famous battle of Kosovo, and Serbia was forced to pay the regular tribute to the Sultan as a sign of subjection.

The Turkish rulers had their eye ever on Constantinople; but it was not until they had control of practically the whole Balkan Peninsula that they finally succeeded, in 1453, in taking the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. In this enterprise they were greatly aided by artillery, which was as yet little used in the West. A sort of "Big Bertha," which shot forth stone projectiles weighing twelve hundred pounds, enabled the Turkish besiegers to batter down the ancient walls. The reigning Sultan, Mohammed II (1451–1481), after permitting his troops to sack the city (as was the custom of the time), showed himself very tolerant toward the inhabitants. He accorded them a fair degree of freedom and permitted the Patriarch of Constantinople to continue his functions as head of the Eastern Church.

Mohammed successfully prosecuted his conquests to the west and made Serbia, Bosnia, and Albania integral parts of his domains. His successor extended his incursions into Poland and as far west as the Austrian Republic of our time. Then came Selim I (1512–1520), who, during the youthful days of Emperor Charles V, effected a wide extension of the Turkish dominions toward the east. He won Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Having thus conquered the chief Mohammedan countries, he assumed the title of "Caliph" and became the religious head of Islam. The title of "Caliph" was retained by the Turkish Sultans until after the World War, when the ancient caliphate was abolished by the newly established Turkish Republic.

Suleiman the Magnificent

While the Christian monarchs Francis I and Charles V were fighting one another and, later, the Council of Trent was endeavoring to adjust the dissensions aroused by Luther and the Protestants, the Turks were ruled by Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566). King Solomon, after whom Suleiman was named, was a hero whom Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians had in common. Under the wise guidance of this Turkish Solomon the Ottoman Empire reached the zenith of its power.

Suleiman startled the more thoughtful statesmen of western Europe by capturing an old stronghold of the Christians in the eastern Mediterranean—the island of Rhodes. He drove out the order of crusading knights which had long defended their post against the Mohammedans, and he thereby strengthened the Turkish sea power. Belgrade and other important fortresses which impeded the advance of the Turks into Hungary were also taken. Suleiman was not only the secular head of the chief Mohammedan power but also the religious head. He proposed to carry out his religious obligation to conquer unbelievers, and then either convert them or subject them to a regular tribute to be paid into the Ottoman treasury. The next item on his program was the conquest of Hungary.

The Western monarchs were very slow to realize the impending danger. Feeble efforts had long been made to combine against the common enemy. When the emperor Sigismund (who was also king of Hungary) encouraged the assembling of the Council of Constance in 1414, he had in mind not only the settling of a contention among rival Popes but also the organizing of a great alliance of the western-European monarchs to beat back the Mohammedans. This part of the program came to naught. A hundred years after, in the year Luther posted his theses, Pope Leo X proclaimed a suspension of the chronic Christian warfare for five years in order that a general attack might be made on the "infidel." Francis I offered the bright suggestion that France, Spain, and Germany combine to drive out the Mohammedans, and then the Turkish realms be divided among the Western powers. But Francis speedily fell into the hands of Charles V and was imprisoned. This suggested a new idea to him; namely, that the Sultan should come to his aid, and that they should combine to make head against the inordinate growth of the Hapsburg power. These are examples of the futile talk in western Europe about the urgent duty of expelling the Turks. Venice and Genoa, the two commercial republics of Italy, were well versed in the practical politics of the East. They found it to their business interest to make various amiable and practical compromises with the Sultan. Hence it looked as if the responsibility for defending Hungary would fall on herself.

In the year 1526 Suleiman's forces advanced across the Danube and defeated the Hungarians in the memorable battle of Mohács, where their king, Louis II, was killed. This put Ferdinand of Hapsburg, brother of Charles V, in a position to lay claim to Hungary. He had married the sister of Louis and declared himself his heir and successor. This claim was later maintained by the Hapsburgs, and Hungary eventually became associated with Austria down to the World War. Meanwhile Hungary fell largely under Turkish control.

Three years after Mohács, Suleiman took Buda and besieged Vienna itself, but decided to retire before the city could be taken. In 1541 the Sultan again invaded Hungary with a vast army, and the outcome of the Turkish occupation was the partition of Hungary into three parts. A strip to the west was ceded to Ferdinand of Hapsburg on condition that he should pay a heavy annual tribute to the Turkish government. Central Hungary was directly under Turkish rule, and Transylvania was turned over to a prince who owed fealty to the Sultan. This situation persisted, with various modifications, for a century and a half.

In the early part of Louis XIV's reign a bitter conflict with the Turks was carried on in Hungary and Austria. Vienna was besieged by the Mohammedans in 1683, but the city was relieved by the Polish king, John Sobieski. After their long, steady expansion and incredible successes the Ottoman rulers seemed to have lost their pristine energy. From this time the Turkish power declined. By the end of the seventeenth century (Peace of Karlowitz, 1699) the Sultan's troops had been forced out of Hungary, and the land had become a recognized portion of the German Hapsburgs' dominions.

This brief review of the origin and development of the Ottoman state is designed to explain in a measure the way in which the so-called "Eastern question" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries took form. For nearly four hundred years the expansion of the Ottoman power dominated the history of southeastern Europe. When the period of decline came, after 1700, the disintegration of Turkey and the inevitable struggle over its former possessions involved the western European powers as well as the eastern in deadly rivalries and wars. The decline of Turkey proved quite as fatal to European peace as was its advance.

We can now trace the history of Russia and of the Balkan States during the nineteenth century, having recalled the striking differences between their previous history and that of the western European states.

The Reigns of Alexander I (1801–1825) and Nicholas I (1825–1855)

During the past hundred years Russia has been coming into ever closer relations with western Europe. Though still a backward country in many ways, she has been busily engaged for fifty years in modernizing herself—indeed, of late, attempting changes which have terrified the Western peoples. The tremendous revolution in which she was engaged after 1917 attracted the attention of the civilized world. The works of some of her writers are widely read in foreign lands, especially those of Turgenev and of Leo Tolstoy. The music of Rubinstein and Tschaikowsky became as highly esteemed in London or New York as in St. Petersburg or Moscow. Even in the field of science such names as that of Mendelyeev the chemist, of Metchnikoff the biologist, of Pavlov the psychologist, are well known to scientific investigators in Germany, France, England, and America. It becomes, therefore, a matter of vital interest to follow the changes which were turning the tide of modern civilization into eastern Europe.

When, in 1815, Tsar Alexander I returned to St. Petersburg after the close of the Congress of Vienna, he could view his position and recent achievements with pride. Napoleon's attack upon him three years earlier had come to naught, and the French emperor's mighty army had melted away during its journey to Moscow and its subsequent hasty and tragic retreat. Alexander had participated in Napoleon's overthrow, had assisted in restoring to France her old line of kings, and had succeeded in uniting the rulers of western Europe in that Holy Alliance which he had so much at heart. What was still more to the point, he had induced them to ratify his seizure of Finland and to permit him to add the kingdom of Poland to his possessions.

But his chief interests lay, of course, in his own vast empire. He was the undisputed and autocratic ruler of more than half the whole continent of Europe, not to speak of the almost interminable reaches of northern Asia which lay beneath his scepter. Something has already been said of the way in which the Russian monarchy originated (pages 110 ff.). In the time of Ivan the Terrible (d. 1584) a large part of the lands of the princes of Moscow lay so far to the north as to be practically uninhabitable. The fertile steppes to the south, which a thousand years earlier had furnished grain for the Roman Empire, had long been, and still were, overrun by various Tartar hordes, who pastured their flocks upon the wide prairies and led a wild, unsettled life. Their conquest was begun in earnest by Ivan. His troops descended the Volga in boats, and after a difficult siege he took Kasan, the seat of the ruler of the whole region. Two years later he conquered the khan of Astrakhan and thus brought the boundary of Russia to the shores of the Caspian Sea. In this way he almost doubled the extent of his empire and justified the new title of "Tsar," which he had assumed upon his coronation. The Tartar horde of the Crimea still occupied, however, the shores of the Black Sea, and the Tartars continued to make incursions into Russian territory until, two hundred years later, they yielded to Catherine the Great. Still, in spite of the dangers from these roving bands, settlers from Great Russia gradually colonized the southern districts, plowing up the prairies and making clearings in the forests, somewhat as the frontiersmen advanced across the United States.

There was no reason, however, why Ivan the Terrible should confine his ambitions to Europe. Geographically Russia is but the western portion of a vast plain reaching from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. The Ural Mountains, which are regarded as the boundary between Europe and Asia, are, after all, a rather insignificant range as compared with the Alps or the Pyrenees, and there is, moreover, a wide gap between their southern end and the Caspian Sea. Before the death of Ivan the conquest of Siberia (whose ruler had his capital at Sibir on the Irtysh River) was begun. The Russians founded Tobolsk in 1587 and soon had all western Siberia under their control. Fur-traders, runaway serfs, and a variety of adventurous Russians pressed into the new country; Tomsk, near the Chinese boundary, was founded in 1604, shortly before England established her first successful colony in North America; and a generation later (1638) the Russians could look out over the Pacific from their new town of Okhotsk, four thousand miles east of Moscow.

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the expansion of European and Asiatic Russia. It will be remembered that Peter the Great won the Baltic provinces, and so provided Russia with a better seaport than she had previously possessed. Catherine the Great gained Lithuania in the partition of Poland; she also conquered the north shore of the Black Sea and a great district beyond the Ural River. Alexander himself added Finland and the grand duchy of Warsaw. In short, the Russian Empire under Alexander I embraced all that it included to the time of the World War, except portions of the Caucasus and a region lying beyond the Caspian Sea in central Asia, which were acquired by his successors. Although the Tsar ruled over one seventh of all the dry land upon our globe, Russia's desire for territory seemed never to be satisfied (see Volume II).

It is clear that the rapid extension of Russian rule over so vast an area could not fail to bring within the empire an astonishing variety of peoples, differing in customs, language, and religion—Finns, Germans, Poles, Jews, Tartars, Armenians, Georgians, and Mongols.[1] The Russians themselves, it is true, colonized the southern plains of European Russia and spread even into Siberia. They made up over three fifths of the whole population of the Tsar's empire, and their language was everywhere taught in the schools and used by the officials.

The people of the grand duchy of Finland, speaking Swedish and Finnish, constantly protested against their incorporation into Russia; and the Poles, who recalled the time when their kingdom far outshone the petty duchy of Moscow among the European powers, twice rose in rebellion against the Tsar in the vain hope of making good their claim that the kingdom of Poland should form an independent nation, with its own language and constitution.

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[1] The Cossacks, or light cavalry, who constituted so conspicuous a feature of the Russian army, were originally lawless rovers on the southern and eastern frontiers, composed mainly of adventurous Russians with some admixture of other peoples. Certain districts were assigned to them by the government on the lower Don, near the Black Sea, in the Urals, and elsewhere, in return for military service.

In the time of Alexander I the Russians had not begun to flock to the cities, which were small and ill constructed as compared with those of western Europe. The great mass of the population still lived in the country, and more than half of them were serfs, as ignorant and wretched as those of France or England in the twelfth century. The problem of improving the condition of the peasant was one of the most serious that the Russian government had to face; nor is it by any means solved under the Bolshevik government, since millions of people in the country districts still live on the very verge of starvation, and a failure of the crops causes the death of hundreds of thousands.

Alexander I had inherited, as "Autocrat of all the Russias," a despotic power over his subjects as absolute as that to which Louis XIV laid claim. He could make war and conclude peace at will, freely appoint or dismiss his ministers, order the arrest, imprisonment, exile, or execution of anyone he chose, without consulting or giving an account to any living being. Even the Russian national church was under his control; for Peter the Great had replaced the Patriarch by a small body of officials known as the Holy Directing Synod, at the head of which was the Procurator of the Holy Synod, the Tsar's special representative. There was no thought of any responsibility to the people, and the fearful tyranny which the Tsar's officials were able to exercise will become apparent as we proceed.

Alexander himself, in his earlier years, was an enthusiastic believer in freedom and constitutional government. In his youth his tutor, a Swiss liberal by the name of La Harpe, had introduced him to the writings of the reformers in western Europe, so that the young Tsar had a clear idea of all that the French Revolution meant, and earnestly desired to play the part of a liberal and enlightened monarch. He began by revoking the decrees of the previous reign, which had forbidden Russians to travel abroad and had prohibited the importation of books, lest they might introduce Jacobin ideas. In 1802 he created a ministry on the Western model, which enabled him to conduct the government more efficiently than hitherto and to fix the responsibility for acts done in his name. He then took up the question of giving Russia a constitution and even considered the abolition of serfdom; but both these reforms encountered difficulties which might well have discouraged a more persistent person than Alexander, and his plans were never carried out. Three new universities were established, at St. Petersburg, Kharkov, and Kasan, and the government extended aid to scholars and men of letters, and forwarded the translation into Russian of the works of Montesquieu and Adam Smith.

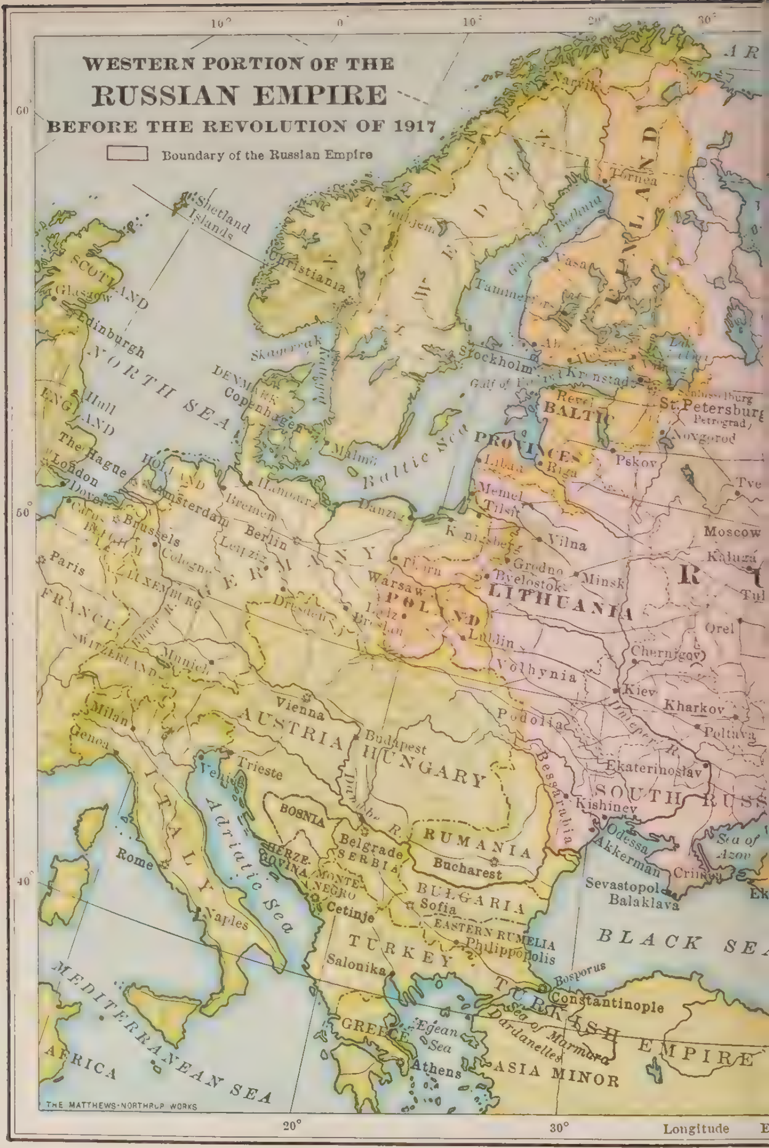
The hopes of the small progressive party which was growing up in Russia under these favoring circumstances were destined, however, to be short-lived. After his return from the Congress of Vienna, Alexander began to dismiss his liberal advisers. He became as apprehensive of revolution as his friend Metternich, and threw himself into the arms of the "Old Russian" party, which was proud of Russia as she was and obstinately opposed the introduction of all Western ideas. The Tsar was soon denouncing liberalism as a frightful illusion which threatened the whole social order. He lent his aid and encouragement to Metternich in suppressing the revolutionary tendencies in Germany, Spain, and Italy; and in his own empire he permitted his officials to do all they could to stamp out the ideas which he had himself formerly done so much to encourage. The censorship of the press put an end to the liberal periodicals which had sprung up. Professors in the universities began to be dismissed for teaching modern science, and at the University of Kasan it was proposed to make the instruction conform strictly with the supposed teachings of the Bible. The professors were to say no more of the discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton, or the ideas suggested by the great French naturalist Buffon. The medical school was ordered to give up all dissection as insulting to the dead, and the anatomical specimens in the museums were decently buried. In 1823 all Russian students were forbidden to attend German universities.

The attraction of the new ideas was, however, so strong that the Tsar could not prevent his more enlightened subjects from following eagerly the course of the revolutionary movements in western Europe and reading the new books dealing with scientific discoveries and questions of political and social reform, which continued to be published in spite of Metternich's precautions. Many Russian army officers sojourning in France had had opportunities to observe the advantageous effects of liberty. On returning to their own country they were deeply impressed by its general backwardness, the tyranny of its government, the misery of the serfs, and the opposition to progress. They began to organize secret societies for the purpose of hastening reform. Some of the revolutionists went so far as to recommend the complete abolition of monarchical government and the establishment of a republic, but the majority of liberals would have been entirely satisfied with less sweeping changes.

Alexander I died suddenly on December 1, 1825. His brother Constantine, who was his legal and natural successor, had secretly resigned his claims to the throne in favor of his younger brother Nicholas. But even Nicholas himself was unaware of this, so that for some days no one knew who was the rightful Tsar. The revolutionary societies seized this opportunity to organize a revolt known as the "December conspiracy." The leaders of the plot attempted to induce the army to refuse the customary oath of allegiance to Nicholas when he was proclaimed Tsar. They hoped to bring about various reforms, juster laws, the emancipation of the serfs, a constitutional government,—some of them even advocated the establishment of a republic. But the movement was badly organized, and a few charges of grapeshot brought the insurgents to terms. Nicholas forgave the great mass of those implicated, but hundreds of the "Decembrists," among them scions of the most distinguished families of Russia, were exiled to Siberia, and five of the most conspicuous leaders were sentenced to be hanged. They met their fate bravely. One of them acknowledged sadly that they had tried to reap the harvest of liberty before the seed had been sown. But he and his fellow revolutionists had succeeded in sowing the seed, and thousands afterwards showed themselves ready to meet exile or death for the same cause of freedom.

Nicholas I never forgot the rebellion which inaugurated his reign, and he proved one of the most despotic of all the long list of autocratic rulers. His arbitrary measures speedily produced a revolt in Poland (1830–1831). The constitution that Alexander I, in his liberal days, had granted the kingdom was violated. Russian troops were stationed there in great numbers, Russian officials forced their way into the government offices, and the petitions of the Polish diet were contemptuously ignored by the Tsar. Secret societies then began to promote a movement for the reëstablishment of the ancient Polish republic which Catherine II and her fellow monarchs had destroyed. When the news of the July revolution in France reached Warsaw, crowds in the streets cheered the downfall of the Bourbons as the white flag was lowered over the French consulate. In November an uprising occurred in Warsaw; the insurgents secured control of the city, drove out the grand duke Constantine and the Russian officials, organized a provisional government, and appealed to the European powers for aid. Finding the Tsar inflexible in his refusal to grant them any concessions, the leaders of the insurrection proclaimed the independence of Poland, January 25, 1831.

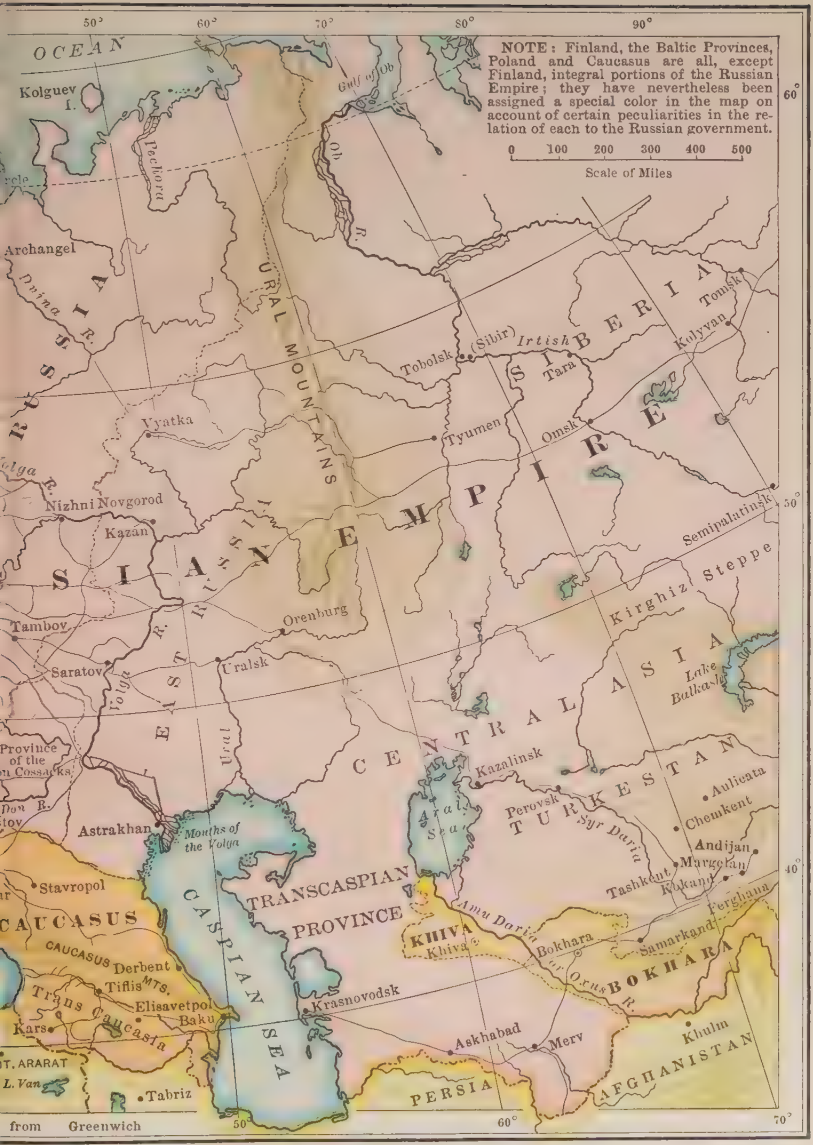
Europe, however, made no response to Poland's appeal for assistance. The Tsar's armies were soon able to crush the rebellion; and when Poland lay prostrate at his feet, Nicholas gave no quarter. He revoked the constitution, abolished the diet, suppressed the national flag, and transferred forty-five



WESTERN PORTION OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF 1917

Boundary of the Russian Empire

THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS



NOTE: Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland and Caucasus are all, except Finland, integral portions of the Russian Empire; they have nevertheless been assigned a special color in the map on account of certain peculiarities in the relation of each to the Russian government.

thousand Polish families to the valley of the Don and the mountains of the Caucasus. To all intents and purposes Poland was henceforth merely a Russian province, governed, like the rest of the empire, from St. Petersburg.[1]

Nicholas I was sincerely convinced that Russia could be saved from the "decay" of religion and government, which he believed to be taking place in western Europe, only by maintaining autocracy; for this alone was strong enough to make head against the destructive ideas that some of his subjects in their blindness mistook for enlightenment. The Russian Greek Church and all its beliefs must be defended, and the Russian nation preserved as a separate and superior people who should maintain forever the noble beliefs and institutions of the past. Certainly a great many of his advisers were well content with the system, and his army of officials were as loath to recommend reform as any band of corrupt politicians in the world.

Accordingly, in the name of Russian nationality, the Tsar adopted every measure to check the growth of liberalism.[2] He limited to three hundred the number of students who might attend any one of the universities. Russian scholars were not permitted to go abroad without special permission from the government. The officials bestirred themselves to prevent in every way the ingress into Russia of Western ideas. Books on religion and science were carefully examined by the police or the clergy; foreign works containing references to politics were either confiscated or the objectional pages were blotted out by the censors. When a Moscow magazine published an article declaring that nine hundred years of Russia's existence were a blank in the history of the human mind and a warning to the rest of Europe, and that so long as she clung to the ideas of the orthodox Greek Church she could never hope to advance, the magazine was suppressed, its publisher exiled, and the clear-headed author officially declared insane and put in charge of a physician. Travelers to and from Russia were subjected to close scrutiny, and their baggage was carefully examined for indications of revolutionary plots. The government officials did not hesitate freely to open private letters committed to the post, even when there was no reason to suspect their writers. It may be said that, except for a few short intervals of freedom, this whole system was continued by the successors of Nicholas and, in a widely different spirit, by the Bolshevists.

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[1] Thirty years later, in 1863, the Poles made another desperate attempt to free themselves from the yoke of Russia, but without success. Napoleon III refused to assist them, and Bismarck did not hesitate to use his influence in the interest of the Tsar.

[2] For example, Nicholas introduced into the schools a catechism which recalls that used by Emperor Napoleon I: "*Question.* What does religion teach us as to our duties to the Tsar? *Answer.* Worship, fidelity, the payment of taxes, service, love, and prayer—the whole being comprised in the words 'worship' and 'fidelity.'"

To maintain this despotic system Nicholas I reorganized a secret department of police which had originated in the time of Peter the Great as a special instrument for suppressing opposition to the Tsar. This "Third Section of His Majesty's Chancery," as it was called, working in conjunction with the ordinary police, with tireless vigilance spied out and arrested even the most harmless advocates of liberal reforms. "In every province, in every town, aye, even in every railway station, there are gendarmes who report directly to the local general or colonel; he, in his turn, is in communication with the chief of the imperial police, who is received in frequent audience by the Tsar and reports to him everything he thinks advisable. All the officials of the empire are under the surveillance of the imperial police, and it is the duty of the generals and colonels to keep a vigilant eye on every subject of the Tsar, even on provincial governors, ministers, and grand dukes."[1] So cruel were the methods used by the police to extort confessions that political offenders often regarded exile to the mines of Siberia as a form of deliverance.

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[1] Prince Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, p. 336.

The Freeing of the Serfs

In 1854 the efforts of Russia to increase her influence in Turkey led to a war with France and England. The Russians were defeated, and their strong fortress of Sevastopol, in the Crimea, was captured by the allies.[1] The disasters of the war, and the exposure which they brought about of the inefficiency and corruption of the government officials, filled every Russian patriot with the deepest chagrin. It was clear that Russia was a backward country which must be thoroughly reformed if it was to hold its own among the nations of Europe.

Nicholas I died (1855) in the midst of the reverses of the Crimean War, leaving to his son, Alexander II, the responsibility of coming to terms with the enemy, and then, if possible, strengthening Russia by reducing the flagrant political corruption and bribery and improving the lot of the people at large. He did not succeed, however, in curing the greed and cruelty of his officials, nor were his successors more fortunate in this respect than he. His sincere efforts to better the condition of the peasants likewise failed in the main. This was due to the influence of the members of the official class, who were commonly landowners and who used their influence with the Tsar to dissuade him from doing anything for the peasants which would in any way serve to reduce the income of the landlords.

Nearly one half of the Tsar's subjects were serfs whose bondage and wretched lives seemed to present an insurmountable barrier to general progress and prosperity. The landlord commonly reserved a portion of his estate for himself and turned over to his serfs barely enough to enable them to keep body and soul together. They usually spent three days in the week cultivating their lord's fields. He was their judge as well as their master and could flog them at will. The serf was viewed as scarcely more than a beast of burden, and even the kindest landlord thought of him as a mere slave.

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[1] For the Crimean War see pages 606 f.

In his charming *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* Prince Kropotkin, who had abundant opportunity in his earlier days to see how the peasants were treated, gives the following illustration of the attitude of the landlord. One landowner remarked to another: "Why is it that the number of souls on your estate increases so slowly? You probably do not look after their marriages." Thereupon the other went home and ordered a list of all the inhabitants of his village to be brought to him. "He picked out from it the names of the boys who had attained the age of eighteen and the girls just past sixteen,—those are the legal ages for marriage in Russia. Then he wrote, 'John to marry Anna, Paul to marry Parashka,' and so on with five couples. 'The five weddings,' he added, 'must take place in ten days, next Sunday but one.'

"A general cry of despair rose from the village. Women, young and old, wept in every house. Anna had hoped to marry Gregory; Paul's parents had already had a talk with the Fedótoffs about their girl, who would soon be of age. Moreover, it was the season for plowing, not for weddings; and what wedding could be prepared in ten days? Dozens of peasants came to see the landowner; peasant women stood in groups at the back entrance of the estate with pieces of fine linen for the landowner's spouse, to secure her intervention. All in vain. The master had said that the weddings should take place at such a date, and so it must be."

From time to time the serfs, infuriated by the hard conditions imposed upon them, revolted against their lords. During the reign of Catherine the Great a general uprising had taken place which grew to the proportions of a civil war and was put down only with terrible bloodshed and cruelty. Under Nicholas I over five hundred riots had occurred, and these seemed to increase rather than decrease, notwithstanding the vigilance of the police and the severity of the government.

Alexander II, fearful lest the peasants should again attempt to win their liberty by force, decided that the government must undertake the difficult task of freeing forty millions of his subjects from serfdom. After much discussion he issued an emancipation proclamation, March 3, 1861,[1] on the eve of the great Civil War which was to put an end to negro slavery in the United States. In his anxiety to prevent any loss to the landowners, the ruling class in Russia, the Tsar did his work in a very half-hearted manner. It is true, the government deprived the former lord of his right to force the peasants to work for him and pay the old dues; he could no longer flog them or command them to marry. But the peasants still remained bound to the land, for they were not permitted to leave their villages without a government pass. The landlords surrendered a portion of their estates to the peasants; but this did not become the property of individual owners,—it was vested in the *village community* (*mir*, in Russian) as a whole. The land assigned to each village was to be periodically redistributed among the various families of the community, so that, aside from his hut and garden, no peasant could lay claim permanently to any particular plot of land as his own.[2]

The government dealt very generously with the landlords, as might have been anticipated. It not only agreed that the peasants should be required to pay for such land as their former masters turned over to them, but commonly fixed the price at an amount far greater than the real value of the land. The government then arranged to advance the money to the landlords and to collect the amount due from the peasants in the form of an excessively high land tax. No peasant should be given a pass to leave his village if his taxes were in arrears, and the officers could flog him without mercy if he refused to meet the often intolerable burdens imposed upon him.

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[1] According to the Russian calendar the date is February 19; for Russia had not followed the example of the Western nations and rectified her mode of indicating dates by adopting the Gregorian calendar.

[2] These village communities had long existed in Russia, since the lords had usually found it convenient to have the village redistribute the land from time to time among the serfs as the number of inhabitants changed.

His new freedom seemed to the peasant little better than that enjoyed by a convict condemned to hard labor in the penitentiary. Indeed, he sometimes refused to be "freed" when he learned of the hard bargain which the government proposed to drive with him. While the readjustments were taking place there were hundreds of riots, which were sternly suppressed by the government. The peasant was still not at liberty to sell his land nor to leave the village without permission. He was relieved from the constant supervision of a tyrannical landlord, but he found himself under the still more formidable eye of the Tsar's tax collectors. He became, in short, "the serf of the state." He was, moreover, forced by the government to pay for his land far more than it was worth. (Kropotkin tells us that his father's estate was appraised at more than three times its market value.) The result was that the government tax amounted usually to all that the community could earn by cultivating its lands, and very often to much more,—two, three, even six times the value of the whole produce. Moreover, the landlords did not always deem it to their advantage to sell much land to the peasants, and consequently the peasant communities had, after the emancipation of the serfs, a fifth less land than had previously been assigned them by their former masters. The only resource of the peasant was to supplement his income by day labor or by renting additional land from neighboring landlords at exorbitant rates.

Naturally, if the people in a given community increased, the size of the individual allotments inevitably decreased and with them the chances of earning a livelihood. Less than fifty years after the "freeing" of the serfs, the peasant had, on the average, scarcely half as much land as that originally assigned to him. Although he lived constantly on the verge of starvation, he fell far behind in the payment of his taxes, so that in 1904 the Tsar, in a moment of forced generosity, canceled the arrears, which in any case could never have been paid.

Revolutionary Tendencies under Alexander II
(1855–1881)

While busied with the emancipation of the serfs, Alexander II was also preparing important reforms in the local governments, which were announced in 1864. Throughout a large portion of the empire, district assemblies, called *zemstvos*, were created, consisting of representatives chosen by the landowners and the peasants of the district. These, in turn, sent representatives to a provincial zemstvo. The zemstvos were allowed to manage certain local affairs, such as roads, primary schools, hospitals, and sanitary matters. Although they were carefully watched by the central government, they gave the people some little share in the conduct of public affairs and served to rouse the hope that the Tsar would soon establish a national assembly. But when he was petitioned to do so, he replied tartly, "The right of initiative in all matters of reform is indissolubly associated with the autocratic power intrusted to me by God." The Polish revolution and an attempt on his life in 1866 served to strengthen his determination to make no further concessions to liberal ideas, and the police again set to work with such vigor that the very mention of reform became dangerous.

Under this despotic régime there developed among the more cultivated classes a spirit of opposition, known as *nihilism*.[1] This was not in its origin a frantic terrorism, as commonly supposed, but an intellectual and moral revolt against despotism in the State, bigotry in the Church, and all unreasonable traditions and unfounded prejudices. Absolute sincerity, Kropotkin assures us, was the basis of nihilism. "In the name of that sincerity the nihilist gave up, and asked others to give up, those superstitions, prejudices, habits, and customs which his own good sense could not justify. He refused to bend before any authority except that of reason." In short, the nihilist would have agreed with Voltaire, Diderot, and the Encyclopedists in exalting reason as man's sole guide in this mysterious world.

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[1] The term "nihilist" was first introduced in Russia by Turgenev, in his novel *Fathers and Children*. It was applied to the chief character on account of his denial of the authority of all tradition.

Among the younger people of the educated and well-to-do classes many had become dissatisfied with the narrow, selfish life they were expected to lead, and longed to do something for humanity. Sons and daughters of wealthy parents abandoned their homes, put on the garb of artisans or peasants, and went among the working people with a view to spreading higher ideals among them and helping them to improve their condition. Clubs for the study of history and political economy were established, and the theories of constitutional and republican government, even of French and German socialism, became familiar to Russians.

The government officials regarded the reformers with the utmost suspicion and began to arrest the more active among them. Prisons were soon crowded, and hundreds were banished to Siberia. The Tsar and his police seemed to be the avowed enemies of all progress, and anyone who advanced a new idea was punished as if he had committed a murder. The peaceful preparation of the people for representative government could not go on so long as the "Third Section" was arresting men for forming debating clubs. It seemed to the more ardent reformers that there was no course open to them but to declare war on the government as a body of cruel, corrupt tyrants who sought to keep Russia forever in darkness merely in order that they might continue to fill their own pockets by grinding down the people. They argued that the wicked acts of the officials must be exposed, the government intimidated, and the eyes of the world opened to the horrors of the situation by conspicuous acts of violent retribution. So some of the reformers became *terrorists*, not because they were depraved men and women or loved bloodshed, but because they were convinced that there was no other way to save their beloved land from the fearful oppression under which it had groaned for so many centuries.

In July, 1877, General Trepoff, the chief of the St. Petersburg police, was walking through a prison where a number of men and women were confined for having taken part in a political parade in Kasan. One young man refused to bow to the general, who thereupon struck him in the face. Upon his attempting to defend himself, Trepoff ordered the prisoner to be brutally beaten in view of the other political prisoners, who could see what went on from the windows of their cells. His companions showed their indignation by loudly cursing Trepoff and breaking up the furniture in their cells. The head of the police took his revenge by ordering the wholesale flogging of the prisoners, both men and women, who were beaten into insensibility, and some of them permanently injured. The matter became known beyond the prison walls and was investigated by an official, who reported that the prison authorities had been guilty of criminal brutality; but Trepoff quietly suppressed the report, and nothing was done.

On January 28, 1878, a young woman by the name of Vera Zassulitch called on General Trepoff and fired a revolver at him. She explained that although she did not know the young man whom he had ordered to be flogged, she hoped to awaken the public conscience by killing the general. She had herself been arrested twelve years before, when a schoolgirl, for taking charge of some letters addressed to a man whom the police suspected. She had been thrown into prison and kept in solitary confinement for two years. Then, since nothing could be found against her, she was released, but immediately rearrested and imprisoned. Later she was exiled to a little town where, however, she was not permitted by the police to remain long; for ten years she was driven from place to place, although no one knew of what she was accused. These facts were all brought out at her trial for attempting to kill Trepoff. This aroused widespread interest; and, although she pleaded guilty, the jury acquitted her.[1] The attempt of the police to rearrest her was frustrated by the intervention of the spectators, and she escaped.

General Trepoff was soon dismissed, on the ground, it is reported, that he had succeeded in accumulating a million and a half dollars by corruption; but the extermination of real or suspected revolutionists continued. In 1879 sixteen were hanged and scores sent to the dungeons of St. Petersburg or the mines of Siberia. The terrorists, on their part, retaliated by attacks on the Tsar and his government. A student tried to kill the Tsar as the head and representative of the whole tyrannical system. Other students experimented with explosives, with the result that the bomb became the chosen instrument of terrorism. Attempts were made to blow up a special train on which the Tsar was traveling, and, in another effort to kill him, the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg was wrecked by a revolutionist disguised as a carpenter.

In short, the efforts of the Tsar's officials to check the revolutionists proved vain, and Melikoff, to whom the Tsar had given almost dictatorial powers to suppress the agitation, finally saw that the government must make some concessions in order to pacify its enemies; so he advised Alexander II to grant a species of constitution in which he should agree to convoke an assembly elected by the people, and thereafter ask its opinion and counsel before making new and important laws. This would not, it was urged, materially reduce his autocratic powers, and he finally consented to make the experiment. But it was too late. On the afternoon that he gave his assent to the plan he was assassinated as he was driving to his palace (March, 1881).

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[1] Alexander II had, among his reforms, introduced the jury system; but "political" cases, where there were often no proofs but only suspicions, were usually tried by the government officials or special courts. The case of Vera Zassulitch created so much general sympathy that the government felt that it could not resort to a private trial, and so relied upon a jury which had been carefully selected with the expectation that it would condemn the woman.

While the body of the murdered Tsar was still lying in state, the executive committee of the revolutionists issued a warning to his son and successor, Alexander III, threatening him with the evils to come if he did not yield to their demand for representative government, freedom of speech and of the press, and the right to meet together for the discussion of political questions. The new Tsar was not, however, moved by the appeal, and the police redoubled their activity. The plans of Melikoff were repudiated, and the autocracy settled back into its usual despotic habits. The liberal-minded Russians had, moreover, been terribly shocked by the murder of a ruler who, in spite of his faults, had freed the serfs, reformed the government in various ways, and even proposed to summon a national assembly.

The terrorists realized that, for the time being, they had nothing to gain by further acts of violence, which would only serve to strengthen the government they were fighting. It was clear that the people at large were not yet ready for a revolution; so the reformers set to work to prepare the way for better things by secretly educating the masses and introducing them to Western ideas. They passed from hand to hand revolutionary pamphlets which they succeeded in printing in spite of the police. Some of the leaders left Russia and conducted their publications in Switzerland, Paris, or London, whence they smuggled copies of their papers and pamphlets across the Russian boundary.

The reign of Alexander III (1881–1894) was therefore a period of quiet, during which little progress seemed to be made. The people suffered the oppression of the government officials without active opposition. Their occasional protests were answered by imprisonment, flogging, or exile; for Alexander III and his intimate advisers, especially the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobyedonostsev, believed quite as firmly and religiously in autocracy as Nicholas I had done. Freedom and liberalism, they agreed, could only serve to destroy a nation. The Tsar had a right to do anything except limit in any way his own power, and his first duty was to strangle democracy, Europeanism, and liberalism. It was a sin even to admire constitutional government. It was, they held, a good thing that the mass of Russians could not read, for that prevented the infection of liberal ideas from spreading as rapidly as it otherwise would. Russia must be kept frozen so that it would not decay.

The reign of the last Autocrat of all the Russias, Nicholas II (1894–1917), as well as the régime of the Bolshevists, obviously belongs to Volume II.

GREEK INDEPENDENCE: THE CRIMEAN WAR
(1854–1856)

The relations of the western European states with Russia as well as among themselves have been deeply affected since the opening of the nineteenth century by the so-called "Near Eastern question." This great problem involved the fate of southeastern Europe, which had been overwhelmed by the Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Since the Balkan Peninsula is inhabited to a considerable extent by Slavs, Russia claimed to have a fraternal solicitude for their welfare, as well as to be the natural protector of adherents to their form of Christianity, the Greek Orthodox Church, which was the State Church of Russia. An event in the Balkan Peninsula touched off the fuse that ignited the conflagration of the World War; consequently none of us can be indifferent to the strange history and complexities of the Balkan situation.

Austria had long been a next-door neighbor of the Turks, but by the year 1700 the Mohammedans had been driven out of Hungary. This country came under the rule of the House of Hapsburg, which ardently desired to extend its control farther into Turkish territory. In 1774 Catherine the Great had secured the Crimea and so got a footing for Russia on the Black Sea,—an advantage that was extended by Alexander I, who won Bessarabia (also on the Black Sea). But so far Russia has never been able to win its longed-for goal, Constantinople, which remains to this day the prized conquest of the Turks, although after the World War it ceased to be the capital of their empire.

Shortly after the Congress of Vienna the Serbians, who had for a number of years been in revolt against the Turks, were able to establish their practical independence (in 1817); and Serbia, with Belgrade as its capital, became a principality tributary to Turkey. This was the first of a series of Balkan states which emerged during the nineteenth century from beneath the Mohammedan inundation. In the later Middle Ages, Serbia, as was pointed out earlier, had been a considerable power, and its people had never forgotten their former glory as an independent and once aggressive nation.

The next Balkan state to gain its independence was Greece, whose long conflict against Turkish despotism aroused throughout Europe the sympathy of all who appreciated the glories of ancient Greece. The inhabitants of the land of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes were, it is true, scarcely to be regarded as descendants of the Greeks, and the language they spoke differed greatly from the ancient tongue. At the opening of the nineteenth century, however, the national spirit once more awoke in Greece; able writers made modern Greek a literary language and employed it in stirring appeals to the patriotism of their fellow countrymen.

In 1821 an insurrection broke out in Morea, as the ancient Peloponnesus is now called. The movement spread through the peninsula; the atrocities of the Turks were rivaled by those of the Greeks, and thousands of Mohammedans—men, women, and children—were slaughtered. On January 27, 1822, the Greek National Assembly issued a proclamation of independence.

To Metternich this revolt seemed only another illustration of the dangers of revolution; but the liberals throughout Europe enthusiastically sympathized with the Greek uprising, since it was carried on in the name of national liberty. Educated people in England, France, Germany, and the United States held meetings to express sympathy for the cause, and to the ardent Christian it seemed a righteous war against infidels and persecutors. Soldiers and supplies poured into Greece. Indeed, the Greeks could scarcely have freed themselves had the European powers refused to intervene.

It is needless to follow the long negotiations between the various European courts in connection with Greek affairs. In 1827 Great Britain, France, and Russia signed a treaty at London providing for a joint adjustment of the difficulty, on the ground that it was necessary to put an end to the sanguinary struggle which left Greece and the adjacent islands a prey "to all the disasters of anarchy, and daily causes fresh impediments to the commerce of Europe." The Porte (that is, the Turkish government) having refused to accept the mediation of the allies, their combined fleets destroyed that of the Sultan at Navarino in October, 1827. Thereupon the Porte declared a "holy war" on the unbelievers, especially the Russians. But the latter were prepared to push the war with vigor, and they not only actively promoted the freedom of Greece but forced the Sultan to grant practical independence to the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which came thereby under Russian influence and later were united into the kingdom of Rumania. Turkey was no longer able to oppose the wishes of the allies, and in 1832 Greece became an independent state, choosing for its king Prince Otto of Bavaria.

A fresh excuse for interfering in Turkish affairs was afforded the Tsar two decades later. Complaints reached him that Christian pilgrims were not permitted by the Turks (who had long been in possession of the Holy Land and Jerusalem) freely to visit the places made sacred by their associations with the life of Jesus. Russia seemed the natural protector of those, at least, who adhered to her own form of Christianity, and the Russia ambassador rudely demanded that the Porte should grant the Tsar a protectorate over all the Christians in Turkey.

When news of this situation reached Paris, Napoleon III, who had recently become emperor and was eager to take a hand in European affairs, declared that France, in virtue of earlier treaties with the Porte, enjoyed the right to protect Catholic Christians. He found an ally in Great Britain, which feared that if Russia took Constantinople it would command the route to India, and accordingly advised the Sultan not to accede to Russia's demands. When the Tsar's troops marched into the Turkish dominions, France and Great Britain came to the Sultan's assistance and declared war upon Russia in 1854.

The Crimean War, which followed, owes its name to the fact that the operations of the allies against Russia culminated in the long and bloody siege of Sevastopol, in the southern part of the Crimean peninsula. Every victory won by the allies was dearly bought. The British soldiers suffered at first in consequence of the inefficiency of the home government in sending them the necessary supplies. The Russians, however, were disheartened by the sufferings of their own soldiers, the inefficiency and corruption of their officials, and the final loss of the mighty fortress of Sevastopol. They saw, moreover, that their near neighbor, Austria, was about to join their enemies. The new Tsar, Alexander II, therefore consented in 1856 to the terms of a treaty drawn up at Paris.[1]

This treaty recognized the independence of the Ottoman Empire and guaranteed its territorial integrity. The "Sublime Porte" was also included within the scope of the international law of Europe, from which it had hitherto been excluded as an infidel and barbarous government; and the other powers agreed not to interfere further with the domestic affairs of Turkey. The Black Sea was declared neutral territory, and its waters were thrown open to merchant ships of all nations; but no warships were to pass through the Bosporus or the Dardanelles. In short, Turkey was preserved and strengthened by the intervention of the powers as a bulwark against Russian encroachment in the Balkan Peninsula; but although the Sultan made liberal promises, nothing was really done to reform the Turkish administration or to make the lot of the Christian subjects more secure.

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[1] It will be remembered that Sardinia had joined the allies against Russia, and in this way forced the powers to admit it to the deliberations at Paris, where Cavour seized the opportunity to plead the cause of Italy.

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR (1877–1878) AND THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

Some idea of the condition of the people under the Sultan's rule may be derived from the report of an English traveler (Mr. Arthur Evans) in 1875. In the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina he found that outside the large towns, where European consuls were present, there was no safety for the honor, the property, or the lives of the Christians, because the authorities were blind to any outrage committed by a Mohammedan. The Sultan's taxes fell principally on the peasants, in the form of a tenth of their produce. It was a common custom for the collectors (who were often not Mohammedans but brutal Christians) to require the peasant to pay the tax in cash before the harvesting of the ripe crop. If he could not meet the charges, the taxgatherer simply said, "Then your harvest shall rot on the ground till you pay it." When this oppression was resisted, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the offenders.

In 1874 a failure of crops aggravated the intolerable conditions, and an insurrection broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina which set the whole Balkan Peninsula aflame. The Bulgarians around Philippopolis, incited to hope of independence by the events in the regions to the west of them, assassinated some of the Turkish officials and gave the Ottoman government a pretext for the most terrible atrocities in the modern history of Turkish rule in Europe—the murder of thousands of Bulgarians.

While the European powers were exchanging futile diplomatic notes on the situation, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Sultan, and the Christians in the Balkan region made a frantic appeal to the West for immediate help. A good deal naturally depended on the position taken by Great Britain, which was in alliance with Turkey. Gladstone, then leader of the Liberals, urged his countrymen to break the unholy alliance between Great Britain and "the unspeakable Turk." But Gladstone's party was not in power, and Lord Beaconsfield was fearful that British encouragement to the Slavic rebels in the Sultan's dominions would only result in their becoming independent and allying themselves with Great Britain's enemy, Russia. The British believed that in the interest of their trade they must continue to resist any movement which might destroy the strength of the Sultan, who, they felt, was not as likely as either Russia or Austria to interfere with their Eastern commerce.

The negotiations of the powers having come to nothing, Russia determined in 1877 to act alone. Her declaration of war was shortly followed by Russian victories, and in 1878 a Russian army entered Adrianople, which was equivalent to an announcement to the world that Ottoman dominion in Europe had come to an end. Great Britain protested; but the Sultan was forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano with the Tsar and to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania.[1] Bulgaria was made an independent state, except for the payment of tribute to the Sultan.

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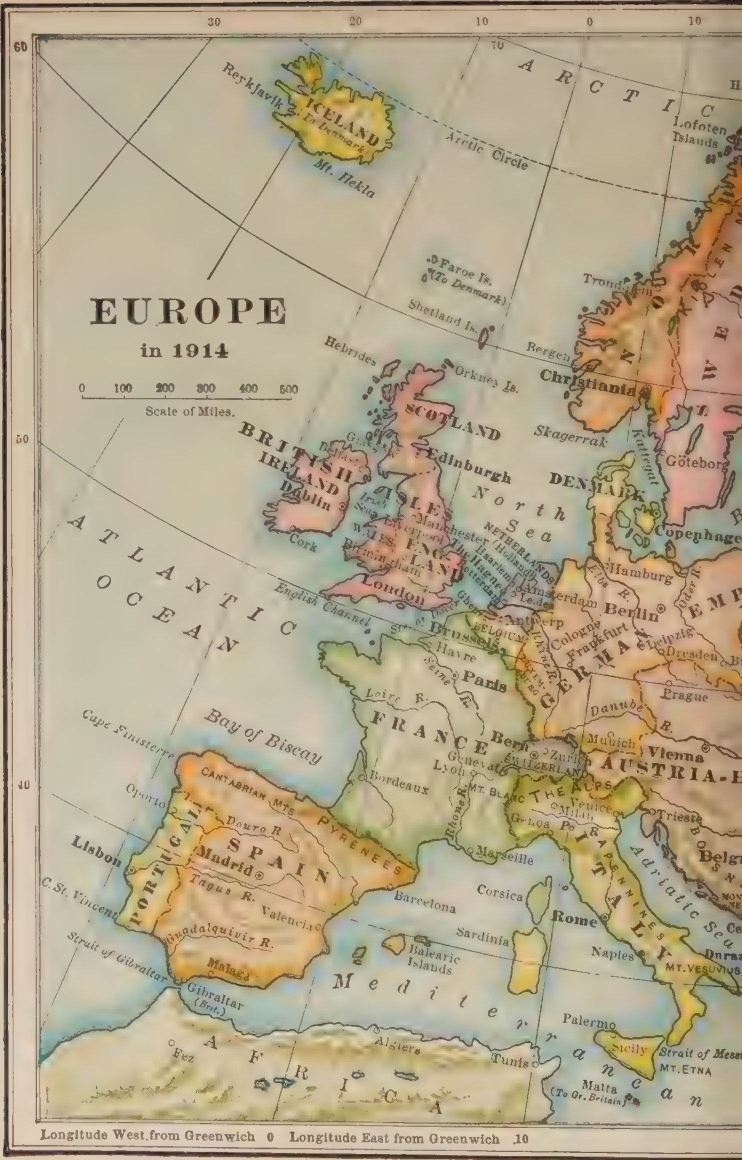
[1] In 1862 the so-called Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia had formed a voluntary union under the name "Rumania." In 1866 the Rumanians chose for their ruler a German prince, Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who, in 1881, was proclaimed king of Rumania as Carol I.

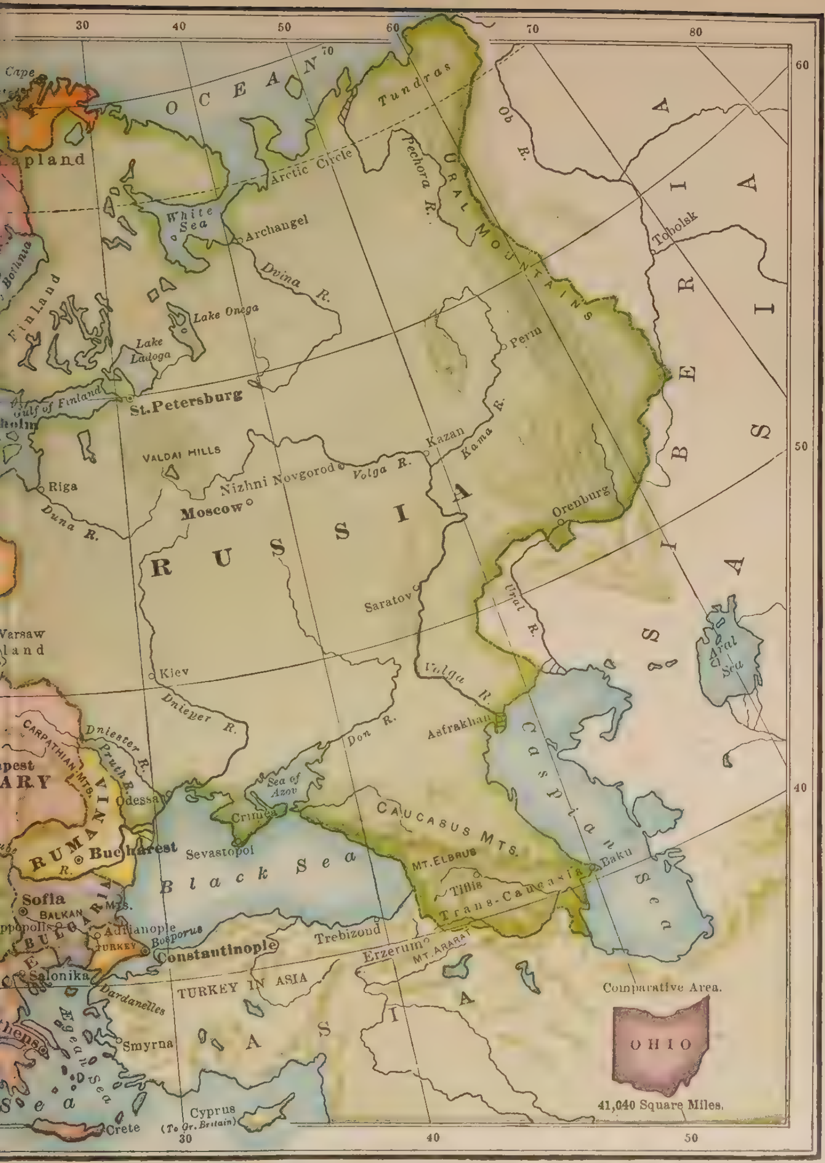
Great Britain and Austria naturally had serious objections to this treaty, which increased the influence of Russia in the Balkans. They therefore forced Tsar Alexander II to submit the whole matter to the consideration of a general European congress at Berlin (1878), where, after prolonged and stormy sessions, the powers confirmed in general the Treaty of San Stephano regarding the status of Serbia, Rumania, Montenegro, and Bulgaria. In addition the Tsar was permitted to annex a district to the east of the Black Sea, including the towns of Batum and Kars. The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were, moreover, to be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. This proved a most fateful decision, as we shall see later.

The territorial settlement at Berlin, like that at Vienna sixty years before, disregarded many national aspirations. The Bulgarians (who looked back to their independence before the coming of the Turks) were especially disappointed with the arrangement; for, instead of their being united in one state, as they had hoped, only the region between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, with some slight additions, was included in the principality of Bulgaria. Those Bulgarians dwelling just south of the Balkan range, in the province of Eastern Rumelia, were still subjects of the Sultan, although under a Christian governor-general. Macedonia and the region about Adrianople, where there were also many Bulgarians, were left under the direct administration of Turkish officials.

Under the terms of the treaty the inhabitants of the Bulgarian principality proceeded to frame a constitution, and chose as their prince Alexander of Battenberg (succeeded by Ferdinand of Coburg in 1887). They adopted as their watchword "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians," and took the first step toward the reunion of their race by quietly occupying the region to the south—Eastern Rumelia.

In 1897 Greece risked a war with Turkey, with the hope of increasing her realms, but was defeated. Turkey was, of


EUROPE
in 1914
0 100 200 300 400 500
Scale of Miles.
30
20
10
0
10
60
50
40
70
ARCTIC
Lofoten Islands
Arctic Circle
Reykjavik
ICELAND
(To Denmark)
Mt. Hekla
Faroe Is.
(To Denmark)
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Hebrides
Trondhjem
Bergen
Christiania
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Skagerrak
Kattegat
Göteborg
DENMARK
Copenhagen
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
Belfast
Glasgow
Dublin
Cork
Irish Sea
Liverpool
Manchester
WALES
ENGLAND
Birmingham
London
North Sea
NETHERLANDS (Holland)
Amsterdam
Haarlem
The Hague
Leiden
Rotterdam
English Channel
Dover
Ghent
Antwerp
BELGIUM
Brussels
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Berlin
Oder R.
Leipzig
Dresden
Cologne
Frankfurt
Rhine R.
GERMAN EMPIRE
Prague
Danube R.
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Havre
Seine R.
Paris
Loire R.
FRANCE
Bern
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Lyon
Bordeaux
MT. BLANC
THE ALPS
Venice
Milan
Trieste
Genoa
Po R.
Rhone R.
Marseille
Bay of Biscay
Cape Finisterre
CANTABRIAN MTS.
PYRENEES
Oporto
Douro R.
SPAIN
Madrid
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Tagus R.
Valencia
Barcelona
C. St. Vincent
Guadalquivir R.
Malaga
Strait of Gibraltar
Gibraltar (Brit.)
Balearic Islands
Corsica
Sardinia
Rome
ITALY
APENNINES
Naples
MT. VESUVIUS
Adriatic Sea
BOSNIA
Belgrade
Palermo
Sicily
Strait of Messina
MT. ETNA
Malta (To Gr. Britain)
Mediterranean
Algiers
Tunis
Fez
AFRICA
Longitude West from Greenwich 0 Longitude East from Greenwich 10


OCEAN
Tundras
Arctic Circle
Lapland
White Sea
Archangel
Dvina R.
Pechora R.
Ob R.
URAL MOUNTAINS
SIBERIA
Tobolsk
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Finland
Gulf of Finland
St. Petersburg
VALDAI HILLS
Riga
Duna R.
Nizhni Novgorod
Volga R.
Kazan
Kama R.
Perm
Moscow
RUSSIA
Orenburg
Ural R.
Saratov
ASIA
Aral Sea
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Volga R.
Astrakhan
Don R.
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Odessa
RUMANIA
Bucharest
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Sevastopol
Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
MT. ELBRUS
Tiflis
Trans-Caucasia
Baku
Caspian Sea
Sofia
BALKAN MTS.
BULGARIA
Adrianople
TURKEY
Bosporus
Constantinople
Trebizond
Erzerum
MT. ARARAT
Salonika
Dardanelles
TURKEY IN ASIA
Aegean Sea
Smyrna
ASIA
Crete
Cyprus (To Gr. Britain)
Comparative Area.
OHIO
41,040 Square Miles.
30
40
50
60
70
80

SUGGESTIONS FOR READING

One will never learn much about the past of mankind from any single manual, however carefully it may be prepared. It can do no more than furnish an introduction to the vast subject of history by suggesting the chief topics best worth further study and by exhibiting as well as it may the interrelation of these topics in the general development of human affairs. The object of the following lists of books is to make it as easy as possible for the student to learn more about those matters which happen to arouse his special interest. These lists are restricted to books which he is likely to be able to find and which he is likely to enjoy after he has found them.

The Cambridge Modern History (1902–1912), in twelve volumes, with two supplementary ones, containing genealogical tables, indexes, and maps, is the best reference work for modern European developments from about the year 1500 onward. The chapters are written by a great number of competent scholars, Continental and American as well as British.

The easiest way to discover more about any particular historical person, event, institution, or idea than is to be got from the manual in hand is to turn to the appropriate heading in a good encyclopedia. Some teachers are prejudiced against encyclopedias because, they argue, students will get their additional information too easily; but this is to assume that we can learn more conveniently than we ought. Now since there is no end to learning, the smoother the path can be made the better. Every good college library should have a copy of the most recent edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911), with the three supplementary volumes, published in 1926 (a new, 14th, greatly revised edition is announced). Many of the articles are by scholars of eminence and accompanied by references to the best books on the subject in hand. The articles in the *International Encyclopædia* are also useful. *The Catholic Encyclopædia* may profitably be consulted in matters relating to the Church and its history. Little questions of dates can often be settled by reference to the *Lincoln Library of Essential Information* (1928), *Everyman's Encyclopædia*, or the *Cyclopedia of Names* accompanying the *Century Dictionary*. These are a few of the best works of reference of their kind.

Historical atlases are absolutely essential to supplement the maps that can be included in a manual. The most convenient is that edited by WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD, *Historical Atlas* (6th ed., 1927). That of EARL E. DOW also furnishes good maps.

CHAPTER I. PLAN AND AIMS OF THIS HISTORY

In order to form an idea of the different attitudes of modern historical writers toward their work one may turn to the articles "History" and "Middle Ages" by JAMES T. SHOTWELL in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; LANGLOIS and SEIGNOBOS, *Introduction to the Study of History*; ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY, *The New History*; BARNES, HARRY ELMER, *The New History and the Social Sciences*; TEGGART, *Theory of History*. SPENGLER, OSWALD, *The Decline of the West*, contains in an introductory chapter a sharp arraignment of the ways of historians.

CHAPTER II. NEW IDEAS OF GOD'S WORKS AND MEN'S

BURY, *History of Freedom of Thought* (Home University Library). LECKY, *Rise of Rationalism in Europe*. WHITE, A. D., *History of the Warfare of Science and Religion*. Article "Bacon" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. SEDGWICK and TYLER, *A Short History of Science*. *The Development of the Sciences*, by several writers (Yale University Press, 1923). Article "Academies" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. LIBBY, W., *An Introduction to the History of Science*. LOWELL, J. R., *Among my Books*, long chapter on "Witchcraft." NOTESTEIN, *A History of Witchcraft in England*. McGIFFERT, *Protestant Thought before Kant*. BENN, A. W., *History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century*, introductory chapters. LOCY, *Biology and its Makers*. ROBERTSON, J. M., *A Short History of Free Thought*, Vol. II.

CHAPTER III. THE LENGTHY CASE OF THE PEOPLE VERSUS THE KING OPENS IN ENGLAND

CHEYNEY, *Short History of England*, chaps. xiv–xvi. CROSS, *A History of England*, chaps. xxvii–xxxv. GREEN, *A Short History of the English People*, chaps. viii–ix.

CHEYNEY, *Readings in English History*, chaps. xiv–xvi. LEE, *Source Book of English History*, Part VI. COLBY, *Selections from the Sources of English History*, Part VI, the Stuart Period. GEE and HARDY, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 508–664.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, chap. xvii; Vol. IV, chaps. viii–xi, xv, xix; Vol. V, chaps. v, ix–xi. MORLEY, *Oliver Cromwell*. MACAULAY, *Essay on Milton*. GARDINER, *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan*

Revolution. TREVELYAN, G. M., *England under the Stuarts.* FIGGIS, J. N., *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings.* GOOCH, G. P., *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century.* MACAULAY, *History of England, 1685–1702* (many editions).

CHAPTER IV. KINGLY FIGHTS OVER LANDS AND PEOPLES

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chaps. i–ii, xiii–xiv. WAKEMAN, *Europe from 1598 to 1715.* DURUY, *History of France*, Thirteenth Period. ADAMS, G. B., *Growth of the French Nation.* VOLTAIRE, *Age of Louis XIV* (in many translations). AINY, OSMUND, *The English Restoration and Louis XIV.*

Modern France, edited by TILLEY, ARTHUR, chaps. i–ii, chaps. viii–ix. Memoirs of the period are often obtainable in translation at reasonable prices, among them the chief of all, those of Saint-Simon.

CHAPTER V. NEW WARS AND NEW MAPS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI. HASSALL, *The Balance of Power, 1715–1789*, a manual of the diplomacy and wars. CARLYLE, *History of Frederick the Second, called Frederick the Great.* BRIGHT, *Maria Theresa.* EVERSLEY, *The Partitions of Poland.* MAVOR, JAMES, *Economic History of Russia*, Vol. I. SCHEVILL, F., *The Making of Modern Germany.* LEGER, L., *History of Austria-Hungary.*

CHAPTER VI. EUROPEAN EXPANSION OVERSEAS

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chap. xxii; Vol. VI, chaps. vi, xv. HUME, M. A. S., *Spain, its Greatness and Decay, 1479–1788.* CROSS, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, chap. xli. EGERTON, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy.* GIBBINS, *British Commerce and Colonies from Elizabeth to Victoria.* ROBINSON, HOWARD, *The Development of the British Empire.* LYALL, *The Rise of British Dominion in India.* WOODWARD, *A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire.* CHEYNEY, *The European Background of American History* (an excellent survey). EDGAR, *The Struggle for a Continent.* HUNTER, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples.* LUCAS, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies* (5 vols.). MACAULAY, *Essay on Clive.* MAHAN, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783.* H. C. MORRIS, *A History of Colonization* (2 vols.). PARKMAN, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (2 vols.). SEELEY, *The Expansion of England.* THWAITES, *The Colonies.* BECKER, C. L., *Beginnings of the American People.* TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. V.

CHAPTER VII. HOLD-OVERS FROM THE MIDDLE AGES

ASHTON, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne.* GIBBINS, *Industry in England,* chaps. xvii–xx. LOWELL, E. J., *The Eve of the French Revolution.* PROTHERO, *English Farming, Past and Present,* chaps. v–xi. SYDNEY, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols.). CUNNINGHAM, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Modern Times,* Part I. DE TOCQUEVILLE, *The State of Society in France before the Revolution,* a careful analysis of conditions. LECKY, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (8 vols.). WINGFIELD-STRATFORD, E., *History of British Civilization,* Vol. II, chaps. i–iii. TAINE, *The Old Régime.* ANTHONY, KATHERINE, *Catherine the Great.* CARLYLE, *History of Frederick the Second.* CRUMP and JACOB, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages.* JARRETT, B., *Social Theories of the Middle Ages.*

CHAPTER VIII. THE FRENCH OBJECTORS AND THEIR ROYAL CONVERTS

For general histories of thought and science see Chapter II.

BURY, *A History of Freedom of Thought* (Home University Library), chap. vi; *A History of the Idea of Progress. Cambridge Modern History,* Vol. V, chap. xxiii, Vol. VIII, chap. i. MARVIN, F. S. (Ed.), *Science and Civilization.* MONTESQUIEU, *The Spirit of Laws* (Nugent's translation). ROUSSEAU, *Discourses* and *The Social Contract and Émile* (Everyman's Library). SMITH, ADAM, *The Wealth of Nations.* GIDE and RIST, *A History of Economic Doctrines* (translated by Richards). LECKY, *A History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe* (2 vols.).

For general conditions in France before the Revolution, see LOWELL, E. J., *The Eve of the French Revolution*; MACLEHOSE, *The Last Days of the French Monarchy*; DE TOCQUEVILLE, *State of Society in France before the Revolution of 1789,* a very remarkable work; TAINE, *The Old Régime,* with excellent chapters on life at the king's court and on the literature of the period; YOUNG, ARTHUR, *Travels in France in 1787–1789,* very interesting and valuable. For Turgot's reforms, STEPHENS, *Life and Writings of Turgot. Translations and Reprints,* Vol. VI, No. 1, gives short extracts from the most noted writers of the eighteenth century. In Vol. V, No. 2, of the same series may be found a "Protest of the Cour des Aides," one of the higher courts of France, issued in 1775. JOHN MORLEY has written a number of sympathetic works upon France before the Revolution: *Voltaire*; *Rousseau* (2 vols.); *Diderot and the Encyclopædists* (2 vols.). ROCQUAIN, *The Revolutionary Spirit preceding the Revolution,* an account of books and pamphlets condemned by the authorities.

CHAPTER IX. FRENCHMEN WRITE OUT A NEW PROGRAM FOR MANKIND

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII. ROBINSON, *The New History*, chap. vii MATTHEWS, *The French Revolution.* ROSE, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, chaps. i–iii. STEPHENS, H., *A History of the French Revolution* (2 vols.). MADELIN, LOUIS, *The French Revolution.* MATHIEZ, *The French Revolution* (excellent). AULARD, *The French Revolution: A Political History, 1789–1804* (4 vols.). BOURNE, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe.* CARLYLE, *The French Revolution*, a literary masterpiece but written from insufficient materials. TAINE, *The French Revolution* (3 vols.), brilliant but unsympathetic. MATTHEW, *The French Revolution.* DUNNING, W. A., *Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer.*

ROBINSON and BEARD, *Readings in Modern European History*, chaps. xii–xiii. ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France, 1789–1907*, a valuable collection for modern French history. BURKE, *Reflections on the French Revolution* (Everyman's Library), a bitter criticism of the whole movement. PAINE, *The Rights of Man*, an answer to Burke.

CHAPTER X. A LITTLE CORSICAN INTERVENES

Of the various accounts of Napoleon and his times the following are the best and most accessible in English: FOURNIER, *Napoleon the First.* ROSE, *Life of Napoleon I.* FISHER, *Napoleon* (Home University Library). *Cambridge Modern History:* Vol. VIII, chaps. xviii–xxv, and Vol. IX are devoted to the Napoleonic period. See also FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*; and TAINE, *Modern Régime*, opening chapter. for a remarkable analysis of Napoleon. SEELEY, *Life and Times of Stein.* DODD, A. B., *Talleyrand, 1754–1838.*

For selections from the sources see ROBINSON and BEARD, *Readings in Modern European History*; ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France.*

CHAPTER XI. ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE THE UNSETTLABLE IN 1815

FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe.* SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814.* FUETER, *World History, 1815–1920.* HUME, *Modern Spain.* PHILLIPS, W. A., *The Confederation of Europe.* HALL, S. R., *The Bourbon Restoration.* DICKINSON, G. L., *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France.* STILLMAN, *The Union of Italy.* ROBERTSON, W. S., *History of the Latin-American Nations.* REDDAWAY, W. F., *The Monroe*

Doctrine. Thomas, D. Y., *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine. Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X. Robinson and Beard, *Readings.* Anderson, *Constitutions and Select Documents.*

CHAPTER XII AND CHAPTER XIII. PREVAILING OF THE PEOPLE

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